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A HISTORY
OF THE
KNIGHTS OF MALTA,
OR THE
ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

BY
WHITWORTH ✓ PORTER,
MAJOR GENERAL, ROYAL ENGINEERS.

REVISED EDITION.

London:
LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.
1883.

I Dedicate

THIS WORK TO THE MEMORY OF

MY ONLY SON,

REGINALD DA COSTA PORTER,

LIEUTENANT IN THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS,

WHO WAS HIMSELF A MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

HE WAS SLAIN IN THE EXECUTION OF HIS DUTY,

LIKE SO MANY OF HIS ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSORS,

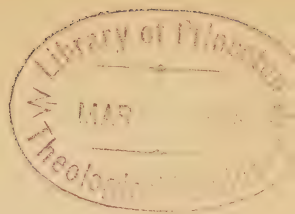
HAVING BEEN KILLED WHILST TAKING PART IN

THE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN 1882.

HIS REMAINS LIE IN THE ISLAND OF MALTA,

AMID THE KNIGHTLY DUST OF SO MANY WHO, LIKE HIM,

FELL IN THE SACRED CAUSE OF DUTY.



P R E F A C E.

A QUARTER of a century has passed away since the first edition of this book was published in the year 1858. Since that date the English *langue* of the Order of St. John has grown from a very slender and unimportant community to be the powerful body which it now is, embracing within its ranks numerous members, not only of our aristocracy, but also of the Royal Family.

This development has been achieved entirely by the energetic measures of public utility which it has set on foot. Its lusty bantling, the St. John Ambulance Association, is perhaps the institution which has most brought the *langue* into public notice, but other equally important, though not so generally well known, works of beneficence, have been, and are being, carried on in accordance with the principles which have governed the Order from its first foundation.

Under these circumstances, I have been for some years past pressed to bring out a new edition of my history. Until recently, professional avocations have prevented my acceding to the request, feeling, as I did, that if a new edition were to be produced, it should be rather a new book than a simple revision of the old one. Now, however, that I have ample leisure, I gladly embrace the opportunity of doing what has been demanded. In this edition I have re-written the entire work, and endeavoured to introduce all that has been discovered relating to the subject.

A criticism, and I must confess a just one, was made on my original book, viz., that it was written in too high-flown a style—that it partook too much of what the Americans call “high

falutin." I have endeavoured to correct this fault, and if I have still strayed now and again into the old path, I would plead in excuse the heroic character of the subject. It is almost impossible to dwell upon the details of so many gallant deeds of war without being sometimes carried away by enthusiasm. I trust, however, that this tendency has been kept within proper control.

One objection I would endeavour to answer in advance; it is, that I have not loaded my pages with references. This is a matter to which much consideration has been given. I do not claim for my book the character of scientific or critical history; it is a simple narrative, I trust careful and impartial, of events which spread over a period of seven centuries. In its preparation everything bearing on the subject, to which I could obtain access, has been minutely studied, and I have often had to decide between apparent contradictions. I have done my best to be just, and to record what I think are the true facts. To be perpetually quoting the authorities for those facts seems to me tedious, and, for the general reader, unnecessary. I may add that whenever recourse has been had to the works of a contemporary writer, I have preferred, where possible, to quote his own words; this seems to me the most honest way of utilizing his information.

I would also observe that as the chronicles on which most of the earlier part of the narrative is based are written in either French or Italian, the proper names, as therein given, have been sometimes woefully distorted. More particularly is this the case where these are English. As far as possible, the attempt has been made to suggest the real names referred to, but in many instances this is practically impossible, and I have been compelled to retain the foreign nomenclature.

In conclusion, I repeat the last paragraph of the preface to the original edition; viz., that "I now leave the result of my labours in the hands of an intelligent public, trusting that the book may meet with clemency, if not with favour, and hoping that I may have supplied a link between the histories of Europe and Asia which will prove of interest to the general reader."



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

1099—1118.

	PAGE
Origin of chivalry—Condition of Palestine prior to the first Crusade— Erection of the Hospital of St. John—Peter the Hermit—Capture of Jerusalem—Foundation of the Order of St. John—Death of Gerard, and election of Raymond du Puy—Military constitution of the Order—Regulations for its establishment—Admission of candi- dates—Establishment of commanderies—Regulations respecting dress—Defensive armour: Scale mail; Chain mail; Plate armour; Helmet; Shield—Offensive armour: Lance; Sword; Battle-axe; Dagger—The destrier, or war-horse	1

CHAPTER II.

1118—1187.

Date of the establishment of the Military Order of St. John—Campaigns of Antioch and Edessa—Foundation of the Templars and Order of St. Lazarus—Embassy of Joubert and marriage of Raymond of Poitiers—Legacy of the King of Navarre—Loss of Edessa—Second Crusade—Siege of Damascus—Advance of the Jarroquins—Their repulse and overthrow—Siege and capture of Ascalon—Jealousies of the clergy—Death of Raymond du Puy—Expedition into Egypt —Death of D'Ascali—Rise of Saladin—Death of Joubert—Dissen- sions in the kingdom of Jerusalem—Accession of Guy de Lusignan —Battle of Tiberias—Loss of Jerusalem—Its main causes	27
--	----

CHAPTER III.

1187—1230.

	PAGE
Description of the ruins of the Hospital at Jerusalem—Its establishment at Margat—Retirement of the ladies of the Order to Europe—The third Crusade—Siege and capture of Acre—Guy de Lusignan made king of Cyprus—Reforms of Alphonso of Portugal—His resignation and death—Fourth Crusade—Capture of Constantinople by the Latins—Dissensions between the Templars and Hospitallers—Andrew, king of Hungary, admitted into the Order—Fifth Crusade—Siege and capture of Damietta—Advance into Egypt—Fatal results of the expedition—Marriage of the emperor Frederic with Violante—Treaty with the Saracens—Coronation of Frederic at Jerusalem—His return to Europe and persecution of the military Orders—Accusations brought against the knights of St. John	56

CHAPTER IV.

1230—1291.

Re-occupation of Jerusalem by the Christians—Their expulsion by the Korasmins—Battle of Gaza—Death of Villebride, and election of Chateaufort—Reforms in the Order—Crusades of St. Louis—Sanguinary combat between the Hospitallers and Templars—Siege of Margat—Siege and fall of Acre	80
---	----

CHAPTER V.

1291—1311.

Establishment of the Order in Cyprus—Its first naval armaments—Death of John de Villiers, and election of Odon de Pins—His monastic seclusion—Dissatisfaction of the Order—His death, and accession of William de Villaret—Expedition into Palestine—Project for the capture of Rhodes—Preparations for that operation—Death of William de Villaret, and accession of Fulk de Villaret—Capture of Rhodes—Destruction of the Order of the Temple	106
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

1311—1365.

Villaret establishes his Order at Rhodes—His arrogance—Plots against him—His flight to Lindos—Appeals to the Pope—His resignation—Appointment of Elyon de Villanova—Division of the Order into <i>langues</i> —Deodato de Gozon and the Dragon of Rhodes—War against the Turks—Capture of Smyrna—Election of Deodato de Gozon—His resignation—Intrigues of Heredia the Castellan of Emposta—Election of Cornillan and Roger de Pins	134
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

1338.

PAGE

Divisions of class in the Order—Langues—Grand-Master, his position and power—Courts of Égard—Bailiffs—Their offices—Adaptation of the Order to change of circumstances—System of management in commanderies—Report on the grand-priory of England in 1338—Lists of commanderies and other estates in the grand-priory	157
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

1365—1402.

Election of Raymond Beranger—Expedition to Alexandria and capture of the town—Election of Heredia—His previous history—He escorts the Pope to Rome—Joins the expedition to Patras—Capture of the town—Heredia falls into the hands of the Turks—His ransom—Schism in the church—Heredia returns to Avignon—His death—Election of Philibert de Naillac—Battle of Nicopolis—Purchase of the Morea—Its subsequent restoration—Timour the Tartar—His overthrow of Bajazet—Loss of Smyrna	184
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

1402—1476.

Erection of the fortress of St. Peter at Budrum—Treaty with the sultan of Egypt—Conclusion of the papal schism, and reunion of the Order—Death of de Naillac, and succession of Fluvian—Invasion of Cyprus—Death of Fluvian—Election of Lastic—Descent on Rhodes—Reforms in the Order—Fall of Constantinople—Election of James de Milly—Disputes in the fraternity—Succession of Raymond Zacosta—Formation of an eighth <i>langue</i> —Erection of Fort Nicholas—Departure of Zacosta for Rome—His death there—Succeeded by Orsini—Fall of Negropont—Preparations for defence at Rhodes—Death of Orsini, and nomination of Peter D'Aubusson	213
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

1476—1480.

Description of Rhodes—The three renegades—Arrival of the Turkish army at Rhodes—First attack on Fort St. Nicholas—Its failure—Breach opened in the Jews' quarter—Attempted assassination of the Grand-Master—Second attack on St. Nicholas and its failure—Second advance on the Jews' quarter—Execution of Maitre Georges—Last assault of the Turks and its repulse—Close of the siege, and embarkation of the Ottoman army	241
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

1480—1503.

PAGE

Restoration of the fortifications of Rhodes, and recovery of the Grand-Master—Preparations by Mahomet for a new siege—His death, and the disputed succession to his empire—Defeat of Djem, and his flight to Rhodes—Departure for France—His residence there—His removal to Rome, and death—Last days of Peter D'Aubusson—His death and interment—History of the relic of the hand of St. John the Baptist	273
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

1503—1521.

Election of D'Amboise—Futile descent of Camalis—Capture of Turkish galleys and of the "Queen of the Seas"—Defeat of the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Ajaccio—Election and death of Blanchefort—Accession of Carretto—Usurpation of Selim—Conquest of Egypt by the sultan—Death of Selim and accession of Solyman—Death of Carretto—Description of Rhodes in 1521, and at present	299
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

The career of a knight as a novice, professed knight, commander, and bailiff—The auberges—The chaplains—The chapter-general—The councils of the Order—The question of slavery	320
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

1521—1522.

Election of L'Isle Adam—Fall of Belgrade—Correspondence with Solyman—Preparations for defence—Detail of the Turkish forces—Arrival of the Ottoman army at Rhodes—Commencement of the siege—Plot by a female slave within the city—Detail of Turkish artillery—Construction of cavaliers—Mining operations—Assault on the tower of St. Mary—Repeated attacks and their repulse—Accusations against the chancellor D'Amaral—His trial and execution—Devotion of the Rhodian women—Negotiations for surrender—Terms offered by Solyman—Their acceptance, and close of the siege by the surrender of the island	339
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

1522—1534.

	PAGE
Surrender of Rhodes, and departure of the Order for Candia—Arrival at Messina—Departure for Civita Vecchia—Project for bestowing Malta on the Order—Hopes of regaining Rhodes—L'Isle Adam proceeds to Madrid—His negotiations—Visits Paris and London—Returns to Italy—Malta ceded to the Order—Antecedent history of that island—Tripoli—Its disadvantages and dangers—Description of the harbour of Malta—Expedition to Modon—Disputed appointment to the bishopric of Malta—English Reformation—Insurrection in the convent—Death of L'Isle Adam	375

CHAPTER XVI.

1534—1565.

Election of Peter Dupont—Expedition against Tunis—Didier de St. Gilles—John D'Omedes—Expedition against Algiers—Turkish descent on Malta—Loss of Tripoli—Destruction of the Order in England—Leo Strozzi—Attack on Zoara—Death of D'Omedes and election of La Sangle—Hurricane at Malta—Accession of La Valette—Expedition to Galves—Siege of Mers el Kebir by the Turks—Preparations by Solymán for an attack on Malta—Arrangements for defence	399
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

1565.

Enumeration of the garrison of Malta—Description of its defences—The Turkish army and fleet—The janissaries—Disembarkation of the force—Siege of St. Elmo commenced—Arrival of Dragut—Repeated assaults—The fort cut off from succour—Its fall—Massacre of the garrison	424
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

1565.

Siege of Malta continued—Arrival of the first reinforcement—Investment of the Bourg—Attack on Senglea—Repeated assaults on both points—Exhaustion of the garrison—Arrival of a succouring force from Sicily—Close of the siege	451
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

1565—1601.

PAGE

General exultation at the successful defence of Malta—Rumours of a new Turkish expedition—Death of Solyman—Commencement of the city of Valetta—Disturbances in the convent—Death of La Valette—Accession of de Monte—Transfer of the convent to Valetta—Battle of Lepanto—Death of de Monte—Election of La Cassière—Seditions aroused against him—His deposition and restoration—His death, and election of Verdala—Arrival of the Jesuits—Death of Verdala—Close of the century 479

CHAPTER XX.

Political position of the Grand-Master—His revenues—Ceremony of election and installation—Details of his household—Ceremonials of the table—Festivals—The lieutenant—The navy—The land forces—The chancery—The conservatory—The revenue—Details of the European property—The expenditure—The Hospital 508

CHAPTER XXI.

The punishments of the fraternity—List of prohibitions—Criminal records—Local government of the Maltese—The bailiwick of Brandenburg. 542

CHAPTER XXII.

THE “*LANGUE*” OF ENGLAND.

Foundation at Clerkenwell—Introduction of the fraternity into Scotland and Ireland—Destruction of priory at Clerkenwell by Wat Tyler—Restoration by Docwra—St. John’s Gate—Lease of Hampton to Wolsey—Suppression of the *langue* by Henry VIII.—Revival by Queen Mary—Ultimate suppression by Elizabeth—Subsequent fate of the Priory, Church, and Gate—Revival of the *langue*—Its objects and present state—Brief biographies of important members of the old *langue* 564

CHAPTER XXIII.

1601—1669.

Alof de Vignacourt—Ecclesiastical disputes—The Malta aqueduct—Anthony de Paule—Chapter-general—Election of Lascaris—Disputes with France and Spain—Battle of the Dardanelles—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Commencement of the Floriana line—Acquisition in the West Indies—Election of Redin—The brothers Cottoner—Siege and loss of Candia. 595

CHAPTER XXIV.

1669—1797.

	PAGE
Sir John Narbrough's visit to Malta—Construction of the Cottonera lines—Death of Cottoner—Gregory Caraffa—Adrian de Vignacourt—Raymond Perrelos—Embassy from Russia—Mark Anthony Zondodari—Manôel de Vilhena—Erection of Fort Manôel—Raymond Despuig—Pinto de Fonseca—Plot of the slaves—His popularity—Condition of the navy—Francois Ximenes—Priestly insurrection—Emmanuel de Rohan—Chapter-general—Earthquake in Sicily—Erection of Fort Tigné—The French revolution—Destruction of the French <i>langues</i> —Death of de Rohan	618

CHAPTER XXV.

1797—1798.

Election of von Hompesch—Establishment of a Russian priory—Capture of Malta decreed—Arrival of the French fleet before Malta—Dispositions of Bonaparte for the attack—State of the town—Inefficiency of von Hompesch—Surrender of the island—Departure of the knights—Death of von Hompesch—The knights in St. Petersburg—Election of the emperor Paul as Grand-Master—Subsequent wanderings of the Order—Its present position at Rome	647
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

1798—1800.

French decrees on assuming possession of the island—Insurrection of the Maltese—Blockade of the French within the fortress—Arrival of the joint British and Portuguese fleet—Details of the blockade—Capitulation of the French—The treaty of Amiens—Eventual transfer of the island to the British—Conclusion	669
SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.	694

APPENDIX I.

Chronological List of the Grand-Masters of the Order of St. John, distinguishing the various nations	695
--	-----

APPENDIX II.

List of the first Members of the Order of St. John, cotemporaries with its Founder, Gerard, from 1099 to 1135. (From Paolo Antonio Paoli.)	697
--	-----

APPENDIX III.

Original Donation of Godfrey of Bouillon to the Hospital of St. John. (Ex. Cod. papyrac. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, N. 3136, page 19.)	698
---	-----

APPENDIX IV.

	PAGE
Bull of Pope Paschal II., confirming the establishment of the Hospital of St. John. (Translated from the original Latin.) . . .	699

APPENDIX V.

Bull of Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1300, recapitulating the original rule of Raymond du Puy, lost at the capture of Acre. (Translated from the original Latin.) . . .	700
---	-----

APPENDIX VI.

Bull of Pope Alexander IV., dated in 1259, decreeing a distinctive dress for the Knights of Justice. (Translated from the original Latin.) .	705
--	-----

APPENDIX VII.

Letter of Peter D'Aubusson to the emperor of Germany, containing a narrative of the first siege of Rhodes. (Translated from the original Latin.) . . .	706
--	-----

APPENDIX VIII.

Letter of Sir Nicholas Roberts to the earl of Surrey, descriptive of the second siege of Rhodes. (Ex Cotton MSS. Copied from Taaffe's "Knights of St. John." This letter is much injured, and rendered illegible in many parts.) . . .	711
--	-----

APPENDIX IX.

Deed of authorization to the Procurators of L'Isle Adam, including the act of donation of the island of Malta and its dependencies to the Order of St. John by Charles V. (Translated from the original Latin.) . . .	713
---	-----

APPENDIX X.

Translation from the original Latin of the letter of the Grand-Master La Valette to the grand-prior of Germany, narrating the siege of Malta. (Taken from "Cœlii Augustini Curionis Saracenicæ Historiæ libri tres, etc." Francofurdi, 1596.) . . .	720
---	-----

APPENDIX XI.

List of the dignitaries of the <i>langue</i> of England . . .	722
---	-----

APPENDIX XII.

Memorandum written by Oliver Starkey on the subject of a dispute as to precedence between the grand-priors of England and Messina. (Translated from the original, now in the Record Office at Malta.) .	736
---	-----


APPENDIX XIII.

Articles of capitulation of the fortress of Malta by the French in the year 1800 . . .	738
--	-----

APPENDIX XIV.

Article in the Treaty of Amiens relative to the Order of St. John .	742
---	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> PORTRAIT OF LA VALETTE. <i>Frontispiece</i> </div>	
GATE OF ST. JOHN IN THE MURISTÂN, JERUSALEM	61
RUINS OF QUADRANGLE OF MONASTERY, MURISTÂN	62
MAP OF RHODES TO ILLUSTRATE SIEGES OF 1480 and 1522	242
FACSIMILE OF AN OLD WOODCUT OF RHODES.	278
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> PORTRAIT OF L'ISLE ADAM MAKING HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITTÀ </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> NOTABILE </div>	390
MAP OF MALTA TO ILLUSTRATE SIEGE OF 1565	426
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> COATS OF ARMS ON ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL; TOMB OF </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> SIR WILLIAM WESTON </div>	571
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, AND OF THE GRAND-PRIORY </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> OF ENGLAND </div>	694

A HISTORY OF THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

CHAPTER I.

1099—1118.

Origin of chivalry—Condition of Palestine prior to the first Crusade—Erection of the Hospital of St. John—Peter the Hermit—Capture of Jerusalem—Foundation of the Order of St. John—Death of Gerard and election of Raymond du Puy—Military constitution of the Order—Regulations for its establishment—Admission of candidates—Establishment of commanderies—Regulations respecting dress—Defensive armour: Scale mail; Chain mail; Plate armour; Helmet; Shield—Offensive armour: Lance; Sword; Battle-axe; Dagger—The destrier, or war-horse.

THE Order of St. John of Jerusalem was one of the most important results which grew out of the spirit of chivalry prevalent throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. It is well, therefore, in tracing a history of that Order, to begin with a slight sketch of the causes which led to the awakening of the chivalric sentiment.

The gradual extension by the Romans of their empire had naturally brought about that system of colonization with which they habitually followed up the conquests of their generals. As soon as a new country fell under their power an organized government was established, the miniature counterpart of that holding rule at the centre of the empire. A proconsul or governor was appointed, under whose direction, supported by legions of disciplined soldiery, peace and order were maintained, few changes being made in the occupation of the land. By

a gradual transition, facilitated materially by the advent of numerous official dignitaries bringing with them to their new homes all the refinements and many of the luxuries of their native city, the once rude land was converted into a smiling and prosperous province, where the civilization and improvements introduced by their new masters found a ready welcome. Under the influence of this power the military spirit of the inhabitants was not evoked. Rome maintained her sway not by a local militia but by a standing army, and trusted for her victories rather to the well-trained movements of an organized soldiery than to the spontaneous efforts of an undisciplined peasantry, however martial their native spirit might be. The principle of centralization pervaded every act of their government, and the constant communication thus created with the capital went far to help on the progress of refinement. The conquered population, instead of being degraded into slavery, were raised to the dignity of Roman citizens, and the judicious liberality with which they were treated made them yield the more readily to the softening and enervating influences of peace and civilization.

The case was, however, widely different with the barbarians, the torrent of whose invasion subsequently overthrew the power of Rome. They had no central seat of empire from which to draft the rulers of their new acquisitions; they sought, not a simple extension of an existing government, a new appanage of a monarchy already flourishing, but descending from their wild homes amid the bleak fastnesses of the North, they made for themselves a new settlement and a more genial dwelling-place in the luxuriant plains of the South. The original holders of the land were dispossessed and mostly exterminated, their places being filled by the intruders. The leader of the irruption, secure in his power only in so far as he consulted the interests and by that means retained the affections of his followers, established his government upon a wholesale system of military colonization. There was no standing army distinct from the occupiers of the soil, but every man remained a soldier whilst becoming a landed proprietor in the country of his adoption.

Hence arose the feudal system. The leader himself became a monarch, holding supreme sway within his newly-acquired

kingdom. The commanders of his forces gradually developed into a nobility, receiving as a reward for their services, and as a guarantee for their future attachment, large grants of land, hampered only with the conditions of military service whenever they were called upon by their chief. These nobles again subdivided their estates amongst their inferiors under nearly similar conditions, so that eventually the whole country was held under a tenure purely military in its requirements. It is not surprising that under these circumstances a martial spirit should pervade the new colonists. Military service was the only road to advancement; it was by such service alone that they held their possessions, and the power of the sword became paramount. Under such a system that spirit of chivalry was first developed, which in its more mature years gave birth to the monastic military orders of the East.

Personal prowess being considered man's proudest ornament, and the pursuit of learning abandoned to the monk in his cloistered retreat, the profession of arms was the only occupation open to the youth of high and noble estate. Taught from childhood to take delight in the military exercises which formed the daily occupation of the retainers in every baronial castle, he imbibed at an early age that ardent craving for distinction which was one of the fundamental principles of chivalry. Imbued with the religious veneration of the period—a veneration deeply tinged with superstition, he was led to consider as sacred the obligations imposed on him by the chivalric code. To fight in defence of his religion was not only a sacred duty, it was also an inestimable privilege. He had been taught that pardon for his sins was to be purchased by a display of martial zeal in behalf of his faith, and that the shedding of his blood in the sacred cause would insure him an entry into the joys of Heaven. This doctrine appealed in the warmest and most direct manner to the prevailing sentiments of the time. What wonder then that it was eagerly accepted and gradually worked its way through all ranks of society. Whilst such was the bent of public feeling in Europe, there arose gradually in the East a state of things which, as it became known, aroused the martial ardour of the nations to a pitch of frenzy.

The Byzantine empire had continued to maintain its rule

long after its western sister had fallen beneath the attacks of the northern barbarians. True, it was much reduced in extent; still, at the beginning of the seventh century, the Euphrates remained the Asiatic boundary of the empire. Her rulers, however, either dreading the treachery of usurpers or being usurpers themselves, were less on the look-out to check the inroads of the surrounding wild tribes than to secure their own position on the tottering throne. Encompassed by enemies both within and without, that position was yearly becoming one of increasing difficulty, and demanded on the part of the monarch, as the only possible means of maintaining its integrity, the highest administrative capacity coupled with supreme skill in the power of waging a defensive warfare. Unfortunately, however, for the empire, her rulers evinced no such gifts. Instead of striving to make head against the constant encroachments of their neighbours, they plunged madly into all the voluptuous degeneracy of the times, and vainly sought to conceal their weakness and cowardice behind the idle pomp of a gorgeous magnificence. Under such circumstances the power which had at one time extended over the whole of the east of Europe, and had shared the empire of the world with its Roman sister, crumbled away by degrees, and became a mere phantom of its original greatness.

One province of the empire, however, continued throughout its decadence to command the affectionate interest and sympathy of Europe; this was the province of Judea, within the limits of which stood the holy city of Jerusalem. Since the days of our Saviour the vicissitudes of fortune and the results of war had brought about many changes within its sacred precincts. The capture of the city by the Romans under Titus led to the introduction of their idolatrous form of worship. The Jews were driven forth to be dispersed over the face of the earth. A pagan temple was reared on the site of that which had originally been dedicated to the Lord by Solomon, and the foul rites of a heathen worship desecrated the land hallowed by the footsteps of our Saviour when on earth.

During the fourth century, however, Christianity won its way throughout the empire, and before long Christian churches began to replace the temples of the heathen. Foremost

amongst these stood that of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. She had been baptized at the same time as her son, and with all the newly-awakened zeal of a convert, had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. To her is attributed the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and upon that site she erected the magnificent pile which bears its name. Her example was followed by Constantine, and by degrees the numerous stately churches and convents which they founded formed the principal adornment of the province.

Jerusalem now became the favoured object of the world's devotion. Religious curiosity had prompted Christians from the earliest times to visit the regions sanctified by their faith. This feeling, supported as it was by the influence of the priesthood, grew in intensity, until at length it became a recognized principle that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the most efficacious act by which the penitent could hope to atone for his sins. Vast crowds flocked thither from every corner of Europe to utter a prayer over the tomb of their Saviour, and to gaze on that hallowed spot where He had breathed His last. The very dust of the land was considered sacred in their eyes, and the pious wanderer, on his return, hung his palm branch and pilgrim's staff over the altar of his parish church, where it remained, not only an emblem of his own devotion, but also an incentive to others to follow his example.

Matters were on this footing when suddenly there arose from the obscurity of the East that wonderful man who was destined to cause a complete revolution, and to become the founder at the same time of a new empire and of a new religion. It will not come within the province of this work to enter into any detail with regard to the rise and progress of Mahomet, who, in the early part of the seventh century, established himself as the prophet of a new faith. Within a very short time from the commencement of his career he had brought the whole of Arabia under his dominion. A fundamental doctrine of his religion being the necessity for its propagation by the power of the sword, the lust of conquest lent its aid to the zeal of fanaticism, and the new creed spread with a rapidity unequalled in the annals of religious propagandism.

After the death of Mahomet, his successors, who assumed the title of caliph, or vicar of the prophet, gradually overran the neighbouring provinces. Damascus, Antioch, and Syria having fallen to their arms, they penetrated into Palestine, seized upon Jerusalem, and passing from thence into Egypt, they annexed that country also to their empire; Media, Korassan, and Mesopotamia shared the same fate; and entering Africa they spread themselves over its whole northern coast. In Europe, after having successively captured the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, and Malta, they founded a new empire in the heart of Spain, whence they carried on for many years a desperate struggle with the Christians of the surrounding provinces.

Of all these conquests, however, the one which caused the greatest dismay, and which in after times was fraught with the most eventful results, was that of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. So long as the Christian emperors of the East maintained their rule over its sacred limits, the advent of pilgrims from all parts had been encouraged to the greatest possible extent. The government had early discovered that a large amount of money was by this means brought into the empire, and that its commerce was much extended by the vast concourse of ever-changing people collected together within the favoured district. Matters changed greatly for the worse when the province fell into the hands of the caliphs. Although they were far too keen-sighted and politic to prohibit altogether the influx of this stream of Christians into the sacred city, they nevertheless imposed such heavy taxes upon them as told materially upon the slender finances of the pilgrims, and became a source of considerable profit to their own treasury.

The infidels were at that time much divided by serious discords among themselves. Shortly after Mahomet's death they had split up into separate factions, each led by a chief who claimed for himself the right of empire, as being the nearest in descent from the prophet. There were at one time no less than five distinct pretenders to this position. The sovereignty of the Holy Land had been warmly contested between two of these rivals, the caliphs of Bagdad and of Egypt. In their struggles for supremacy the poor unoffending

pilgrims of the West were miserably harassed and plundered, first by the one party and then by the other, and were not unfrequently murdered. These dangers and impediments were not, however, sufficient to check the ardour of their religious zeal, nor did the fear of maltreatment deter a vast and annually increasing number of devotees from seeking the shores of Palestine.

Many of these pilgrims combined the profits of commerce with their holier office, and those who were thus able to establish business relations with the rulers of the neighbouring provinces, had it often in their power to befriend their less fortunate brethren. Amongst the most distinguished of these were some merchants of Amalfi, a rich city in the kingdom of Naples, still existing, though greatly shorn of its old wealth and importance. These having in the course of their trading in Egypt ingratiated themselves with the Caliph Monstaser Billah, who at that time held the Holy Land in his power, obtained permission to establish a hospital within the city of Jerusalem, for the use of poor and sick Latin pilgrims. In obedience to the order of the caliph, the Mahometan governor of the city assigned to these pious men a site close to the Holy Sepulchre, on which they erected a church, dedicated to the Virgin, giving it the name of *Sta. Maria ad Latinos*, to distinguish it from those churches where the Greek ritual prevailed. This work was accomplished between the years 1014—1023.* Its religious duties were carried on by Benedictine monks appointed for the purpose. Between that time and the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 the work was developed by the erection of two hospitals (one for either sex) for the reception of pilgrims, and in connection therewith two additional churches were founded. That for the females was dedicated to *St. Mary Magdalene*, and that for men to *St. John Eleemon*, or the *Almoner*. This latter dedication was, at some subsequent date, which is uncertain, changed from *St. John the Almoner* to *St. John the Baptist*. In the course of time many pilgrims who

* The usual date given by historians for this establishment is 1048. There is, however, still extant a charter granted for the re-endowment of this church and monastery by *Melek Muzaffer* in 1023. My authority for this statement is *Captain C. Conder, R.E.*, whose name is so well known in connection with the *Palestine Exploration Expedition*.

had in this hospital received the assistance so liberally extended to all wayfarers, abandoned the idea of returning to their homes, and formed themselves into a charitable body, who, without any regular religious profession, devoted themselves to its service and the care of its sick inmates.

All the chief cities of Italy and the south of Europe subscribed liberally for the support of this admirable and much-wanted institution. The merchants of Amalfi who were its original founders acted as the stewards of their bounty; and as its beneficial influence became more widely known throughout Europe, their revenues increased largely. Grateful pilgrims on their return home spread far and wide the reputation of the Jerusalem hospitals, so that contributions flowed in from every quarter, and their utility was greatly extended. Such was the original establishment from which the Order of St. John eventually sprang, and it was from this fraternity of charitable devotees that a body of men descended, who for centuries continued a terror to the infidel, and the main bulwark of Christendom in the East.

Meanwhile a calamitous change befel the sacred city. Its Mahometan masters, after four centuries of dominion, were in their turn overpowered by a fierce horde of barbarians, bearing the name of Turcomans, who, coming from the wild regions beyond the Caspian Sea, poured themselves gradually over all the countries bordering on the Euphrates. The Holy Land soon fell into their hands, and from that moment a new and most disastrous æra dawned upon the pilgrims of Europe. Their tribute was largely increased, and, more than this, they themselves were plundered, maltreated, and subjected to every kind of atrocity, in comparison with which their former hardships seemed light indeed. From this time the journey to, and sojourn in Jerusalem became an undertaking fraught with the greatest possible danger. A large number of the pilgrims who still endeavoured to make their way thither never returned, and those who were fortunate enough to do so, spread the evil tidings of what they had been called on to suffer, so that gradually a strong feeling of horror and indignation was evoked throughout Europe.

In the year 1093, whilst these cruelties were at their height,

Peter the Hermit, a Latin monk, who had been so called on account of the rigid austerities and seclusion of his life, returned from a pilgrimage which he, like so many others, had made to the Holy Land. He had witnessed the hardships and barbarities to which the Christian sojourners in Jerusalem were subjected, and had doubtless undergone much himself. He determined, therefore, to devote his energies to the suppression of the evil, and applied to the Greek Patriarch Simeon for assistance in the good cause. The Greek empire was at this time in far too insecure and tottering a condition to admit the possibility of any armed intervention from that quarter, but Simeon warmly embraced the opportunity of rendering what help he could, and gave Peter a letter of recommendation to Urban II., who at that time occupied the chair of St. Peter. Fortified with this introduction, as well as with a second letter of similar tenor from Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, the hermit proceeded to Rome and there pleaded his cause in person.

The result of these efforts forms a prominent feature in the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The religious enthusiasm of Europe was aroused to a pitch of frenzy, and vast armaments assembled from all quarters and poured eastward. After the miserable dispersion of the first undisciplined mobs, who, led by the fanatic Peter, rushed forward in tumultuous disarray, the armed chivalry of Europe gradually collected on the plains before Constantinople, where they mustered a strength of 600,000 foot and 100,000 cavalry. This enormous force was under the chief command of Bohemond, son of the Count of Calabria. Its advance was marked by the successive capture of the cities of Nicea, Antioch, Tarsus, and Edessa, and at length, on the 7th June, 1099, it made its appearance before the Holy City. The caliph of Egypt, taking advantage of the warfare which the Turcomans were then carrying on against the Crusaders, had succeeded in once more obtaining possession of Palestine, and was at this period in occupation of Jerusalem, which he had garrisoned with a force of 40,000 men. There were also in the city about 20,000 Mahometan inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The force of the besiegers, diminished as they had been by their previous struggles and the privations

they had undergone, numbered barely 20,000 infantry with about 1,500 horse.

The first step taken by the Mahometan governor, on the appearance of the enemy before the town, was the arrest of all the leading Christians in the place. Peter Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John, was of the number who were thus cast into prison. He is generally supposed to have been a native of Florence, but the fact is very doubtful; neither his family nor even his country has been with any certainty ascertained. He had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East in accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, and having been an eye-witness of the many charities administered by the hospital, he had abandoned all idea of returning to Europe, and devoted himself instead to the service of the institution. Here, by his energy and zeal as well as by the general piety of his life, he gained so much influence that eventually he was appointed rector. At the same time a noble Roman lady called Agnes was at the head of the female branch of the hospital. Pilgrims of both sexes were admitted freely; even the infidels were not excluded from its benefits, in consequence of which the rector became gradually looked up to with almost filial veneration by the poor of the city. It was the dread that this influence might be made of use in favour of the besiegers which induced the governor, as a matter of precaution, to imprison Gerard. The old historians record a curious miracle in connection with this arrest, tending to show the sanctity in which he was held. It is said that being sadly distressed at the miserable condition to which the Crusaders were reduced by famine, he had mounted the ramparts with loaves of bread hidden under his cloak, intending to throw them over the walls for the use of the besiegers. Being detected in the act, he was taken before the governor, when on examination it was found that the loaves had been miraculously turned into stones. His life was consequently spared, although he was thrown into prison as being under suspicion of holding treasonable intercourse with the besiegers. The governor caused all the wells within a circuit of five or six miles of the town to be filled up, and levelled every building in the suburbs, burning the wood of which they were

composed, so that the besiegers when they arrived found nothing but an arid waste encircling the town.

In spite of their numerical inferiority and the obstacles thrown in their way, the Crusaders at once proceeded to carry on the siege of the town. On the fifth day a general assault was attempted, but owing to the want of proper military engines the effort proved futile, and the assailants were driven with great loss from the walls. To remedy this defect, Godfrey de Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse had two large wooden towers built to assist the attacking party in surmounting them. A second assault was delivered on the 19th July. This proved entirely successful. Godfrey, by means of his towers, penetrated within the walls, and then opening the gates of the city gave admission to the whole army.

A scene of bloodshed and cruelty now took place which casts an indelible stain upon what would otherwise have ranked as a most glorious achievement. Not content with the slaughter of those who were found with arms in their hands, the women and children indiscriminately fell victims to the ferocity of the conquerors. It is computed that no less than ten thousand persons were massacred within the limits of the Mosque of Omar alone. The carnage on this spot was so fearful that the dead bodies were floated by the stream of blood into the court, and the Christian knights rode through the place with blood up to their horses' knees. On the following day an occurrence still more disgraceful took place. Three hundred men, to whom Tancred had pledged his knightly word in token of protection, were murdered in cold blood, it having been decided by the assembled leaders that no quarter should on any pretence be given to the Saracens.

At length the slaughter ceased, and satiated with bloodshed the commanders of the army, followed by the soldiery, bare-headed and with naked feet, proceeded to the Holy Sepulchre, there to offer up their prayers and to return thanks for the successful issue of their sacred undertaking. Incongruous as this act may appear so shortly after the scenes just enacted, it was in strict accordance with the spirit of the age, when the piety of the Christian was closely allied to the intolerance of the fanatic. Their religious duties accomplished, they then

proceeded to organize a government for the newly-conquered territory. The majority of the suffrages were given in favour of Godfrey de Bouillon, a prince who was noted for his piety as much as for his valour, and he was at once elected to the post of ruler. Refusing the crown and title of king which were tendered to him, on the plea that he would never wear a crown of gold on the spot where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns, he modestly determined to content himself with the title of Defender and Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre. He has, however, always ranked as the first king of Jerusalem.

Thus, after the lapse of four centuries, we once more find the sacred city freed from the yoke of Islam, and reverting to its old faith. It is a curious and instructive study to trace the extraordinary changes which time had wrought within its hallowed precincts. The siege of which the successful termination has just been recorded, was the tenth which Jerusalem, with varied fortunes, had undergone. It was first captured by David in the year B.C. 1051, when he drove out its Jebusite inhabitants and made it the capital of the Jewish kingdom. In the reign of Rehoboam, the grandson of David, seventy-five years afterwards, it was besieged by Shishak, king of Egypt, who, having gained admission through the cowardice of Rehoboam, pillaged the city and retained possession of it for a time. The next siege was that undertaken by Sennacherib, king of Assyria, in the time of Hezekiah, B.C. 715, when by miraculous interposition the besieging hosts were so suddenly smitten that they were compelled to retreat. On the fourth occasion the attack was made by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to enforce the payment of tribute, which Zedekiah, trusting to his Egyptian alliance, had refused to continue. For eighteen months the inhabitants persisted in their defence, famine and pestilence causing more havoc than the sword of the enemy. At length they were forced to yield, and the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the city. Such of the inhabitants as escaped with their lives were led away into slavery; the temple was reduced to ashes, and the city completely destroyed. By permission of Cyrus, king of Persia, it was rebuilt by Zerubbabel, and once more

fortified by Nehemiah. In the year 63 B.C., the Jews having refused a passage to the Roman army, which was on the march against Aristobulus, Pompey the Great attacked the town, and owing to the dissensions raging within its walls he soon made himself master of it. It is recorded that in this siege, which lasted less than three months, twelve thousand Jews lost their lives. On the same day, twenty-seven years after, it was again taken by Herod the Great, and on this occasion the slaughter was even greater than before, the obstinacy of the defence having exasperated the conquerors to such a degree that, on obtaining possession of the town, they immolated to their fury all who fell into their hands, quite regardless of age or sex. The seventh siege was that rendered memorable in history from its being the fulfilment of our Lord's denunciations whilst on earth. Titus made his appearance before the town with a vast Roman army A.D. 66. At that time Jerusalem, built on two very steep mountains, was divided into three parts, the upper city, the lower city, and the temple, each of which had its own separate fortifications. The inhabitants were thus enabled to protract their defence in an extraordinary degree. The steady perseverance of the besiegers eventually overcame all obstacles, and after a most desperate resistance, Titus succeeded in forcing his way into the place. In spite, however, of all his efforts he was unable to save it from destruction. The fiat had gone forth that not one stone should be left upon another, and no orders on the part of the conqueror availed to prevent the accomplishment of the Divine decree. The Emperor Adrian built another city on its site, which, in order that there might be nothing left of the ancient Jerusalem, not even a name, he called *Ælia*. The city of David had become well-nigh forgotten when Constantine, the first Christian emperor of the East, restored its name, and calling together the faithful from all parts of Europe, formed it into a Christian colony. In the year A.D. 613, a host of Persian fire-worshippers poured over Palestine and again captured the city. During the sack which ensued most of the churches, and the Holy Sepulchre itself, were destroyed by fire, and the sacred cross, so long an object of veneration

to devotees, was carried away by the invaders. It was attacked for the ninth time by the Saracens under Khaled, A.D. 635, when, after a siege of four months' duration, a capitulation was agreed on, in virtue of which the city fell into his hands. Whilst in the possession of the Saracens it changed masters several times, until at length it was wrested from them by the crusading army in the manner already told.

One of the first steps taken by Godfrey after assuming the reins of government in the captured city, was to visit the Hospital of St. John. He here found a number of wounded men, members of the crusading army, who had been received into the hospital, and were being nursed with the most tender solicitude. In proof of the devotion and religious zeal which animated the brotherhood at this time it is recorded that whilst the funds of the institution were expended without stint in the provision of delicate and nutritious diet for the sufferers so charitably entertained within its walls, the food of the brethren themselves was of the coarsest and most economical description. Godfrey was so much struck with the admirable manner in which the establishment was conducted by Gerard, and with the benefits which it had conferred upon his suffering army, that he at once endowed it with his manor of Montboise, in Brabant.* His example was followed by several of the other leaders of the army who had, either in their own persons or in those of their followers, experienced the kindness and hospitality of the Order. The main object for which the expedition had been formed having been attained, and the Holy City rescued from the hands of the infidel, the greater portion of the crusading army returned to Europe. The fame of the hospital was by their means spread abroad in every direction, and in consequence numerous additional benefactions accrued to it, until eventually there was scarcely a province in which the Hospital of St. John did not stand possessed of manorial rights.

The ranks of the Hospitallers received at the same time a large augmentation by the secession of many of the Crusaders from their martial career, who, yielding themselves up entirely to a life of religion, joined the charitable fraternity. Under these circumstances, and actuated by a laudable desire to secure the

* *Vide* Appendix No. 3.

benefits of the institution upon a broader and more permanent basis, Gerard proposed that they should organize themselves into a regularly-constituted religious body, taking upon themselves the three monastic obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and that they should devote the remainder of their lives to the service of the poor and sick in the newly-established kingdom of Jerusalem. This proposition on the part of the rector, coming as it did at a time when religious enthusiasm had been greatly stimulated by the success of the Christian army, was hailed with acclamation, and at once acted on. The patriarch of Jerusalem received from the candidates the three religious vows, and clothed them in the habit selected for the Order, which consisted of a plain black robe, bearing on the left breast a white cross with eight points.

Pope Paschal II. shortly afterwards formally sanctioned the establishment of the Order, by a bull published in the year 1113.* By this instrument the hospital was exempted from the payment of tithes; the endowments it had received were confirmed to it, and the privilege was conceded to its members of electing their own head, whenever a vacancy should occur, without any external interference, either secular or ecclesiastical. After the recovery of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens the number of pilgrims rapidly increased, and Gerard, in his solicitude for their welfare, established branch hospitals in most of the maritime provinces of Europe. These were placed under the superintendence and management of members of the Order, as offshoots of the parent institution, and formed points of departure where pilgrims could find shelter and entertainment whilst waiting for transport to the Holy Land.

Gerard, who had already reached a green old age, did not long survive the establishment of his institution. He died in the year 1118, and the post of superior to the hospital became vacant. In accordance with the terms of the Papal bull already mentioned, the fraternity immediately proceeded to elect his successor. Their choice fell on Raymond du Puy, a member of a noble family in Dauphiné. At this time Baldwin II. was seated on the throne of Jerusalem. Although so short a time had elapsed since the establishment of the kingdom

* *Vide* Appendix No. 4.

there had already been two changes of rulers, Godfrey and his brother Baldwin I., who succeeded him, having both died. The kingdom at this period consisted only of certain isolated cities, with the districts in their immediate vicinity, the intervening country being still peopled and held by the Saracens. Intercourse was therefore very difficult, and communication was liable to constant interruption from the predatory attacks of the infidels.

Raymond du Puy had no sooner assumed the reins of office than he began to devise a material alteration in the constitution of the Order. His mind, naturally of a chivalric and warlike bent, was not prepared to rest satisfied with the peaceful functions undertaken by the fraternity. He therefore proposed that whilst they still retained all the obligations imposed on them by their vows, they should add the further one of bearing arms in defence of their religion, and in support of the new kingdom.

Although this proposition was diametrically opposed to the leading principles upon which the institution had been founded—which principles had but a few years before been accepted with the utmost enthusiasm and established by acclamation—it was nevertheless received on all sides with delight. This change of feeling is easily accounted for. When Gerard, who was himself a man of peaceful habits, and bred in an almost monastic seclusion, formed his Order on an entirely religious basis, rendering the abandonment of a warlike career a matter of course, he found plenty of ready and willing followers from amongst the ranks of the crusading army. They had passed through a period of extreme peril and hardship, they had fought their way step by step at the point of the sword, until sadly reduced in numbers and satiated with warfare they had at length achieved the main object for which they strove. Prostrate with the exhaustion consequent on so prolonged a struggle and eager for repose, filled too, at the moment, with all the veneration which the remembrance of the holy ground on which they trod was calculated to inspire, it is not a matter for wonder that they embraced with eagerness the peaceful career thus presented for their adoption, combining as it did the gratification of their religious enthusiasm with the calm

and rest so grateful to their jaded senses. The lapse, however, of a few years brought about a great change in their feelings. The quiet and seclusion of a monastic life soon lost the charms which it had at first possessed; the habits of a life of excitement and warfare could not be thus suddenly suspended without gradually producing a sense of inertness and lassitude. When, therefore, their new superior, filled with the same restless cravings as themselves, sought to restore to their institution the active exercise of that profession which had been their delight, and which they had abandoned in a hasty fit of fanaticism, it is not surprising that his new proposal should have been hailed with eagerness.

The suggestions of Raymond du Puy met with the warmest approval from Baldwin. The constant warfare to which he was exposed on every side, the incessant depredations of the Saracens who surrounded him, and the necessity which consequently existed for supporting his position by the force of arms, led him to receive with the utmost favour so welcome a proposition. It would bring to the support of his cause a body of men highly trained in all the chivalric exercises of the age, inflamed with religious ardour, and unfettered by any of those social ties in Europe which had drawn from him so many of his followers. Thus upheld on every side, Raymond proceeded without delay to carry his design into execution; the patriarch of Jerusalem was once more called in to give his consent, and the entire body took a fresh oath by which they bound themselves to support the cause of Christianity against the infidel in the Holy Land to the last drop of their blood. They at the same time pledged themselves, on no pretence whatever, to bear arms for any other object than the defence of their faith.

From this moment we may consider the Order of St. John of Jerusalem as permanently established on that military basis which it retained till its final dispersion from Malta. Although Gerard must be recognized as the original founder of the fraternity, it is to Raymond du Puy that the honour belongs of having been its first military Master. When we look back on the glorious achievements which through so many centuries have adorned its annals, and mark the long list of names, ennobled by so many heroic deeds, which have been successively

enrolled beneath its banners, we must render all praise to the mind that first contemplated the establishment of a brotherhood combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties, and yet fulfilling its purposes with so much lasting benefit to Christianity, and imperishable renown to itself.

It will be well, at this point, before proceeding with the history of the Order, to devote a short space to the consideration of its government and internal polity as first established under Raymond du Puy. Having been originally organized for charitable purposes only, the changes introduced by Gerard and Raymond du Puy successively, gave it a religious, republican, military, and aristocratic character. It was religious, since every member took the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. It was republican, since its chief was always chosen by election of the members. It was military, since two of the three classes into which it was divided were constantly under arms, waging unceasing warfare with the Saracens; and it was aristocratic, since, as we shall presently see, none but the first class had any share in the legislative or executive power.

To regulate the new administration rendered necessary by the changes which he had introduced, Raymond called together the leading members of his Hospital, who bore the name of Master's assistants; forming them into a chapter or council, he submitted for their revision the ordinances originally drawn up by Gerard. It was at this meeting that the first statutes for the governance of the Order under its new character were instituted, and these were laid before, and received the sanction of the Pope. It may here be recorded that the original rule was lost at the capture of the city of Acre in the year 1289. Eleven years afterwards Pope Boniface VIII., at the request of the then Grand-Master, presented the Hospital with a fresh bull, in which the contents of Raymond's rule were recapitulated with a few trivial alterations.*

One of the first steps taken by this council was to divide the Order into three classes, according to their rank and functions the first class, which formed the aristocracy, were to be named knights of justice; the second, which included the ecclesiastic

* *Vide* Appendix No. 5.

branch, were called religious chaplains; and the third, or lower class, serving brothers. It may here be observed, as regards the first class, that no one could be admitted thereto who had not already received the accolade of knighthood at secular hands. There were also religious dames of the Order. These ladies had branch establishments in France, Italy, Spain, and England; the rules for their reception were similar to those for the knights of justice, with the addition that proofs of noble descent were demanded of them. It will be seen further on that similar proofs were afterwards called for from knights of justice; but at the time of which we are now speaking nothing was required of them beyond the fact of their having been received into the ranks of secular knighthood.

In addition to the above, who were regular members, there were other persons attached to the institution under the title of donats. These did not undertake the same obligations, but were employed in different offices in the convent and Hospital. In token of their connection with the Order they wore what was called a demi cross (with three two-pointed arms instead of four). In after times this title was conferred on persons who had made oblations to the treasury.

The powers of government were vested in the hands of a council presided over by the Master, and all questions connected with the well-being of the fraternity, as well as the collection and expenditure of their large and yearly increasing revenues, were submitted to its decision.

The income of the Order at this period was derived from landed property in every part of Europe, the result of the benevolent donations that had been so unsparingly lavished upon the community. At first these estates were farmed out to individuals totally unconnected with it, and these tenants were supposed to remit their annual rent, based on the value of the lands they held, to the treasury at Jerusalem. This system was, however, soon found extremely faulty, and indeed well-nigh impracticable in the working. The difficulty of obtaining their due rights from persons who had no interest in the prosperity of the fraternity, and who on account of their distance from the seat of government found every facility for evading their just obligations, soon caused the most alarming deficits to arise. In

order to remedy this evil and to insure the punctual transmission of the rents of their numerous manors, it was determined to place over each a trusty member, who should act as a steward of the funds committed to his control. Establishments (at first called preceptories, but at a later date commanderies) were formed on a scale varying with the value of the properties they were intended to supervise, there being in many cases several members of the Order congregated together. The superintendents were taken from among the seniors, but were not confined to knights of justice, a certain number of chaplains and serving brothers being also nominated to the dignity. In such cases it was not unusual to find knights of justice attached to the preceptories subordinate to them.

The duties of these preceptories were not confined to the collection and transmission of revenue only. They at the same time became branch establishments, where postulants were professed and the various duties carried on in a precisely similar manner as in the parent convent at Jerusalem. Periodical drafts were collected, which were from time to time called to the East to recruit the ranks constantly being thinned by war and disease. When not required for this duty the knights were to be found rendering assistance in the warfare unceasingly waged against the Moors in Spain and in the south of Europe. Wherever the infidel was to be encountered, thither it was the duty of every true knight of St. John to hasten. They were, however, strictly forbidden upon any pretence whatever to interfere in warfare between Christian princes. So long as these establishments retained the title of preceptories, their chief was called preceptor; when they changed their names into commanderies, he became the commander—hence the origin of the term knight commander, which has been introduced into so many Orders of chivalry. The council reserved to itself the power of recalling a commander from his post at any time, and replacing him by another, he being merely considered the steward of the property. This right gradually fell into abeyance, and eventually a nomination to a commandery came to be regarded practically as a permanent gift, subject only to the payment of a fixed annual tribute to the public treasury under the title of responsions.

Strong prohibitions were issued against the use of any ornaments or devices, in either the dress or arms of the brotherhood, beyond the eight-pointed cross, the symbol of the Order. This restriction was considered necessary in the eyes of their founder, owing to the increasing taste for splendour which was creeping into the habits of the epoch. When the first germs of the chivalric idea began to show themselves, and to replace the barbarism which had overthrown the Roman empire, the simplicity of the age had limited the construction of arms strictly to the purposes for which they were required, and nothing in the form of ornament seems to have been suggested. As, however, time wore on and brought with it a steady advance in civilization and luxury, new ideas became prevalent.

Whereas in the earlier ages duty to his religion and his country were the only obligations imposed upon a knight, by degrees another element was now introduced, and lady-love was ere long heard of as the noblest incentive to the chivalric mind. So inseparably did this feeling become connected with the after character of the system, that it may be looked upon as its mainspring. Every true knight considered that the most daring act of gallantry was amply rewarded by the approving smile of his lady-love. Bearing upon his person the favoured colours of his mistress, he carried them wherever peril was to be braved or honour won.

Under these circumstances it was but natural that the simplicity which characterized preceding times should give way to the introduction of personal adornment. Armour came to be constructed no longer merely with a view to its use, but ornamentation, more or less elaborate, rapidly introduced itself. The insignia of heraldry date their origin from this new sentiment, and each succeeding generation outvied the preceding one in the splendour of its equipment. At the time the Order of St. John adopted a military basis, *i.e.*, the early part of the twelfth century, this innovation had not reached any great height; it had, however, so far made its way that Raymond du Puy thought it advisable to make a special regulation against its introduction into his fraternity. No decoration of any kind was permitted on any portion of the armour, with the sole

exception of the cross, and this was only to be borne on the pennon, the surcoat, and the shield.

This allusion to the armour of the knights leads naturally to the question of what did their equipment consist? Armour may be divided into two classes—offensive and defensive: the former including all weapons, and the latter the protecting covering of both man and horse. At the time of the first Crusade defensive armour consisted simply of a leathern tunic, on which were fastened rows of iron rings. The word cuirass, now used to denote a steel breastplate, took its origin from this leathern tunic. Gradually these rings gave way to small iron plates lapping over one another like the scales of a fish, whence came the name scale mail. The form of armour previously described was called simply mail, from *macula*, a net, the meshes of which it was supposed to resemble. The leathern tunic, on which these varieties of mail were borne, eventually took the name of hauberk. The lower limbs were protected by chausses equivalent to the modern breeches. When the tunic and chausses were in one piece, the combination was called a haubergeon. The crown and back of the head were protected by a hood of mail, sometimes detached and sometimes forming part of the hauberk. In the latter case the wearer was enabled to throw it back upon his shoulders when he wished to relieve his head from its weight. This hood not only protected the back of the head, but coming round to the front covered also the mouth and chin. The hands were protected by a prolongation of the sleeves of the frock, which passed over the fingers; the feet were in the same way protected by a continuation of the chausses.

Various improvements in this system of mail armour gradually developed themselves, mostly borrowed from the Saracens. Instead of the rings of mail being sewn on the dress they were interlaced with one another, each ring having four others inserted into it, the garment being thus formed of the rings only without any leathern foundation. This was further improved by the introduction of double rings, rendering it impervious either to the cut of a sword or the thrust of a lance. It was also extremely portable; a knight was no longer obliged to encumber himself with his armour when travelling; being compact and flexible, it could be rolled up

as a cloak, and was carried by the esquire at the back of his saddle.

Gradually, however, the improvement of offensive weapons led to the adoption of still further measures for protection. Plates of solid steel were attached to the breast and other parts of the body, where experience had taught the insufficiency of the metal rings. New plates were continually added for the protection of fresh weak points, until eventually an entire double covering of plate and mail had to be borne. The weight of this was soon found so burdensome that the inner coat of mail had to be abandoned, and the steel plates only retained, each of which received its name from the part of the body it was intended to protect. Thus, the pectoral covered the breast, the gorget the throat, the ailettes the shoulders, the brassets the arms, the cuisses the thighs, and the gauntlets the hands.

Over this armour was worn a dress called a surcoat or tabard : its form varied with the caprice of the wearer ; it had, however, one constant peculiarity, it was sleeveless. As this surcoat was worn over the armour upon grand occasions, it was here that the taste for ornamentation principally developed itself. Cloths of gold or silver, ermine, miniver, sables, or other rich furs, were adopted as materials. The arms of the wearer were borne upon this garment, whence the derivation of the term *coat of arms*. The knights of St. John were restricted to a plain surcoat, their whole harness being covered with a black mantle, both surcoat and mantle bearing the white cross, borne in the latter case on the left shoulder.

Whilst the body covering was thus being developed, the head gear was undergoing similar changes. The mail hood being found an insufficient protection, an iron helmet was added, its shape varying from a conical to a cylindrical form. This helmet was not intended to supplant the use of the hood, but was worn over it. To protect the face a broad piece of iron was introduced, which connected the frontlet of the helmet with the mail over the mouth. This not being found sufficient, cheek pieces were substituted, consisting of bars either horizontal or perpendicular. The next improvement was the *avantaile*, or mask, which was attached to the helmet, and had apertures for the eyes and

mouth. It was so constructed that the wearer could raise or drop the covering, it being pivoted from above—in this form it was called a visor. When similar plates were raised from below they were called beavers, from the Italian *bevere*, access to the mouth being thereby obtained. The top of the helmet was surmounted by the knight's armorial crest, which derived its name from this cause. Knights of St. John were not permitted to wear a crest.

The shield, which was borne upon the left arm, completed the defensive armour. Its shape was either oblong or triangular. It was usually adorned with the armorial bearings of the wearer together with his motto, the latter being used as his war-cry in battle. Knights of St. John bore the cross on their shield, all other device being forbidden.

The offensive arms in general use were four in number—the lance, the sword, the battle-axe, and the dagger. The lance was made of tough ash wood, with a pointed iron head; its length varied with the height and strength of its bearer, there being no rule on this subject. Below the point was usually fixed a small flag or pennon carrying some heraldic device—in the case of the Hospitallers the white cross. When not in use the lance was slung to the saddle bow, the end of it resting on the rider's toe, whence he could seize it easily and couch it beneath his right arm. When thus levelled its point projected many feet beyond his horse's head.

The usual weapon, when at close quarters, or in *mêlée* as it was called, was the sword. This was constructed of the finest steel, long, straight, broad, and double-edged. Spain has always been famed for the superior temper of its sword blades, the forging of Saragossa having been as celebrated in the twelfth century as that of Toledo is now. Nothing, however, equalled the work produced at Damascus, the sword blades of which ranked in the highest estimation of all. The chivalry of a family was represented by its sword, which descended as an heirloom from father to son. The cross hilt supplied on occasion the place of a crucifix, and its head was usually engraved to act as a seal. As few of the knights of that period had acquired the monkish talent of writing, this seal impressed on wax served as a signature.

Although the sword was the principal weapon used in close combat, there were many who preferred to wield more ponderous instruments; with these the martel and battle-axe were favourites. The martel was a heavy steel or iron hammer calculated to give a crushing blow, whilst the battle-axe, which was brought to a sharp edge, had more power of penetration. In those times, when the church was often, in a temporal as well as in a spiritual sense, the church militant, and when mitred abbots and other priestly dignitaries sometimes sank the churchman in the warrior, the martel and battle-axe were the only weapons they bore. The canons of the church had strictly forbidden her sons to use the sword, but they, desirous of following their own ambitious tastes, had chosen to read this restriction in a literal rather than in a general sense. They therefore saw, or affected to see, no disobedience in carrying with them to the field of battle the most uneccelesiastical of weapons—aye, and in employing them, too, in a most unclerical manner, as many a broken pate and cloven skull could testify. The axe, however, was never a favourite amongst the more refined of the knighthood; possibly the fact that it was the weapon mostly used by the Flemings, and therefore associated with ideas of trade, had something to do with its unpopularity.

The fourth in the list of offensive arms was the dagger, rendered necessary by the extreme strength of the armour then worn, the body of an adversary being covered at every point with plates of steel on which the lance broke, the arrow glanced, and the sword was turned. It became a difficult matter to reach him even after he had been unhorsed. A thin dagger was consequently used which would penetrate between the joints of the harness and administer the *coup de grâce*.

Any account of knightly equipment would be incomplete without a reference to the horse, which formed so important a part of it. Weighty as was the panoply of steel worn by his rider when fully accoutred, it was necessary that the horse should be an animal of great power. England had not in those days developed that superiority in the breeding of horses that she has since attained, and Spain was the country from whence the most powerful chargers were drawn. After the Crusades had thrown Europe into closer communication with the East,

the powers of endurance of the Arab horse became gradually known, and the admixture of this blood with that of the Spanish war-horse eventually produced an animal combining the good points of both races.

The *destrier*, or war-horse, was protected with armour on very much the same principle as his rider—the head, chest, and flanks being completely covered. The taste for ornamentation found an ample field in his caparisons, the bridle being the special point of adornment. On this head, as on others, the rule of the Order was stringent, the regulation being that the horse furniture of the soldiers of Jesus Christ should be free from all golden or silver ornaments.

In conclusion, it may be remembered that every part of a knight's armour had a symbolical meaning. His sword with its cross hilt was typical of the death of Christ, and reminded him that it was his duty to die for his faith; his spear was the emblem of truth, from its unswerving straightness, its iron head denoting that strength which is its distinctive property; the mace represented courage, the helmet modesty, the hauberk that spiritual panoply which should cover the knight from the frailties of the flesh, and the shield represented his own duty as a protection to his country.

There was much both great and noble in all connected with the laws of chivalry, and much also tending to soften and civilize the rude character of the times. Many an act of tyranny, aggression, or spoliation was checked by the feeling that injured innocence and oppressed weakness could claim a champion in every true knight, regardless of country or religion. In these days, when the laws give a ready redress for all injuries sustained, the intervention of the mailed knight becomes an absurdity; but in the days of our forefathers the power of the law was but feeble, and he who was not prepared to hold his ground by the strength of his own right hand would have fared but badly had it not been for the generous intervention of the chivalric code.

CHAPTER II.

1118—1187.

Date of the establishment of the Military Order of St. John—Campaigns of Antioch and Edessa—Foundation of the Templars and Order of St. Lazarus—Embassy of Joubert and marriage of Raymond of Poitiers—Legacy of the King of Navarre—Loss of Edessa—Second Crusade—Siege of Damascus—Advance of the Jarroquins—Their repulse and overthrow—Siege and capture of Ascalon—Jealousies of the clergy—Death of Raymond du Puy—Expedition into Egypt—Death of D'Ascali—Rise of Saladin—Death of Joubert—Dissensions in the kingdom of Jerusalem—Accession of Guy de Lusignan—Battle of Tiberias—Loss of Jerusalem—Its main causes.

THE precise date at which the changes related in the last chapter took place is more or less a matter of dispute, there being no record that can be positively adduced on the subject. This is somewhat strange, considering the importance of the alterations effected, involving, as they did, the complete reconstruction of the institution.

That time cannot, however, be very well fixed later than the first year of the accession of Raymond du Puy to the office of Master, which is generally presumed to be the year 1118. The two leading historians of the Order differ but little in the date they assign for this event, the abbé Vertot giving it as 1118, and the chevalier Boisgelin 1120. Other historians, however, amongst whom may be mentioned Boissat, Baudoin, and the abbé Roux, place the accession of Raymond as late as 1131, accounting for the interval between Gerard's death in 1118 and that time by the insertion of a second rector named Roger. The authority for this interpolation is stated to be a deed of gift of certain lands from Atton, count of Abrussa, to Roger, the governor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The date of this deed is stated as 1120, but there is no record of it now

remaining, and the fact should be received with caution, as the name of Roger nowhere appears in the archives of the Order. The Italian historian Bosio, the most authentic writer of his time, alludes to this difference of opinion, but does not join either party.

There exists a stronger motive than would at first sight appear for this mystification. In after years it became a subject of dispute between the Knights Templars and those of St. John which of the two bodies could claim priority of foundation. It seems clear enough that the Templars were not organized until between the years 1128 and 1130. If, therefore, it can be proved that Raymond succeeded to the government of the Hospital on the death of Gerard in the year 1118, and at once proceeded to establish his brotherhood on a military basis, the Order of St. John claims by right the priority of formation; if, however, a second rector did actually intervene, and Raymond only assumed office in 1131, the seniority might well be accorded to the Templars. There being no positive testimony on the point, it becomes necessary to argue by analogy. The weight of evidence seems to be in favour of the former date, since it can be proved that the Hospitallers took part in an engagement fought against the Saracens by Baldwin II. in the year 1119. As it was not probable they would have been present at that action until they had assumed military obligations, we may fairly take that date as the latest at which the new system was inaugurated.

At this time, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latins held sway over other detached principalities, which formed the outworks of that exposed and harassed monarchy. Such were the counties of Edessa and Tripoli and the principality of Antioch. These, though independent governments in themselves, were more or less under the influence of, and in alliance with the central kingdom. Indeed, situated as they were, surrounded by implacable enemies and liable to constant attack on every side from vastly superior forces, they could not have existed for many months had there not been the strongest bond of union between them all. As, therefore, it was well understood that the support of each was absolutely necessary for the safety of all, an attack was no sooner menaced in any one quarter, than speedy help was at once despatched from the others.

The cause of the battle alluded to as having taken place in 1119 was owing to a descent of one of the Turcoman tribes upon the principality of Antioch. The knights of St. John hastened to seize the opportunity afforded by the king of Jerusalem marching his troops to the assistance of the threatened city, to carry out their new military obligations, and they formed a very important element in his army.

The Turcomans had so far met with complete success in their incursion. They had utterly routed the forces which the regent of Antioch had brought against them, he himself having been killed in the battle. Confident, therefore, of success, and elate with victory, they hurried forward to meet the new enemy. Here they found that in spite of their superior numbers they were no match for their opponents. Riven in sunder by the torrent of steel which, with Raymond at its head, poured upon their columns, and unable at any point to present a front which was not instantly shattered, they were, after a desperate resistance, forced to give way. Raymond followed up his victory, and the retreat was speedily turned into a rout, in which the slaughter of the flying multitudes became terrific. This triumph enabled the king for a time to free the entire Latin territory, and on his return to Jerusalem to enjoy a brief period of quiet and repose.

As his kingdom, in so exposed a situation, was never long destined to be at rest, we soon find Baldwin once again in the field with Raymond and his gallant Hospitallers at his back. This time Edessa was the point of attack, the Turcomans being under the command of Balak, one of their most powerful chiefs. He had succeeded in surprising the count of Edessa, Jocelyn de Courtenay, had routed his forces, and had taken him prisoner. In order to rescue his friend and prevent the further advance of Balak into the Latin territory, the king hastened forward by rapid marches, accompanied by the Hospitallers and such other forces as on the spur of the moment he could gather together. Having most imprudently advanced upon a reconnoitring expedition with but a slender escort, he was in his turn surprised by the vigilant Balak, and became a fellow-prisoner with his friend Courtenay. His army, overwhelmed with panic at this untoward occurrence, retreated precipitately ;

the majority of them abandoned their colours, and the Hospitallers found that they were left almost alone. No longer able to keep the open field they threw themselves into the city of Edessa with the intention of holding it to the last. In this critical conjuncture Eustace Garnier, constable of Palestine, a man far advanced in years, but in spite of his age full of vigour, collected a body of seven thousand men, the principal force of the small lordship of Sidon. To these he joined such of the Hospitallers as had been left behind at Jerusalem, and with this slender reinforcement he marched upon the Turcomans, routed them completely, and rescued both the prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Balak.

This victory was followed at no distant date by two others, the details of which it is scarcely necessary here to relate. Indeed, the chronicles of those times are filled with little else than a succession of petty enterprises undertaken by the Latins either for the purpose of protecting from invasion some point of their exposed frontier, or, as was not unfrequently the case, to carry the war into the enemy's country. In all these struggles the knights of St. John bore their share, as is fully testified by the historians of the period. Indeed, but for their assistance the king of Jerusalem would have found it impossible to maintain himself against the ever-increasing pressure from without. This was so fully recognized that Pope Innocent II., in the year 1130, issued a bull in which he records in glowing terms the opinion entertained of their services throughout Europe. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that a body of men who were rendering themselves so indispensable to the maintenance of Christianity in the East should receive every remuneration and the grant of every privilege which it was in the power of grateful Christendom to bestow.

It was about this time that a fraternity very similar to that of St. John sprang into existence. The duties of the Hospitallers, though in many ways attractive to the chivalric temper of the times, partook somewhat too much of the sedate occupations of the monk to be altogether pleasing. It must be remembered that though constantly engaged in warfare all their spare time was still devoted to the nursing duties of their Hospital, which, indeed, even now practically remained

their most constant occupation. This portion of their work did not commend itself to many of the more youthful aspirants. To devote his life to the protection of the Holy Land, and whilst engaged in that sacred duty to impose upon himself the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, was the desire of many a young and enthusiastic mind; but he did not feel equally disposed to undertake those Hospitaller duties which would fall to his lot were he to assume the white cross of St. John.

Under the influence of these feelings a body of nine French knights, with Hugh de Payens at their head, joined themselves together with the object of forming an escort to those numerous bands of pilgrims who were annually resorting to the shores of Palestine. They were at first under no religious restrictions, and had no distinct rules laid down for their guidance, their duties being self-imposed and voluntary; and so they continued to be for several years. The king of Jerusalem gave them as a residence a portion of his palace adjacent to the temple of Solomon: hence arose their name of knights of the Temple, or, as they were afterwards called, Knights Templar.

Hugh de Payens having been sent by the king to solicit assistance from the Pope, in the form of a new Crusade, took that opportunity of presenting his companions. He explained the objects of their association, and requested the permission of his Holiness to establish a religious and military Order similar to that of the Hospital. The Pope referred them to the Council of Troyes, then in conclave, which, after due inquiry and investigation, gave its decided approval to the project in the year 1128. Fortified with this sanction, Hugh de Payens traversed the greater part of Europe in search of candidates for his new Order, and eventually returned to Palestine with a body of three hundred young and ardent spirits selected from the flower of the chivalry of Europe. Here they received every assistance from Raymond and his Hospitallers. For a long time, and until donations began to pour into their own coffers, they were almost entirely maintained by the latter, who took them completely under their protection. By degrees, however, the benefactions of the charitable and the increase

of their numbers placed them on a footing of complete equality with the elder institution.

In giving his sanction to this fraternity, the Pope directed that they should wear a white robe with a red cross, in contradistinction to the black robe and white cross of the Hospitallers. They were consequently known generally as the red cross knights and the white cross knights respectively. Although they did not undertake any charitable duties similar to those of the Order of St. John, their regulations for the maintenance of their monastic vows were, if anything, still more severe. In order to prevent the possibility of a transgression of the vow of chastity it was decreed that they were on no account even to look on the face of a fair woman; and as a still further precaution they were forbidden to kiss even their own mothers.

At about the same time another body, which in its original institution was of far greater antiquity than even the Hospital of St. John, also became military, and that was the Order of St. Lazarus. The old writers dated the origin of this association as far back as the first century; but this statement may be taken as a myth. The earliest period to which it can with any certainty be traced is the year 370. At that time a large hospital was established in the suburbs of Cæsarea, under the auspices of St. Basil, for the reception and treatment of lepers. The laws and customs of the East bore with frightful severity on those who were afflicted with this loathsome disease. They were entirely cut off from all intercourse with their friends or the world at large; the establishment, therefore, of a hospital for their reception was hailed as a general boon. The Emperor Valens, as recorded by Theodoret, enriched it with all the lands which he held in the province where it was founded. This charity proved of such great utility that similar institutions soon sprang up in various other parts of the East; and as they all took St. Lazarus as their tutelary saint, they became generally known as Lazarets. One of these hospitals was in existence in Jerusalem at the time of its capture by Godfrey de Bouillon. In addition to its charitable organization it was also a religious Order, following the rule of St. Augustine. When, however, the conversion of the Hospitallers into a military fraternity, followed as it was by

the establishment of the Templars on a similar footing, set the example of combining the warlike duties of the knight with the asceticism of the monk, the members of the Order of St. Lazarus took the same step. For this purpose they divided themselves into two separate bodies, viz., lepers and non-lepers, the former, amongst whom was their Grand-Master, who *ex-officio* was required to be a leper, carried on the duties of the hospital. The others, being in a condition to bear arms, joined the general Christian forces in repelling the constant inroads of the infidels. Their precise habit has not been recorded, but they wore a green cross.

Whilst these bulwarks were arising for the support of the kingdom the march of events had been producing other changes by which its fortunes were much affected. Baldwin had two daughters, of whom Alice (the younger) was married to Bohemond, prince of Antioch; the elder was unmarried. At about this period Fulk, count of Anjou, having lost his wife, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Whilst there he rendered good service to Baldwin in his wars, maintaining a company of a hundred knights at his own expense. The king, anxious to retain in his service a leader of such renown, offered to him the hand of his eldest daughter, Milicent, in marriage, at the same time engaging to name him as his successor to the throne. These terms were accepted by Fulk, and faithfully adhered to by Baldwin, the marriage being solemnized with great pomp. The death of the king took place in the year 1131, much accelerated by the undutiful conduct of his younger daughter, Alice, who considered herself injured by the arrangement made, and Fulk of Anjou ascended the vacant throne.

Before this, however, Bohemond, the husband of Alice, had been killed in battle, leaving as his sole heiress a young daughter. By the promptitude and decision of Baldwin and Fulk the rights of this infant were preserved intact, in spite of the machinations of its mother on the one side, and her uncle, Roger, duke of Apulia, on the other, both of whom were intriguing for the sovereignty of Antioch. Fulk, however, soon saw that if the rights of the young princess were to be guarded against the plots hatching on all sides it would be advisable to bestow her in marriage, in spite of

her youth, on some prince of sufficient power to restrain the ambitious projects of her relatives. With this object he cast his eyes on Raymond of Poitiers, youngest son of William, duke of Aquitaine, then residing at the court of Henry I. of England. As negotiator in this delicate mission, he selected Joubert, a knight of St. John. Joubert had by this time gained much celebrity both as a soldier and statesman, and was rising rapidly to the highest dignities in the gift of his Order. He acquitted himself of the mission in a manner which quite justified his selection. Raymond accepted the hand thus offered to him, and hastened to throw himself at the feet of his youthful *fiancée*, then still a mere child.

Roger of Apulia, to whom the idea of any such alliance was very distasteful, tried to prevent Raymond from landing in Syria. Joubert, however, who accompanied the gallant suitor, succeeded in evading the machinations of Roger, and under the disguise of merchants they passed unsuspected into the territories of Fulk, where they were warmly welcomed, and the marriage solemnized without delay. Thus, by the judicious services of a knight of St. John, the affairs of the principality of Antioch were once more brought into a satisfactory condition, and the danger of a civil embroilment, which at that moment would have been suicidal, was averted.

A service of a somewhat similar nature, but not so successful in its issue, was at the same time undertaken by Raymond du Puy himself. Alfonso I., king of Aragon and Navarre, had been so impressed with the gallantry and devotion displayed by the military Orders, who from their European commanderies were assisting him in his warfare against the Moors, that he actually nominated them joint heirs to his crown. Soon afterwards he met his death in battle. The grandees of his two kingdoms were, however, by no means prepared to carry into effect this disposition of the vacant thrones. Taking advantage of the absence of both the respective Masters in the East, and being at the same time at variance with each other, they selected separate successors for each of the two kingdoms, ignoring the claims of the Orders altogether. It was at once decided by both fraternities that Raymond, accompanied by some of his knights and by deputies named to act on behalf of the Templars, should proceed

to Spain to enforce their just claims. It seems strange that such an attempt should have been seriously contemplated, or that Raymond should have conceived it possible that this extraordinary arrangement would be permitted. Certain it is that he did make the effort, and, as might have been anticipated, met with very meagre success. From the king of Navarre he could obtain no redress whatever, that prince naturally ignoring the power of Alfonso to make any such disposition of his kingdom. From the king of Aragon he did receive some compensation in the form of certain manorial rights. With this compromise he and his brother deputies were forced to content themselves, and so they returned to the Holy Land.

The first real blow received by the Christian power in the East at the hand of the Saracens was the loss of Edessa. This city was captured by Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, at that time the most powerful of the Eastern potentates. The prince of Edessa was the son of Jocelyn de Courtenay, who, although inheriting his father's possessions, was utterly devoid of the warlike qualities with which that ruler had upheld his principality. Plunged into a course of reckless dissipation, and a mere tool in the hands of worthless favourites, he saw his capital torn from his grasp without an effort to save it. Nothing but the death of Zenghi, who was at that critical moment assassinated in his tent, prevented the loss of the remainder of his dominions.

As it was, the capture of the city of Edessa was a sad blow to the Latin power. Most of the gallant spirits who had contributed to the first establishment and subsequent extension of the kingdoms of Palestine were no more, and their successors retained but little in common with them save their titles. The only exception to this degeneracy was Baldwin III., king of Jerusalem, who, with the assistance of the two military Orders, was the main support of the tottering Latin power. That prince no sooner heard of the assassination of Zenghi, and the check thereby caused to his army, than he conceived the idea of once more recovering the lost city. He advanced rapidly at the head of such troops as he could collect, conspicuous amongst whom was a detachment of Hospitallers. On arriving before the walls of Edessa the Christian inhabitants of the town rose against the Saracen garrison, opened their gates and admitted Baldwin.

His triumph was, however, but of short duration. The Saracens retired into the citadel, where they withstood all his efforts to dislodge them. Meanwhile Noureddin, one of the sons of Zenghi, a young warrior destined to rival his father in ability, advanced rapidly to prevent the accomplishment of Baldwin's enterprise. His army was so greatly superior to that of the king that the latter was compelled to retire with precipitation. The whole Christian population of Edessa accompanied him, dreading the vengeance of the Saracens. It required the most strenuous efforts and considerable skill on the part of Baldwin to prevent Noureddin, who hung upon the flanks of the retreat, from utterly destroying them. As it was, a large proportion had fallen victims before they reached Jerusalem, and the number would have been still greater but for the sleepless vigilance of Raymond and his brethren.* To prevent the possibility of any further attempts of the like nature on the part of the Christians, Noureddin, as soon as he had regained possession of the city, levelled its fortifications and destroyed all its churches. In this way it was that Edessa passed for ever from the hands of the Christians.

The loss of this important post caused the utmost dismay throughout Palestine. Standing on the extreme eastern frontier, on the very confines of the desert, it had served as a most valuable outwork, keeping the Saracens at a distance from the centre of the province and its chief city, Jerusalem. The greatest possible efforts were therefore made for its recovery.

*The origin of the legend of Our Lady of Liesse, still held in high veneration in Picardy, dates from this disaster. The story runs that three knights of the Hospital, brothers of a noble family in this province, were cut off from the main body of the army during their retreat and made prisoners. Being brought before the sultan at Cairo, he conceived the design of converting them, and for that purpose sent his daughter, a beautiful girl of eighteen, to hold religious discussions with them. Matters did not turn out as the sultan expected; the knights were not only proof against the arguments of their fair antagonist, but, on the other hand, convinced her of the truth of the Christian religion. Ismeria, with the zeal of a convert, expressed an earnest wish to behold an image of the blessed Virgin. The brothers, in their perplexity, prayed for assistance, when suddenly they discovered that an image had been miraculously introduced into their prison, which exhaled a delicious fragrance. This miracle confirmed Ismeria in her desire to adopt the tenets of Christianity, and, carrying the

As the military strength of the state was evidently unequal to cope with Nouredin's forces unassisted, the patriarch of Palestine and the king of Jerusalem decided on sending an envoy to Europe for the purpose of securing, if possible, an armed intervention from the Christian powers of the West. The bishop of Zabulon was selected for this duty, and he at once proceeded to Rome to lay the matter before Pope Eugene III. That dignitary entered warmly into the project, and he directed Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, to preach a new Crusade throughout France and Germany. Bernard was a man held in the highest veneration, from the rigid austerity of his life. He had succeeded in introducing much needful reform into the discipline of the clergy, which had hitherto been disgracefully lax, and his influence with all classes was unbounded. He seconded the wishes of the Pope with all the strength of his fiery eloquence. Traversing the land from end to end he called upon all faithful Christians to come forward at this hour of the church's need, to prevent the infidel from once more regaining those holy places which had been taken from them at the cost of so much blood.

Louis VII., the king of France, having in one of his numerous wars committed barbarities of more than usual atrocity, resolved upon atoning for the same by heading the new crusade. As a modern infidel writer has expressed it, he "proposed to slaughter some millions of Saracens as an expiation for the murder of four or five hundred Champagnois."

holy image into her chamber, she prostrated herself in adoration before it. Whilst thus engaged she was favoured with a vision of the Virgin herself, who announced to her that she was appointed to release the knights from prison. At the same time she was directed to change her name and assume that of Mary. At break of day she proceeded to the prison, determined to obey the vision, when to her astonishment she found that the doors were all open. The knights followed her through the streets of Cairo without being discovered, and at length, after a weary day's journey, they all laid down to rest. On awakening the next morning they found to their amazement that during the night they had been miraculously transported to Picardy, Ismeria still retaining possession of her image. Whilst on their further journey to their home the image fell from the hands of its bearer, and on this spot a church was afterwards built, dedicated to Our Lady of Liesse. Ismeria was baptized, receiving the name of Mary, and lived ever after with the mother of the knights. At her death her remains were deposited within the church which she had founded.

The German emperor, Conrad III., was in no such pious mood, and it needed all the persuasion of Bernard's eloquence to induce him to join the enterprise. Bernard was, however, not to be denied, and at length Conrad consented to lead the crusaders of his empire. Before the end of the year 1147 an army of nearly 200,000 men, under the joint leadership of Louis and himself, was on its way to the East.

The usual delays, interruptions, and even treachery, awaited them at the hands of the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, who viewed the incursion with great distaste. Although brother-in-law to Conrad he exerted all his powers of dissimulation to accomplish the destruction of these unwelcome visitors. It will not be necessary to enter into any detail as regards this ill-fated expedition. After having lost the greater part of their number in the mountain passes between Phrygia and Pisidia, the shattered remnants eventually reached Jerusalem.

It was here decided in council that it would prove more advantageous to the kingdom to capture Damascus than to regain the city of Edessa. That attempt was accordingly decided on, and after a short interval of time, devoted to recruiting their strength, the Christian army proceeded thither. A strong body of both Hospitallers and Templars accompanied the expedition, and, ranging themselves beneath the banner of Baldwin, nobly maintained their reputation for valour and discipline. They very nearly succeeded in taking the place, but all the advantages they had gained were lost by the jealousies of the other leaders. Instead of supporting and following up the successes gained by Baldwin and the military Orders, they had begun to dispute as to the division of that spoil which was never destined to fall within their grasp. Nouredin took advantage of the disunion too fatally apparent in the beleaguering army to throw reinforcements into the city; the opportunity for effecting its capture was lost, and at length the Christians were compelled to raise the siege, and to return discomfited to Jerusalem. Conrad and Louis shortly afterwards both left the Holy Land, and thus, in the year 1149, the unfortunate expedition was brought to a close, the lives of 150,000 men having been sacrificed without the slightest benefit to the Christian cause.

Noureddin, relieved of the fears which the presence of so large a force had excited, and seeing he had nothing further to dread in the way of attack on his own territories, determined to carry the war once more into the enemy's country, and, with this view, threatened the principality of Antioch. Baldwin, therefore, found himself once again under the necessity of advancing in that direction for the protection of his frontier. This was in the year 1152. During his absence two Turkish princes, bearing the name of the Jarroquins, penetrated by way of Damascus to Jerusalem. They actually arrived in presence of the city, which, at the moment, was in an utterly defenceless condition, all the disposable forces of the kingdom having accompanied Baldwin in his advance towards Antioch. The Turks pitched their camp for the night on the Mount of Olives, intending to force an entry into the place on the following morning. In this operation, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, they anticipated little or no difficulty.

A few Hospitallers had been left behind, who were to conduct the ordinary duties of the institution whilst their comrades were with the king, and it was to the promptitude and decision with which these few gallant knights acted in the crisis that the safety of Jerusalem was due. Gathering together such of the citizens as were capable of bearing arms, they made a sortie under cover of the night, and penetrated into the enemy's camp. This they succeeded in setting on fire, and in the confusion which followed they completely overthrew the bewildered Turks. Vast numbers were put to the sword, and the remainder took to hasty flight. Baldwin, having received information of the danger which was threatening Jerusalem, was at the moment hurrying back to its rescue, and coming suddenly on the fugitives in the midst of their disorderly flight, he completed the rout, cutting them in pieces, and following up the pursuit with such vigour that those who escaped the swords of his army perished in the waters of Jordan. The king was not slow to recognize the great service thus rendered, and promptly admitted the claim of the Order of St. John to the merit of having saved the Holy City from falling into the hands of the enemy.

This great and unlooked-for success occurred at a moment

when the reverses of the Christians had caused a general discouragement. Baldwin therefore determined to avail himself of its inspiring effects on his own followers, and the consequent panic of the enemy, to assume the offensive. With this object he turned his eyes on the Saracen fortress of Ascalon. This city, which formed a standing menace to the kingdom of Jerusalem on the south, had been a constant source of anxiety from its first establishment. In order, in some degree, to counterbalance the evil, and to keep in check the inroads of its inhabitants, Milicent, the mother of Baldwin, had, during the temporary absence of her husband, Fulk, rebuilt the defences of the town of Beersheba. This point, although within the limits of the Christian territory, was at no great distance from Ascalon. She had requested Raymond to undertake the defence of the place with his knights, and this being a post of danger had been eagerly accepted by him. It had ever since been maintained by them, in spite of numerous attempts on the part of the Saracens; and had always acted as a point of assembly and place of refuge for the Christians of the district when menaced by the enemy. Baldwin had himself, some time after, restored the fortifications of the ancient Philistine town of Gaza, which was within twenty miles of Ascalon, and he wisely intrusted its preservation to the care of the Templars. A noble, generous, and friendly rivalry was consequently established between the two Orders in maintaining these exposed posts, and hitherto they had both been successful.

Ascalon, which was considered by the Turks one of their most important fortresses, was situated on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, in much the same latitude as Jerusalem. Its fortifications, consisting of a high rampart flanked at short intervals by lofty towers, formed a semicircle enclosing the town, the sea line completing the circuit. It had always been guarded most zealously by its possessors. All its male inhabitants were thoroughly trained in the exercises of war; and that there might be no danger of treachery on their part, or any want of fidelity to the Saracen cause, the caliph had granted them numerous privileges and indulgences not enjoyed by the inhabitants of any other city in the East. Baldwin, however, was undeterred either by the strength of the place or

by the number and discipline of the garrison, which may be said to have comprised the entire adult male population of the place. Having been reinforced by the accession of a large body of pilgrims from Europe, and by strong detachments from the military Orders, he sat down before the walls. Gerard, the Lord of Sidon, with fifteen small galleys, holding possession of the sea, was to intercept the passage of supplies to the beleaguered city.

For five months the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour. The Christians, harassed by constant sorties on the part of the garrison, gained ground but slowly. Every step was purchased at the cost of a persistent struggle and a fearful expenditure of life, not an inch being yielded by the Saracens without a desperate resistance. At last, however, having overcome all the obstacles which the ingenuity of the defence had placed in their way, they reached the base of the rampart. At this critical moment a powerful hostile fleet, laden with reinforcements and provisions, hove in sight. Gerard had no alternative but to retire with his few ships in all haste, and the sovereignty of the seas was consequently left in undisputed possession of the enemy. This sudden and unlooked-for check spread the utmost dismay throughout the Christian camp. A council of war was at once summoned, in which the propriety of raising the siege was advocated by the majority of those present. The leaders of the military Orders, supported by the patriarch of Jerusalem and some of the other clergy, took, however, a contrary view. They urged strongly on the king the necessity of prosecuting the siege, assuring him that a retreat would have such a disastrous effect on his forces, and would so raise the spirit of the infidels, that he would be unable to resist a hostile advance, which would probably culminate in an attack on Jerusalem.

These arguments coincided with the views held by the king himself, so he decided, in spite of the adverse opinion of the majority, to continue the enterprise. He so aroused the spirit of all present by his bold counsel, that even those who had been most forward in advocating a retreat now became enthusiastic converts to his wishes. The Templars constructed a lofty tower on wheels, which they advanced close to the walls of the

town, from the top of which a drawbridge could be lowered at will to span the intervening space. In the course of the night the Turks threw down a quantity of dry wood and other combustible matter, which they ignited with a view to the destruction of the tower. A strong east wind, however, set in, and the flames were blown away from the Templar's tower and on to the wall of the town. This was so much calcined and destroyed by the action of the fire that in the morning it was easy to form a practicable breach. No time was lost. The Grand-Master at once directed a body of his knights to deliver an assault, which was attended with complete success. The assailants had no sooner made their appearance within the ramparts than the garrison, conceiving that all was lost, fled precipitately. Meanwhile the Templars advanced into the very heart of the town, and had they been at once supported its fall must have ensued. Unfortunately the grasping disposition of their Grand-Master ruined the enterprise. Instead of sending for immediate reinforcements he actually mounted the breach with the rest of his knights, and there kept guard, to prevent any other troops from entering the town, trusting by these means to secure the entire pillage of the place for the benefit of his Order. The result was what might have been foreseen. The garrison, not being followed up, soon recovered from their panic. Perceiving the slender strength of the enemy, who had penetrated within the city, they returned to the attack, drove the Templars back to the point at which they had effected their entrance, and thence through the breach with great slaughter. Having cleared the place, they at once proceeded to secure themselves from further assault, by retrenchments and barricades.

The anger of the king and his army at this conduct on the part of the Templars was unbounded. It was not the first time that they had shown a spirit of avarice and a greed for wealth most unsuited to the principles on which their Order was founded. That spirit was destined before long to draw down on them the antagonism, and eventually the vengeance of Europe.

The garrison of Ascalon was so elated at the success with which this formidable attack had been repelled that, strengthened as they were by the reinforcements which had arrived with

their fleet, they determined on a sortie in force. On the following morning they sallied forth in great strength, trusting to deliver such a blow as should compel the Christians to raise the siege. The action lasted the entire day with varying success. The Templars, anxious to atone for their previous misconduct, threw themselves upon the enemy with the most reckless impetuosity, and were ably supported by Baldwin and the Hospitallers. At length the Saracens gave way, and being closely pressed the retreat was speedily converted into a total rout—a large proportion of the garrison fell, and only a very slender remnant regained the shelter of their walls. On the following day they offered terms of capitulation, which having been accepted, Baldwin entered the town on the 12th August, 1154. A strong garrison was placed therein, and the Moslem inhabitants were transported to Laris, a town on the borders of the desert.

This conquest had a most beneficial effect on the position of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Instead of the constant alarms and incursions from which they had formerly suffered whilst Ascalon had been in the hands of the Turks, their frontier was now comparatively secure. Its new holders, supported as they were by the garrisons of Beersheba and Gaza, were able to drive back the Moslems into the heart of Egypt. The greatest joy was displayed throughout Europe at this timely acquisition, the glory of which was by universal consent awarded to the Hospitallers and their chief Raymond, who, when all else were proposing to abandon the siege in despair, had succeeded in causing it to be prosecuted to a successful termination. Pope Anastasius IV. was so strongly impressed in their favour on the occasion that he issued a new bull confirming and extending the privileges which his predecessors had already granted to them.

The publication of this bull created the greatest jealousy amongst the regular clergy of Palestine, who could not brook the exemption from all external ecclesiastical supervision thus conceded. Numerous complaints of the arrogance and malpractices of the fraternity, some of which were doubtless true enough, but many simply jealous fabrications, were forwarded to the papal chair by the clergy, with the patriarch of Jerusalem at their head. Amongst other grievances it was specified that the

church of St. John exceeded in splendour that of the Holy Sepulchre, to which it was in close proximity, and that the bells of the former were rung with violence whilst service was being conducted in the latter to the great annoyance and interruption of the congregation. Other complaints of a similar character, and framed in the same spirit, were made. The Pope decided against the appellants, and confirmed the privileges of the Order, thus stigmatizing as vexatious the opposition that had been raised against them. This was the first time that any disputes had arisen between the Hospitallers and the regular clergy, but having once been started they soon became almost chronic, and the reader of the histories of those times has to wade through long dissertations on both sides, in which the most trivial matters are made to bear a malicious and invidious interpretation.

Amongst the most bitter of the writers on the ecclesiastical side was William, archbishop of Tyre, who was himself an eye-witness of most of the events which he records. He does not hesitate to accuse the Pope of having been bribed to give his decision in favour of the Hospital, and in every possible way he garbles and distorts his narrative of the dispute. The animus with which he writes is palpable on every page. This discord embittered the last days of Raymond du Puy. He had lived long enough to see his Order settled on a permanent basis, honoured and respected throughout Europe, wealthy and powerful from the endowments it had received, and increasing annually in numbers. There was at this time scarcely a noble house in Europe which did not send one or more of its members to bear the white cross on his breast, and the aristocratic connections thus formed tended much to increase the high estimation in which the fraternity was held.

At length, in the year 1160, Raymond died. He had attained the age of eighty years, of which sixty had been spent in constant warfare. Nothing seemed to affect his iron constitution, and he bore apparently a charmed life through innumerable scenes of danger. He breathed his last in the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, whither he had retired to meet his end in peace and repose. History has recorded nothing but good of his character. Even William of Tyre speaks of him in the most glowing terms.

A true type of the Christian, the soldier, and the gentleman, he lived to see his every ambition fulfilled, and the Order on which all his hopes had been centred take a leading place amidst the chivalry of Europe.

It was at some time during his rule that the magnificent pile forming the new hospital and convent was erected. The precise date of the work is uncertain, but it was probably between the years 1130 and 1150. Details of this building, as well as of those which with it formed the establishment of the Order at Jerusalem, will be found in the next chapter.

The rule of the two Masters who succeeded him were both brief and uneventful. During the short administration of Auger de Balben, Baldwin III. was gathered to his fathers, universally regretted by his subjects, who could ill spare the guidance of his commanding genius. He was succeeded by his brother Almeric. That prince was much indebted to the good offices of Auger for his peaceable accession to the throne, his claims having been for a time the subject of much dispute. Arnaud de Comps, a member of a noble family of Dauphiné, succeeded Auger de Balben in the year 1162. During his short government an expedition into Egypt was undertaken by Almeric, accompanied by the Hospitallers and Templars. A quarrel had arisen between the caliph of Egypt and Nouredin, the leader of the Turcomans. The latter had in consequence invaded Egypt, and the caliph appealed to Almeric for assistance. This was granted, and in return Almeric succeeded in extorting an annual tribute from the caliph.

This being the only result of the undertaking the expedition could scarcely be considered one of importance. There were, however, two noteworthy events connected with it. It was in this war that Saladin, whose career afterwards became so fatal to the Christian cause, made his first appearance on the field of battle, and showed the earliest gleams of that martial spirit which was destined eventually to make his name so renowned. Some of the older historians record that at the close of the siege of Alexandria, which was ended by the declaration of peace, Saladin, who had conducted the defence with great skill, demanded of the besiegers the honour of knighthood, which request, notwithstanding his religion, was complied with, as a

mark of appreciation of his gallantry. It is, however, most probable that this statement must be ranked with the numerous myths with which the records of those times abound. The other event to which allusion has been made was the punishment of twelve knights of the Temple for cowardice in having yielded the cave or grotto of Tyre without sufficient resistance. For this offence Almeric caused them all to be hanged, a sentence which threw a great slur on the general body at the time. Cowardice, however, was not one of the usual crimes of that fraternity. It is therefore not improbable that they were sacrificed to the wrath of the Christians for not having performed an impossibility. It is also quite possible that the statement itself was untrue, the records of it being only to be found on the pages of historians by no means generally friendly to the Templars.

Arnaud de Comps died in the year 1168, and the unfortunate Gilbert d'Ascali was appointed to the vacant office. Soon afterwards Almeric suggested the advisability of a second expedition into Egypt. He had been so struck with the wealth and other attractions of the country during his first incursion, that he was prompted both by ambition and avarice to desire its acquisition. In this project he was warmly seconded by the Greek emperor of Constantinople, who was naturally desirous of seeing as effectual a barrier as possible erected between his frontier and the infidels who surrounded him. With this view he contributed a large sum towards the expenses of the proposed expedition.

The propriety of joining with the king in this enterprise was warmly debated amongst the knights of St. John. The caliph of Egypt had but lately entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians by which he had bound himself to pay them an annual tribute. This treaty had so far been scrupulously observed by him; it was therefore argued by some of the more conscientious among them that they were not justified in waging war against him. Their Master, however, strenuously supported the undertaking, and his detractors assert that his object in so doing was to replenish by the spoils of Egypt the treasury of the Order, which he had much reduced by his extravagance. He was backed by the majority in the council.

They were tempted by the prospect of an easy conquest and a large booty, as the Egyptians were very wealthy and not very warlike. They therefore authorized Gilbert to raise money by loans from the bankers of Genoa and Venice. With this assistance the Hospitallers enrolled a large auxiliary force of mercenaries, and prepared to take the field with an array far more numerous than they had hitherto been able to muster.

The Templars, when called on by Almeric to join his ranks, refused the request after a lengthened discussion, alleging the same reasons as had been urged by many of the Hospitallers when considering the question. There is no doubt that in their decision they were far more just and honest than the others. There are not wanting those who assert that this scrupulousness was in reality based on the fact that they were unable to take the field with so imposing a force as that which was to serve under Gilbert d'Ascali, and that in consequence their jealousy prompted them to hold aloof. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that they were entirely justified in their refusal, and the events which followed fully proved the wisdom of the decision.

Almeric, in no wise daunted by the defection of the Templars, led the way into Egypt with the Hospitallers in his train. Their first operation when there was the siege of Belbeis. This town was well fortified and garrisoned, still Almeric decided upon attempting to carry it by assault. The slaughter was prodigious on both sides, but Almeric at length succeeded in forcing his way into the place, when a scene of carnage and licensed brutality ensued, such as was in those days the usual result of a successful assault. In this town Almeric captured the son and the nephew of the caliph, as well as a number of other prisoners of importance.

It had formed one of the terms of the agreement entered into between Almeric and d'Ascali that upon the capture of Belbeis it should become the property of the Order of St. John, and the king, true to his word, lost no time in handing it over to them. D'Ascali left a large garrison composed of his own followers within its walls, he himself with the main body of his forces accompanying the king in the further prosecution of his enterprise.

Their next point of attack was Cairo, then, as now, the principal city of Egypt. Whilst in front of this place, Almeric received an embassy from the caliph sueing for peace, at the same time offering an enormous ransom for the freedom of his son and nephew. Almeric, whose besetting vice was avarice, was not proof against the temptation of two millions of crowns, the sum the envoys were instructed to offer. Having received an instalment of a hundred thousand crowns, he consented to an armistice whilst the Egyptians should collect the remainder of the ransom. This, however, was not the intention of the caliph. Whilst Almeric was delaying his progress in security, he, on the other hand, was sending a message to his former opponent, Nouredin, to implore aid against their common enemy. Nouredin was only too glad to fall into his views, and prepared at once to send a powerful army to the rescue.

Meanwhile the arrangements for the treaty with Almeric were slowly progressing, and he was cajoled into a continuance of his inactivity by the belief that the caliph was busily engaged in fulfilling its terms. The artifice was completely successful. Almeric remained resting on his arms in front of Cairo, until at length he was startled by hearing that Nouredin was rapidly advancing against him. Aroused by this unwelcome intelligence, he lost no time in starting with all his forces, trusting to be able to overcome the Turks before they had effected a junction with the Egyptians. Siracon, Nouredin's general, however, having made a detour, succeeded in passing Almeric and in joining his forces to those of the caliph in his rear. Under these circumstances the king felt that all was over and that nothing was left but a rapid retreat. He therefore retired at once into his own dominions, and the Hospitallers were compelled to evacuate Belbeis, the garrison of which joined the king's army as he passed.

Thus ended this ill-fated expedition, the success of which was prevented purely by the avarice of Almeric. That it was unprovoked in the outset, and consequently unjustifiable, cannot be denied, and that starting with a breach of faith it deserved no better fate is true. It would, however, had it been successful, have doubtless tended much to strengthen the feeble kingdom. As it was, the Christians gained nothing

but obloquy, and, as the sequel will show, brought down upon themselves an enemy who eventually compassed their complete overthrow.

The friends of Almeric—for in spite of his errors he had many who were most warmly attached to his person and fortunes—endeavoured to screen his misconduct by throwing the entire blame on the Master of St. John. This unfortunate knight, however, seems to have been more sinned against than sinning throughout the transaction. He had been induced by the arguments of the king, aided no doubt by his own ambition, to join in the conquest of Egypt. The attempt seemed likely to be successful, and in that case would have added a strong bulwark to the kingdom. Guided by these considerations, and not foreseeing that the avarice of Almeric would shipwreck the undertaking, he had entered heartily into it, and had pledged the credit of his Order to the utmost limits to provide funds for its successful prosecution. It is, however, very difficult to argue in the face of failure, and Gilbert, on his return to Jerusalem, found himself attacked on all sides. His proud spirit sank under the trial, and in a fit of despair he resigned his Mastership, and left the Holy Land. Shortly afterwards he was drowned whilst crossing from France to England, from which fact it has been assumed that he was an Englishman. This seems the more probable, as the name—D'Ascali or De Saily—is distinctly of Norman origin, and might therefore well have been borne by an English knight at that period.

On his resignation he was succeeded by Gastus, whose rule was very short, and who, to use the stereotyped expression of the chroniclers, has left no other record of himself than his name.

Joubert, the sixth Master, was elected on the death of Gastus in the year 1169. Great changes were now taking place in the countries surrounding Judea. As has been already said, Noureddin, at the request of the caliph of Egypt had sent an army to his assistance, which he had placed under the command of Siracon. Saladin was nephew to Siracon, and accompanied his uncle to Egypt. Noureddin's design in this act was not simply to aid in expelling the Christians from

the country. He had given Siracon private instructions that, after he had carried out that object, he should take advantage of any opportunity which might offer to seize upon its government himself. These instructions were carried out. Siracon deposed the caliph, and seated himself on the throne. His triumph was, however, very brief, as he died almost immediately afterwards. His nephew, Saladin, in his turn, assumed the reins of government, and to make himself secure strangled the late caliph. Nouredin having also died about the same time, Saladin married his widow and established himself not only as ruler of Egypt, but also of all the territories formerly governed by him.

Saladin's power now became so threatening that Almeric had good cause to rue the ambition which had called so potent an enemy into the field. In the hope of checking his successful career the king sought aid from the emperor of Constantinople. During his absence from Jerusalem he vested the government of his kingdom in the hands of the Masters of the Hospital and Temple. From the emperor he received most flattering promises of assistance, which, in the end, were but very partially realized. Compelled to be content with these he returned to Jerusalem, where his presence was required to meet a new enemy.

This was none other than an apostate Templar named Melier, brother to Thoro, prince of Armenia. At the death of Thoro the crown had descended to the son of his sister. Melier, prompted by the desire of gaining a throne, had abandoned his profession, renounced Christianity, and with the aid of Saladin had driven his nephew from the country, and installed himself as prince of Armenia. He commenced a cruel war with his Christian neighbours, his atrocities surpassing even those of his Mahometan allies. Towards the Hospitallers and Templars he displayed peculiar rancour; such of them as fell into his hands were either butchered at once or sold into slavery. Almeric was not a prince to suffer this thorn to remain in the side of his kingdom, and he was warmly supported by the military Orders, who burned to avenge themselves for the cruelties that had been inflicted on their brethren. Melier, finding himself

unable to cope with the forces brought against him, fled from his usurped principality and took refuge with Saladin.

Almeric died in the year 1174, and was succeeded by his son, Baldwin IV., who was afflicted with leprosy. In the following year that prince endeavoured to establish a frontier fortress on the banks of the Jordan within the limits of Saladin's dominion. Saladin at once advanced to oppose the Christians, and having skilfully lured them into an ambush fell upon them whilst entangled in a defile and completely routed their army. In this disastrous affair the Hospitallers were nearly cut to pieces, their Master, Joubert, being covered with wounds, and only saving his life by swimming his horse across the Jordan. His end, which occurred in the year 1179, has been differently recorded. Some say that he died of grief owing to the troubles which year by year were falling with increased force upon the kingdom; the general opinion, however, is that he was murdered, having been starved to death in prison, after falling into the hands of one of Saladin's generals.

The vacancy was filled by the election of Roger Desmoulins. On his accession he found the Christian territory threatened from without by a powerful enemy, and at the same time torn and divided by internal discord. A truce had been concluded with Saladin, but it was merely temporary, and it was clear that when war once more broke out the Christians would be quite unable to present a successful resistance to the infidels. They decided, therefore, upon sending an embassy to Europe to solicit the aid of a third Crusade, and for this purpose they selected Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Masters of the Hospital and Temple. Shortly after their arrival in Europe, the latter dignitary died, leaving Heraclius and Desmoulins to carry out the embassy unaided. They visited the courts of Philip II. of France and Henry II. of England, as well as that of Pope Lucius III., without much practical success. A Crusade was, indeed, preached, but with such lukewarmness that it proved futile, and the disappointed envoys were compelled to return to the East without having secured any efficient aid.

Here they found that the disease with which Baldwin was

afflicted had so far overcome him that he had become incapable of carrying on the functions of government. He had, in consequence, associated with himself Guy de Lusignan, a French knight who had married his sister Sabilla, the widow of the marquis of Montferrat. This choice had proved most unpalatable to his nobles, who despised Guy as a man more fitted to shine in the court than the camp; and Baldwin eventually was compelled to withdraw the authority he had conferred on him. He then determined to abdicate, and named as his successor his nephew, Sabilla's son by the marquis of Montferrat, appointing Raymond, count of Tripoli, as regent during the minority. Not long after this change Baldwin died, and almost at the same time the infant prince also died, not without grave suspicions of foul play. The results in a great degree confirmed these doubts. Sabilla and Guy at once set to work to gain over a party to support their claim to the throne. They succeeded in this object, and were proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem without opposition.

Raymond retired in wrath to Tripoli, and Saladin took advantage of the ill-feeling which had been excited amongst the Christians to organize an invasion of the kingdom. He commenced operations by laying siege to Acre. A reinforcement of the military Orders had been thrown into the town, commanded by their respective Masters. Desmoulins, not wishing to be blockaded, collected his Hospitallers and, supported by a body of the inhabitants, sallied forth under cover of night, leaving the Templars to hold the town. The Saracens, taken by surprise, at first gave way in a panic, and were slaughtered in large numbers. As day broke, however, Saladin was able to rally his forces, and a desperate battle ensued, ending without any decisive advantage on either side; but as Saladin was in consequence compelled to abandon the siege, the victory may well be assigned to his opponents. This success was, however, dearly purchased. Chief amongst the killed was Roger Desmoulins himself.

The country being in a state of active warfare, the council lost no time in electing his successor, their choice falling on Garnier de Napoli, who thus became the eighth Master of the Order.

Saladin, foiled in his attempt on Acre, had turned his arms against Tiberias, a city of which Raymond, count of Tripoli, was lord in right of his wife. That prince had become reconciled to Guy, feeling that the dangers surrounding the kingdom were too grave to permit the indulgence of private animosity. On hearing of the attack on Tiberias, he magnanimously advised the king to leave the city to its fate, urging him to take up a strictly defensive line of action. He pointed out that the Saracen army could not long maintain itself in the district owing to the scarcity of water. Other and less sagacious counsels, however, prevailed, and the king, collecting all his available forces, marched in the direction of Tiberias, determined to stake everything on the issue of a single battle. Evil and ill-judged advice was taken in connection with every step. A spot was selected for encampment which the total absence of water soon rendered untenable. The army now began to feel the ill-effects of that drought which Raymond had prophesied would have overcome the Moslems had they been left to themselves. Finding it impossible to remain where he was, Lusignan advanced into the plain of Tiberias to give battle to the enemy.

The most powerful efforts were made by the ecclesiastics who accompanied the army to arouse the enthusiasm of the soldiery. The piece of the true cross which had been so long preserved at Jerusalem for the veneration of the pious had been brought with them, and intrusted to the special guardianship of the military Orders. It was on this eventful occasion planted on an eminence, where throughout the day it served as a rallying point to the Christians. The main reason for which the king had decided on giving battle was the want of water, and so his first efforts were directed to supply the deficiency. The lake of Tiberias, at a distance of two miles, lay glittering in the sunshine in rear of the Saracens, and between it and the Christians, now parched with thirst, were drawn up the dense masses with which Saladin was prepared to resist their advance. In the van of the army stood the forces of the Hospital and Temple, ready at the appointed signal to rush at the foe and to hew a pathway to the much longed-for water. When the desired moment arrived on they dashed, and were at once lost to view in the mass of opponents by whom they were surrounded.

Whatever may have been their defects, or even vices, cowardice was certainly not often alleged against the brethren either of the Hospital or Temple. On this important field, with the fate of Christian dominion in the East depending on their success, they strove with generous rivalry to outvie each other. Side by side these mailed warriors of the Church hurled themselves at the infidel, and the fierce war-cry of the Temple, rising high above the din of battle, was mingled in gallant unison with that of the Hospital.

All, however, was in vain. The numbers of the enemy were too vast for even their heroism to overcome, and, led as the Saracens were by a general of such ability as Saladin, those numbers were used to the greatest possible advantage. As the day wore on the impetuosity of the Christian attack abated, and the stubbornness of their resistance became less determined, until at length, exhausted, broken, and crushed, they gave way. Saladin pressed his victory to the uttermost, and allowing the retreating army no breathing time, he poured his forces on their shattered columns, and utterly completed their overthrow.

This disastrous fight sealed the fate of the kingdom. Guy had staked everything upon the issue of a single field, and the cast of the die had gone against him. Saladin remained not only master of the day, but with the way to Jerusalem opened unopposed to his advance. The king, the Grand-Master of the Temple, and several other lords of note, fell prisoners into his hands, and Garnier, whose valour throughout the day was worthy of his exalted post, met the end of a true soldier of the cross, having been so desperately wounded that he only survived to reach Ascalon, where he died.

The loss of the Hospitallers was enormous. In addition to those who fell on the field, such as were taken prisoners were massacred by order of Saladin, who gave them the option of apostasy or death; they, like true Christian knights, selecting the latter alternative, and thus sealing their faith with their blood. The few remaining members of the Order, as soon as the news of the issue of the battle of Tiberias and the death of Garnier had reached them, assembled once again, with a feeling well-nigh of despair, to elect, as it seemed to them most probably their last Master. With some difficulty they persuaded

Ermengard Daps, on whom their choice had fallen, to accept the onerous post. This duty accomplished, they prepared to meet their fate in the hopeless struggle which now seemed imminent.

Saladin lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory. The various fortresses on his route, denuded as they were of their ordinary garrisons, fell an easy prey, and no opposition being offered to his advance, it was not long before he appeared in front of Jerusalem itself. A resistance ensued which was prolonged for fourteen days by the despair of the defenders, ending, however, in the capitulation of the city in the month of October, 1187. Thus, after having been at great sacrifice rescued from the domination of the Turk, and having continued for a period of eighty-eight years to be the seat of government of a Christian kingdom, it once more fell into the hands of the Moslem, from whom no succeeding efforts were able permanently to wrest it. From that day to this the soil, hallowed by the passion of our blessed Saviour, has remained in the possession of the infidel. There are not, however, wanting symptoms that before very long it will once more fall from his enfeebled grasp, when it is devoutly to be hoped that it may revert permanently to Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

1187—1230.

Description of the ruins of the Hospital at Jerusalem—Its establishment at Margat—Retirement of the ladies of the Order to Europe—The third Crusade—Siege and capture of Acre—Guy de Lusignan made king of Cyprus—Reforms of Alphonso of Portugal—His resignation and death—Fourth Crusade—Capture of Constantinople by the Latins—Dissensions between the Templars and Hospitallers—Andrew, king of Hungary, admitted into the Order—Fifth Crusade—Siege and capture of Damietta—Advance into Egypt—Fatal results of the expedition—Marriage of the emperor Frederic with Violante—Treaty with the Saracens—Coronation of Frederic at Jerusalem—His return to Europe and persecution of the military Orders—Accusations brought against the knights of St. John.

JERUSALEM had fallen, and was now in the possession of Saladin. That chief, in the hour of his triumph, behaved with a generosity hardly to have been anticipated from his previous conduct. Instead of enacting scenes of carnage, such as those which had disgraced the entry of the Christians in the preceding century, he took every precaution that no license should be permitted. He allowed the military, the nobles, and all who had borne arms to proceed to Tyre, and he fixed the ransom of the civil population of the town at the rate of ten crowns per man, failing the payment of which they were to become slaves. In many instances, at the supplication of the queen, he was induced to forego the demand of this ransom, and the Hospitallers freely lavished what remained in their already nearly-exhausted treasury to purchase the liberty of others, so that the number of those who were eventually doomed to slavery was comparatively small. He also permitted ten of the fraternity of the Hospital, in consideration of their charitable functions, to remain for a limited period within the city to complete the cure

of those sick who were under their charge, and not in a state to undergo immediate removal.*

Thus were the Christians forced to turn their backs on the scene of so many struggles, hopes, and triumphs. The crescent again waved over the ramparts where the rival banners of the Hospital and Temple had for so long fanned the breeze, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre once more became a Mahometan mosque. Was it for this that Peter the Hermit had in the preceding century thundered forth his denunciations against the infidel? Was it for this that Europe had poured forth her countless hosts to whiten the shores of Palestine with their bones? Was it for this that generations of zealous devotees had consecrated their swords and their lives to the preservation of that precious conquest wrung at such cost from the Moslem? It was, alas,

* Saladin appears to have greatly admired the Order. The contemporary records relate an anecdote of him which, though bearing on its face the impress of invention, still shows in what high estimation he was supposed to have held his relentless foes of the Hospital. The fable relates that, having heard of the boundless liberality and care lavished by the brethren on all who sought their help, whether Christian or infidel, Saladin determined to test the truth of the report. He therefore disguised himself as a Syrian peasant, and in that character sought admission to the Hospital. He was received at once, and his wants attended to. In pursuit of his design he refused all offers of food, alleging that he felt unable to eat. He continued this conduct so long that the brothers began to fear lest he should starve to death. At length, after having been pressed to name some article of food that might tempt his appetite, he, after much apparent hesitation, suggested that the only food he could fancy would be a piece of the leg of the Master's favourite horse, cut off in his presence. The brethren were struck with consternation at such an extravagant request, but the rules of the Hospital were most stringent on the point of yielding to the utmost possible extent to the fancies of their patients. They therefore communicated the wish to the Master, who, much as he grieved at losing his favourite charger, at once gave orders that he should be taken to the Hospital, there to undergo in the presence of the patient the amputation necessary to gratify so inconvenient an appetite. Saladin thus saw that the fraternity in reality suffered nothing to interfere with what they considered the sacred duties of hospitality, and at once declared that the desire to gratify his craving had so far cured him, that he could partake of ordinary food without the necessity for consummating the sacrifice. He left the Hospital disguised as he had entered it, ever after retaining the warmest regard for his antagonists. Some writers assert that he made several liberal donations to the institution, but this probably is as fabulous as the tale itself.

too true. Europe had stood looking supinely on whilst the web of destruction was slowly but surely being woven round the sacred province, and now, when it was too late, when all was lost, a cry of indignation and vengeance arose on every side.

It may be well to pause for a moment and analyse the causes which led to so speedy a decline and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. These were twofold: one, the increase and concentration of the power of the Moslem; the other, the decadence and disunion of that of the Christians. When first the crusaders established themselves on the shores of Palestine, they found the enemy divided into factions, and combating as to certain disputed tenets of their faith with a rancour and animosity such as only religious warfare could excite. Either party was generally ready to coalesce with the new comers to ensure the overthrow of its rivals, and the Christians, in most of their earlier campaigns, were able to count for aid on one or other of the parties. As, however, the power of the Turcomans gradually consolidated itself, and opposing pretensions were eventually concentrated in the person of a single leader, the position of the Latins became more and more precarious. The troops which the Saracens brought into the field had also greatly improved in their discipline during this period. The lessons taught by their European opponents were not thrown away on their commanders, and they eventually became but little inferior in prowess and skill, whilst always remaining vastly superior in numbers.

On the side of the Christians may be traced much and ever increasing disunion. Instead of that firm and steadfast alliance between the various principalities which constituted their only chance of safety, they were prepared, at every trivial quarrel and at every petty jealousy, to jeopardize the existence of the kingdom. We have already touched upon the disputes between the military Orders and the regular clergy. There is no doubt that these disputes originated in the greed of the latter, who were loth to see such wealthy communities exempted from the payment of tithes. In addition to this, jealousies had latterly sprung up between the Hospitallers and the Templars themselves, which in time led to very serious results. Instead of confining their rivalry to a friendly emulation on the battle-

field, they often became more intent on thwarting and impeding each other than on opposing the Saracens. These were all so many contributing causes to the final catastrophe.

That in these quarrels and jealousies the Order of St. John was always in the right it would be absurd to assert; still, there is much to be said in their favour. In their disputes with the clergy they were clearly most unjustly attacked. They merely defended the privileges granted to them by the See of Rome, the common superior of themselves and of the clergy; whilst as regards their dissensions with the Templars, the conduct of that Order during this eventful period seems to show that they were probably in the wrong. The weight of contemporary evidence certainly leans strongly in favour of the Hospitallers. In a letter which Conrad of Montferrat addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury whilst engaged in the defence of the city of Tyre, he says:—"All succour is denied me, and what is still worse, the Grand-Master of the Templars has carried off the money which the king of England had sent for me. As to the Hospitallers I have nothing but praise to record of them, and I call God and yourself to witness my gratitude towards them, for from the moment when they first took up arms in defence of this place they have never ceased to render the greatest possible service, and so far from imitating the Templars by retaining that portion of the subsidy from the king of England which they were bound to furnish, they have in addition positively spent upwards of eight thousand crowns of their own money in the defence of Tyre." Another anecdote of the period also bears on the subject. Whilst King Richard I. of England was in Normandy on his way to the East, the vicar of Neuilly addressed an exhortation to him, in which he said that the king should, before starting on his Crusade, lay aside those besetting sins which he called his three daughters, viz., pride, avarice, and luxury; to which Richard replied, "If I am to part with these three daughters of mine, I do not think I can provide for them in a more suitable manner than by bestowing the first on the Templars, the second on the monastic Orders, and the third on the bishops of my realm." It is difficult not to feel that the two Orders had by this time achieved very different reputations, and that the feelings of the powers of Christendom towards

them indicated which was in the wrong. Those feelings were not slow in finding a vent, as the difference of their respective fates was destined before long to show.

The loss of Jerusalem deprived the Order of St. John of that home which for upwards of a century had been a shelter not only for themselves, but for all whose misfortunes demanded their aid. The buildings which the merchants of Amalfi had originally appropriated to their kindly hospitality, and which had been greatly increased in extent since those times, once more reverted to the Moslem, in whose hands they remained until they fell into ruins.

Recent explorations have largely cleared up the difficulties as regards position, which until of late rendered it almost impossible to define what were the actual dimensions and limits of the establishment of the Order in Jerusalem. The following description may be taken as correct as far as sites are concerned, very few of the actual remains having been as yet uncovered.

To the south of the church of the Holy Sepulchre there is a plot of ground nearly square, about five hundred feet a side, which is bounded on the north by what was formerly the Street of Palmers, now known as the Via Dolorosa, on the west by Patriarch Street, now Christian Street, on the south by Temple Street, now David Street, and on the east by the Malquisinat or Bazaar. Within this area stood the later buildings of the Order. North of the Street of Palmers, and to the east of the church of the Holy Sepulchre stood the churches and hospitals of St. Mary ad Latinos and St. Mary Magdalene, also ad Latinos, the original establishments of the Amalfi merchants. No traces of these are now to be found. To the south of the Street of Palmers, in the western angle of the square, stood the church of St. John Eleemon and its hospice.

Such was the institution as it existed prior to the formation of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099. Between that time and the middle of the twelfth century the Order, under Raymond du Puy, had developed the church of St. John Eleemon into a fine building, the conventual church of St. John the Baptist.*

* In the south-west corner of the site still stands an old Byzantine basilica of St. John the Baptist, earlier than any other known building in



ST. JOHN'S GATE IN THE MURISTAN, JERUSALEM.

(To face page 61.)

On the east of that they had erected another large church, called Sta. Maria Majora, with a monastic quadrangle to the south of it, and along the south of the whole square, looking towards Temple Street, ran the noble Hospital of St. John. When Jerusalem was captured by Saladin, the church of St. John the Baptist was by the Saracens converted into a madhouse (in Turkish, Muristân). Hence the whole space has since been known by that name. In the year 1869 the eastern half, on which stood the church of Sta. Maria Majora, the monastic quadrangle, and a portion of the Hospital of St. John, was given by the sultan to the crown prince of Prussia. This part of the Muristân has since then been excavated by the Germans, and the ruins of the old buildings laid bare. The most conspicuous and interesting feature in this space is the gateway of St. John. It consists of a large round arch comprising two smaller arches within it. A few remains only of the latter now exist. The spandril between the two was formerly adorned with sculpture, now nearly all gone. These arches rest at one side on a central pillar, and at the other on an entablature reaching from the small side columns of the portal. The main arch rests on a buttress adjoining the portal. Around this runs a broad sculptured frieze, representing the months. January, on the left, has disappeared. Then come "Feb," a man pruning a tree; "Ma," very indistinct; "Aprilis," a sitting figure; "Majus," a man kneeling and cultivating the ground; "nius" (Junius), mutilated; "lius" (Julius), a reaper; "Augustus," a thresher; "eptem" (September), a grape gatherer; "br" (October), a man with a cask, above whom there is apparently a scorpion. November is missing, as regards name, but has a woman standing with her hand in her apron, probably the symbol of repose. December missing. Above, in the centre, is the sun (with the superscription "Sol"), represented by a half figure holding a disc over its head. Near it is the moon ("Luna"), a female figure with a crescent. The

the area. Captain Conder, R.E., suggests that possibly this was the original church of St. John Eleemon, and that the conventual church of St. John the Baptist referred to above was not an enlargement of it but a separate structure.

cornice above is adorned with medallions, representing leaves, griffins, etc.*

Passing through this gateway the visitor would enter the north side of the church of *Sta. Maria Majora*, which consists of a nave and two aisles, terminating in three apses at the east. In its greatest length it is about 120 feet, and about 65 feet in breadth. It is, of course, roofless, and only portions of the columns are to be seen. The aisles were separated from the nave by four arches, carried on three clustered columns on each side. Behind the church on the south is a vaulted quadrangle, evidently the monastic establishment, and on the south side of the quadrangle was the refectory now used as a German Lutheran chapel. South again of this the excavations have laid bare a number of piers and columns, which were no doubt a portion of the Hospital. It was thus described by Mandeville in 1322:—"Before the church of the Sepulchre, 200 paces to the south, is the great Hospital of St. John, of which the Hospitallers had their foundation. And within the palace of the sick men of that Hospital are 124 pillars of stone, and in the walls of the house, besides the number aforesaid, there are fifty-four pillars that support the house. From that Hospital, going towards the east, is a very fair church, which is called *Our Lady the Great*, and after it there is another church very near called *Our Lady the Latin*, and there stood *Mary Cleophas* and *Mary Magdalene* and tore their hair when our Lord was executed on the cross."

Such is the present state of these most interesting ruins, and it is to be hoped that when the western half of the *Muristân* (still in the possession of the Turks) is excavated many valuable remains, both of the Hospital and conventual church, will be laid bare.

Thus rudely deprived of a home the Order, greatly diminished in numbers, and with an exhausted treasury, betook themselves to *Margat*, a town which still remained in the possession of the Christians. Here they established their convent and hospital, and as far as their reduced exchequer permitted continued to carry on those charitable duties which,

* This description of the gateway is taken from Baedeker's "*Palestine and Syria*."



VIEW OF PART OF THE MURISTAN, FORMING THE QUADRANGLE OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY BEHIND THE CHURCH OF STA. MARIA MAIORA, AS IT
APPEARED BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS WERE COMMENCED BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

[To face page 62.]

during the most stirring times of war, had never been permitted to suffer neglect.

The ladies of the Order, unequal to cope with the hardships consequent on a further residence in the East, abandoned the Holy Land for ever, and divided themselves between their various branch establishments in Europe. Amongst other places they were possessed of a very extensive settlement at Bucklands, in Somersetshire, the gift of Henry II. to the Hospital in the year 1180, and hither came a great number of the wandering sisterhood. The queen of Aragon had also shortly before erected a noble establishment for the ladies of St. John at the village of Sixenne near Saragossa. This also threw open its hospitable doors for the reception of all who sought its shelter. Here these pious devotees passed the remainder of their lives in the strictest seclusion, mourning the loss of their home, and bemoaning the fate of those heroes who now lay mouldering beneath the sandy plains of Palestine.

The history of the Order throughout its residence in the East was so closely connected with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that it would have been difficult to trace the progress of the one without entering into some detail with regard to the other. Now, however, that we have reached the point where a fatal blow had been dealt at the fortunes of that kingdom the narrative of what followed may be told more briefly. It must, however, be borne in mind that in all the struggles with which that period was rife, the Order bore a noble part, and contended with unflagging zeal against ever-increasing obstacles. The incidents of the third Crusade are too well known to all students of history to call for more than a passing remark here. Boasting amongst its leaders no less than four crowned heads, the emperor of Germany, Richard of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Leopold of Austria, this expedition found Guy de Lusignan engaged in the siege of Acre. That city, the Ptolemais of the Romans, was the most important maritime post on the coast of Syria, and had opened its gates to the Saracen army without resistance after the disastrous conflict of Tiberias. For three years did the crusaders besiege the town, and the defence was, throughout that interval, maintained with the most unflinching obstinacy. During the latter part of the time the attack was

led on by Richard of England himself, and eventually his efforts were crowned with success, the place being forced to surrender.

Hither, as soon as order was in some degree restored, the Hospitallers removed their convent from Margat, and it was in their new establishment in this city that Ermengard Daps died in the year 1192. The siege of Acre is notable for the formation of a fourth military Order, which, during its progress, was called into existence. This fraternity received the name of the Teutonic Order, and was composed exclusively of Germans. They wore a white mantle with a black cross embroidered in gold, and their rules were very similar to those of the Templars.

The capture of Acre led to no further successes on the part of the crusaders. Dissensions, such as must ever arise in a force composed of so many differing elements, soon sprang up, and the length of time during which the siege had been protracted cooled the enthusiasm of the army. Some of its leaders, on various pretexts, had already returned to Europe, and the termination of the siege led to the departure of many of the remainder. In vain Richard strove to keep together the rapidly dissolving fragments of the force; not even his energy and perseverance could overcome the reluctance with which further operations were contemplated. He was at length, much against his will, driven to conclude a truce with Saladin, and to abandon the cause which he had so much at heart, and in which he personally had reaped so much distinction.

Ermengard Daps was succeeded by Godfrey de Duisson, whose lineage and nation are somewhat uncertain, though it is generally thought that he came from Picardy. Shortly after his accession an event occurred which for a few years gave a little breathing time to the shattered relics of the Latin kingdom. Saladin, the renowned enemy of the Christians, who had so often routed their forces, and who had torn the sacred city from their grasp, died in the year 1193, leaving his empire to be divided among his eleven sons. As may readily be imagined, such a disposition of his power soon kindled the flames of civil commotion from end to end of the newly-consolidated Saracen empire. Had this internecine warfare been permitted to continue for any length of time it is possible that the Latins might have succeeded in re-establishing themselves

with greater durability and more extended empire than before. Unfortunately for the prospects of the Christian cause, Saffradin, the brother of the deceased chieftain, craftily taking advantage of his nephews' struggles with each other, overpowered them in detail, and re-organized the empire on a basis nearly as extensive as it had been during the reign of Saladin.

Whilst these events were occurring, the Latins had found time to take measures for securing their few remaining possessions in the Holy Land. Richard of England, having touched at Cyprus on his road to the East to join the crusading army, had been refused permission by the king of the island to enter the harbour. Enraged at this wanton breach of hospitality, Richard, being at the time supported by a considerable force, seized upon the island, and brought away the king and his daughter as prisoners in his train to Acre. Whilst, however, he was loading the father with chains of silver,* he was himself, if ancient scandal be credited, becoming entangled in the bonds of love by the daughter. Be this as it may, he eventually bestowed her hand, and with it the kingdom of Cyprus, on Guy de Lusignan, whose position had by this time become so dubious in its nature that he was not above wedding with the cast-off mistress of the king, endowed with a throne, even one of such limited extent as that of Cyprus.

At Guy's death his brother Almeric succeeded to the crown, and was soon afterwards, through the good offices of the Master of the Hospital, united to Isabella, the widow, successively, of Conrad and of the count of Champagne, as well as the divorced wife of Humphrey of Thoron. As by Guy's death this princess became his undoubted successor to the crown of Jerusalem, Almeric, by his marriage, established his right to that dignity in addition to the throne of Cyprus. His presence being in consequence imperatively called for in Palestine, to hold together the few remaining possessions which still acknowledged his rule, he suggested to the military Orders that they should undertake

* The king of Cyprus murmured at being secured like a common prisoner in iron fetters. Richard, with a bitter irony, directed chains of silver to be substituted; and, strange to say, the vain and weak-minded prince was much gratified at the change.

the protection of Cyprus on his behalf. This island, from its position, formed an excellent base of operations whence to support the isolated posts still held by the Christians in Palestine. Strong detachments were therefore sent by both bodies to insure its safety from aggression.

The chronology of these times is so very obscure that it is impossible to trace with accuracy the precise dates at which each change of Master took place. None of the fraternity at this early period seem to have undertaken the task of chronicling the deeds of themselves or of their companions in arms; we are therefore totally dependent on the writers who have treated generally of the fortunes of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the numerous Crusades by which it was from time to time supported. The military Orders are only very cursorily mentioned, and the most confusing contradictions in names and dates constantly occur, rendering it difficult to determine which are the most probably correct. Godfrey de Duisson died somewhere about the year 1194, and was succeeded by Alfonso of Portugal. This knight claimed to belong to the royal family of that kingdom. The inscription on the tomb, which was erected by himself in his lifetime, ran thus: "Alfonso, Master of the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, son of the King of Portugal, etc., etc." As, however, the history of Portugal makes no mention of such a scion of the royal family, it is probable that the honour was tainted by the bar sinister.

The accession of Alfonso was the signal for a rigid reform in the discipline of the Order. The century which had elapsed since its first foundation had brought many changes in the habits and mode of life of the period, luxuries having been gradually introduced which in earlier times were unknown. The Hospitallers had followed in the tide of progress, and many innovations had crept into the convent, by no means in accordance with the rigid code framed by the austere Raymond du Puy. Alfonso was one of those men, so common in all periods, who, without discernment sufficient to note the signs of the times, are determined to abide rigidly by the rules of their forefathers. He was unable to see how vain it was for him to attempt to oppose himself to the stream of progress, and that

nothing short of complete isolation from the world would have sufficed to keep the fraternity in the path laid down by their chief. Rules, which in the days of Raymond merely engendered simplicity of life and an absence of ostentation, would, when carried out a century later, have involved a degree of austerity never contemplated by him. Impressed, however, with the necessity for a rigid observance of the oaths taken on his assumption of office, Alfonso at once began to enforce the antiquated discipline.

In this endeavour he met with the most vehement opposition from the council. So strenuously and pertinaciously were the objections of its members urged, that he lost his temper. Thundering forth the imperious mandate, "I will be obeyed, and that without reply," he sought to silence remonstrance by an appeal to authority. Language such as this had not of late been heard at the council board, and an immediate outcry proclaimed the resentment of those present. Open rebellion soon succeeded to remonstrance, and Alfonso was, before long, taught that the estimate he had formed of his magisterial power was greatly exaggerated. Disgusted at the failure of his attempt, and cowed by the storm of opposition he had evoked, he resigned his office, abandoned the Holy Land, and retired to Portugal, where he shortly afterwards fell in an engagement during one of the civil wars of that country.

Numerous attempts were made by the powers of Western Europe to recover some of the lost ground in Palestine during the first half of the thirteenth century. Had these efforts been properly directed, and not diverted to objects other than those for which they were organized, they would probably have proved successful. The history of the times is, however, filled with the rancorous hatreds and petty jealousies which were constantly arising to thwart any vigorous or concerted movement. Wave after wave of attack surged on the shores of Palestine, only to recede again, rather through the ignorance and impatience of the leaders than the resisting power of the infidel. One of these expeditions had turned its arms against the city of Constantinople, and wresting it from the enfeebled grasp of the Byzantine dynasty, converted it for a short time

into a Latin kingdom, the crown of which was given to Baldwin, count of Flanders.

Meanwhile Almeric had died, leaving vacant the two thrones of Jerusalem and Cyprus, the former of which was inherited by Mary, daughter of Isabella by her first husband. It was the unhappy lot of Palestine, at a time when she most needed a clear head to guide her councils and a firm hand to lead her armies, that the crown should be worn by either women or children. To obviate the evils likely to arise from female rule at such a critical time, a deputation was sent to Philip Augustus of France, requesting him to name some prince who might receive the hand of the new queen, and with it the crown of Jerusalem. Philip, in accordance with this wish, selected John of Brienne, count of Vienna, for the heritage, which was one more of danger than of glory. John at once set forth for the Holy Land, and on his arrival was united to Mary and assumed the throne of the attenuated kingdom.

Whilst these changes were going on, the dissensions between the Orders of the Hospital and Temple, which had long been smouldering with ill-disguised virulence, burst forth into open hostility. There had for many years existed a deep feeling of jealousy between these fraternities, a jealousy rendered the more rancorous on the part of the Templars from a sense of inferiority in wealth and territorial possessions. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, estimates the property of the Hospital in the various states of Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century at 19,000 manors, whilst that of the Temple at the same period was only 9,000. The term manor in those days was used to signify the extent of land that could be tilled by one yoke of oxen. This great difference in point of wealth, which marked the superior estimation in which the Hospitallers were held throughout Europe, naturally excited the jealousy of their rivals, and at last found vent in open warfare.

In the neighbourhood of the town of Margat, where, as has already been said, the Hospitallers had established their convent after their expulsion from Jerusalem, stood a castle, the property of a knight named Robert de Margat. That knight held the place as a vassal of the Hospitallers, and acknow-

ledged them as his feudal lords. To this castle the Templars laid claim, and, supporting their pretensions by force, seized the disputed property. Robert de Margat at once claimed the protection of the Hospitallers, whose vassal he considered himself to be. These latter, incensed at the unprovoked outrage committed by their rivals, mustered their forces, sallied forth from their establishment at Margat, and retook the castle by storm. From this moment open and systematic warfare broke out between the Orders, and several very sanguinary collisions ensued. Utterly oblivious of the vows they had taken at their profession, and of the obligations then imposed on them, they turned their swords, which had been consecrated to the cause of their faith, with fratricidal rage against each other, and throughout the length and breadth of the land men were dismayed at the sad spectacle thus afforded, and the new danger threatening the poor relics of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the injury likely to accrue from this ill-timed antagonism on the part of those who had hitherto been the most powerful, as indeed sometimes they had been the only defenders of the kingdom, the patriarch and other ecclesiastics appealed to the Pope to interfere in the dispute. That prelate, having heard the statements of the deputies who had been despatched to Rome by both Orders, decided that neither party was free from blame. The Hospitallers had acted unjustifiably and in opposition to their own rules in endeavouring to redress by force of arms the wrong which had been done them; and on the other hand he decided that the claim of the Templars to the castle in question was unfounded. Under these circumstances he decreed that the Hospitallers should, in the first place, retire from the disputed property, leaving it in the possession of the Templars, and that then the latter, in their turn, should restore it to Robert de Margat at the expiration of one month. Matters were thus at length amicably settled, and a temporary truce, since peace it could scarcely be called, was established between the rival factions.

John of Brienne, having failed in his efforts to carry with him to the East an army sufficiently powerful to establish

the rights he had acquired by his marriage, implored the Pope for assistance at this critical juncture. Innocent III., who at the time occupied the papal chair, entered warmly into his views, and supported by Robert de Courçon, an English priest, who partook largely of the enthusiasm and zeal of St. Bernard and Peter the Hermit, caused a new Crusade to be preached throughout western Christendom.

The first results of these efforts showed themselves in the force which in the year 1216, with Andrew, king of Hungary, at its head, made its way to the East. At Cyprus, Andrew met the Master of the Hospital, with whom he had appointed a rendezvous, and escorted by his fleet of galleys they proceeded in company to Acre. Here he refused the palace which the king of Jerusalem had prepared for his reception, preferring to take up his abode at the convent of St. John. Whilst residing there he was so impressed with the admirable manner in which the duties of the Hospital were conducted, not only at Acre but also at Margat, which place he visited as well, that he announced his desire of becoming a knight of the Order. Anomalous, as it undoubtedly was, for a monarch whilst retaining his crown to take upon himself the monastic obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, his desire was complied with, and he was enrolled amongst the ranks of the fraternity. Thus the king of Hungary became the first crowned head received as a knight of St. John, and he celebrated the event by a becoming act of dotation, settling upon the Order an annuity of seven hundred silver marks, secured upon the salt mines of his country.

His brief stay in Palestine was of no real benefit to the kingdom. His was a character far too unstable for any great enterprise, and before he had been three months at the head of his army he wearied of the undertaking. This impulse of restlessness was aggravated by grief at the assassination of his queen, the news of which had reached him whilst at Cyprus. The result was that he abandoned the Crusade, and in spite of the threats of excommunication fulminated against him by the patriarch, returned to Europe.

John of Brienne was not deterred by this defection from carrying on the struggle. Fresh bodies of crusaders having

arrived, it was decided to attack Damietta, then considered the key to Egypt. Siege was accordingly laid to the town in the month of May, 1218, the military Orders as usual occupying a conspicuous position in the van of the army. The sultan of Egypt was apparently doubtful of the powers of resistance of this fortress, and dreading lest its fall should occasion the loss of his entire kingdom, he proposed a treaty to the Christians in virtue of which Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine, with two exceptions, were to revert to them, and all prisoners in the hands of the sultan to be released, provided the siege of Damietta were raised and the invasion of Egypt abandoned. John of Brienne and the Master of the Hospital were urgent that this very advantageous treaty should be accepted, but the papal legate, Pelagius, who had usurped almost unlimited authority in the allied camp, was of a different opinion, and in this he was joined by the Grand-Master of the Temple. Thus backed, his influence carried the point; the offers of the sultan were disdainfully rejected, and the siege was pushed on with redoubled vigour. John of Brienne retired for a time in anger from an army in which, whilst he was the nominal head, the legate, in point of fact, ruled with absolute power.

After a defence which lasted for upwards of a year, Damietta fell into the hands of the Christians, more on account of the exhaustion of the defenders than from any very active effort on the part of the assailants. Its population, which before the siege numbered upwards of 70,000 persons, barely at its close amounted to 3,000, and the victors, when they entered the place, found it one vast grave.

Fresh divisions arose in the councils of the army on the capture of Damietta. The king, who had by this time returned to the command, the Hospitallers, and those of the other chiefs who had all along supported his views, urged strongly that they should at once advance on Jerusalem, whilst the legate, the Templars, and their party, were equally strenuous in advising a penetration into the heart of Egypt and the complete overthrow of that monarchy. This they considered would prove the most certain method of permanently securing the safety of the Latin kingdom. The latter, as on the first occasion, carried their

point; the army turned its back upon the sacred city and advanced into Egypt. The king, deeply though he resented the secondary position in which he found himself, could not bring himself to abandon a cause in which he had so much at stake, and which was promising so fairly, and for these reasons accompanied the army.

The Christians boldly pushed their way into the Delta of the Nile, the Egyptian forces retreating as they advanced. Here they found a new enemy before which they were powerless. The sultan broke down the banks of the Nile, flooded the whole intervening tract of country, and completely surrounded the Latin forces with an impassable lake. It was equally impracticable either to advance or retreat, whilst to remain where they were entailed certain starvation. In this unfortunate predicament the Christians were driven to treat with the enemy, and had at length to purchase their safety by the surrender of all their recent acquisitions. Damietta was restored to the sultan, the army retired to Acre, and thus, owing to the obstinacy and presumption of Pelagius, backed by the Templars, the campaign was brought to an ignominious close, although at one time it bid fair to lead to the complete restoration of the kingdom.

The unfortunate result of this expedition did not, however, quell the high spirit of Europe, now once more aroused into its old crusading fervour. Further and still more energetic efforts were set on foot for the recovery of Jerusalem. Herman de Saltza, the head of the Teutonic Order, returned to Europe to solicit aid from the German emperor, Frederic. He proposed to him to marry Violante, the daughter and heiress of John of Brienne, who was at the time twelve years of age, and suggested that her father could probably be induced to resign his crown in favour of so distinguished a son-in-law. Flattered with this prospect, and tempted by the crown thus tendered for his acceptance, Frederic, with the sanction of the Pope, married Violante, and John of Brienne, weary of a throne which existed only in name, resigned in his favour.

Delays of various kinds caused a period of five years to elapse before Frederic found himself on the shores of Syria. During this interval the ill-feeling which had been gradually growing

up between him and the Pope culminated in open hostilities. A sentence of excommunication was launched against the emperor, ostensibly on account of the delays which had interfered with his Crusade, and he in his turn invaded and ravaged the papal dominions. Undeterred by these ecclesiastical thunders, and whilst still lying under the anathema of his Holiness, Frederic proceeded to Palestine in the year 1228, accompanied by a considerable force, and prepared to march into the interior of the country.

A difficulty at first arose with the military Orders, who were unwilling to render aid to a prince who had been placed outside the pale of the church, and to whom the Pope had forbidden that they should render any assistance whatever. Eventually, however, matters were amicably arranged, and the army proceeded on its march to Jerusalem, meeting with no opposition on the part of the Saracens. Camel, the sultan of Egypt, dreading the ambition of his brother Coradinus, thought it advisable to make overtures of peace to the emperor, and thus, without striking a blow, Frederic was enabled to conclude an advantageous treaty on behalf of the Christians. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jaffa, were restored to the Latins, and pilgrims were to be permitted to traverse the land freely on their way to the Holy Sepulchre, the only proviso made being that the Mahometans were also to be allowed free access to the sacred spot which they had converted into the mosque of Omar. Whilst at Jerusalem Frederic caused himself to be crowned in this church. Owing to the ecclesiastical ban under which he lay none of the clerical dignitaries nor of the military Orders assisted at the ceremonial, with the exception of the Teutonic knights. These preferred their temporal to their ecclesiastical allegiance, and supported the emperor throughout, their Grand-Master pronouncing a laudatory oration at the close of the coronation ceremony.

The latter Order, ever since its first formation during the siege of Acre, had rendered the most vital assistance to the feeble state. Acting, as it always did, in harmony with the other fraternities, it was justly entitled to share with them the glory of maintaining the defence of the relics of the kingdom. From the date, however, of Frederic's return to Europe, its assistance

was lost to Palestine. Following in the train of the emperor, these knights left the Holy Land, and their achievements, though frequently brilliant and well worthy of record, have no further place in these pages. It is true that a few of them declined thus to abandon the cause they had originally adopted. These remained in Palestine until the final expulsion of the Latins from its shores, and are mentioned as sharing in the defence of Acre ; but the main body, with their Grand-Master, retired with Frederic.

It is asserted by writers in the imperial interests that during Frederic's stay in Jerusalem a conspiracy was entered into between the Hospitallers and the Templars to betray him into the hands of the Saracens, and that in this disgraceful and treasonous plot they were instigated by the Pope, who was his most virulent enemy. This treachery was discovered through the magnanimity of the sultan of Egypt, who, with righteous indignation at the authors of so foul a scheme, lost no time in making the emperor acquainted with it. That there was some truth in the accusation seems, from collateral evidence, to be most probable, although writers in the Papal interest have not hesitated to assert that the story had its origin in the fertile brain of Frederic himself, anxious to frame some plausible pretext for abandoning an enterprise into which he had been forced much against his own inclination. The discovery of such a conspiracy would in a great measure account for the animosity with which Frederic ever after regarded those Orders, and the persecutions and extortions to which he subjected them. The true facts of the case, and the due share of blame to be allotted to the various members of the plot, are very difficult to discover. All the historians of the epoch are biassed by their own political views and inclinations, and their narratives must be received with great caution. Those who wrote in the imperial interest, whilst dwelling strongly on the treachery of the military fraternities, aver that in the treaty entered into with the Saracens by Frederic, the Christians were placed on as advantageous a footing as that which they had held before the ill-fated battle of Tiberias. On the other hand, the papal writers not only deny the existence of any plot, but assert that the much-vaunted treaty was useless. It contained, they said, a clause that the

fortifications of Jerusalem, which had been levelled by the Saracens during the siege of Damietta, should not be restored, thus rendering the possession of the city by the Christians an absolute nullity. This stipulation is alluded to by the Arabic writer, Abulfeda; and the fact that no attempt was ever made to restore the walls of the place during its brief re-occupation by the Latins seems to bear out the statement.

As has been said, Frederic had no sooner formally established his claim to the throne by his coronation in the mosque of Omar, than he at once returned to Europe, where his presence was without doubt urgently required in his own dominions. He, however, pledged himself to maintain a considerable force in Palestine for the protection of his kingdom there. Whilst these events were occurring, several changes had taken place in the governance of the Order of St. John. At the resignation of Alfonso of Portugal in the year 1195, Geoffrey le Rat, a French knight, was elected in his place. This chief, by the mildness of his rule and the general urbanity of his conduct, soon restored that peace and unanimity in the councils of the Order which had been so rudely disturbed by the violent reforms of Alfonso. Geoffrey died in the year 1207, and was in his turn succeeded by Guérin de Montaigu, a native of the province of Auvergne. It was during his Mastership that both the Crusades lately recorded took place, and he bore a very prominent and glorious part throughout them. He lived till the year 1230, thus enjoying his dignities for a period of twenty-three years, a longer rule than that of any Master since the death of the venerable Raymond du Puy.

Bertrand de Taxis succeeded Guérin at a time when the affairs of the unfortunate kingdom were in a state of confusion, even more lamentable than usual. The emperor Frederic had found, upon his return to Europe, that the constant warfare in which he was engaged against the Pope prevented him from sending those succours which on leaving Palestine he had fathfully promised to the council of the realm. His wife, Violante, had lately died in giving birth to a son, who was named Conrad, and who was, through her, heir to the crown of Jerusalem. In the absence of the infant prince and his father, rival claimants appeared to dispute the title. The scandalous injustice with which the emperor was at this time treating the military Orders,

whose European property he was seizing, pillaging, and confiscating wherever it was exposed to the violence of his animosity, would have made it only natural that they should avail themselves of this opportunity for revenge. To their credit, however, it is recorded that in spite of the ill-usage which they were receiving at his hands, they nevertheless remained, under all provocations, true to him as their legitimate sovereign, and in spite of the seductive temptations held out to them by his rivals. The Pope felt so strongly on the subject of these wanton aggressions of the emperor, that he addressed a special letter to him on the subject, exhorting him to make immediate restitution to the two Orders, on the ground of the good service which they were daily rendering for the protection of the tottering kingdom of Palestine.

This letter is the more important in a historical point of view, because in it the Pope warmly extols the military Orders, and seems to consider their conduct worthy his highest approbation and sympathy. Only eight years afterwards, however, we find him writing in the most vehement strain to the then Master, Bertrand de Comps, and putting forward the gravest possible charges against the discipline of the fraternity. In this document he accuses them, on the faith, as he asserts, of undeniable authority, of harbouring within their convents women of loose character, of possessing individually private property in opposition to their vow of poverty, and further of assisting the enemies of the church with horses and arms, together with a long catalogue of other crimes, evidently collected together by their inveterate and implacable enemies, the ecclesiastics of Palestine.

It is more than probable that some of these accusations were founded on truth. We have already seen how Alfonso of Portugal endeavoured to introduce reforms into the convent, and how he lost his magisterial dignity in consequence. We may also safely conclude that the haughty spirits which so vehemently resisted his energetic measures had not become curbed during the milder rule of his successors. Yet it seems impossible to review all the concurrent testimony which bears upon the question without feeling that the more important of the charges thus brought forward were in no way borne out

by the facts. Twenty years had barely elapsed since the king of Hungary, whilst residing at the convent, and having every opportunity of judging as to the regularity and decorum of their conduct, had expressed himself so highly edified by what he there witnessed, that he caused himself to be enrolled a member of the fraternity. Twelve years later again we find, as above stated, the Pope himself once more reiterating his approbation, and thereby ratifying the oft-expressed encomiums of his predecessors, an approbation not likely to have been extorted had such crying and barefaced irregularities existed. It is, moreover, scarcely probable that these vices, so scandalous in their nature, and requiring so much effrontery for their practice, could have gained a footing in the short space of eight years. We may therefore pretty safely conclude that whilst, on the one hand, such irregularities may have crept into the convent as would render reform highly advisable, on the other hand, the crimes detailed with such malevolent emphasis in the Pope's letter to Bertrand were for the most part the offspring of calumny.

It may not be amiss, whilst on this topic, to draw attention to the many members of the Order who at this very time were earning for themselves, by the extreme sanctity of their lives and the rigid austerities which they practised, the high honour of canonization, an honour which in those days marked a life distinguished by a resolute withdrawal from the lax morality of the age. Amongst these may be noted Ubaldesca, a sister of the Order, who passed her life in the convent of Carraja. Her sanctity was such that miracles had been frequently attributed to her during her life, and she was specially reputed to have on one occasion rivalled that performed by our Lord at the marriage in Cana. After her death, which occurred in the year 1206, her body performed divers pilgrimages—a common fate for saints to whose mortal remains the piety of succeeding generations very frequently denied that rest which is the acknowledged privilege of the tomb, and which was enjoyed without disturbance by the more humble and sinful section of humanity. Nearly 300 years later, during the Grand-Mastership of Verdala, the sacred remains of this pious lady were transported to Malta, where they were deposited in the con-

ventual church of St. John. They have ever since been an especial object of devotion to the faithful, certain indulgences having been, at Verdala's request, granted by the Pope to all worshippers at her shrine. Here her bones still remain, and here it is to be hoped they will be permitted to rest in peace until the last trump shall once more summon her from her narrow bed.

About the same time another sister of the Order, named Veronese, started into celebrity from her extraordinary devotion to the services of the Hospital. This lady's beauty was only to be equalled by her piety and modesty. Her virtues were indeed so pre-eminent that the legend which records her life asserts that three young men, dazzled by her charms, had on one occasion forgotten the respect due to her sex and profession, and were instantly struck dead at her feet. The tale concludes by stating that they were restored to life by her earnest prayers, and were themselves in consequence led to adopt a life of piety.

And lest it should be supposed that it was only amongst the ladies of the Order that this sanctity and devotion were to be found, history has also embalmed the memory of many members of the ruder sex, who, in addition to the chivalric exercise of their profession, rivalled in their religious zeal the piety of their fair sisters. Conspicuous on the roll were Hugh, head of the commandery of Genoa; Gerard Mecati, whose virtues are recorded by Paul Mimi in his treatise on the nobility of Florence; and Gerland of Poland, who was attached to the court of the emperor Frederic to represent the interests of his Order. Here he set such an edifying example to the dissolute courtiers of that prince that he established a very high reputation for sanctity. It is, however, much to be feared that he failed to work any striking reformation amongst the gay libertines by whom he was surrounded, and who were content to hold him in the highest veneration without being induced to follow his example.

It is difficult to conceive that whilst such shining lights as these were constantly emerging from the bosom of the fraternity, and who considered themselves privileged in dwelling within the circle of its influence, there could be much radically

amiss in its character. That most of the accusations brought against it, especially those of the worst kind, were engendered by the malicious jealousy of their opponents, appears to be the only rational solution of the difficulty. We are therefore justified in considering that the Order of St. John was still maintaining its high reputation. Whilst we must admit that there had been, in the course of time, much deviation from the simple devotion of its founder, it still remained a pattern for the age, and an admirable school in which the youthful devotees amongst the chivalry of Europe were enabled to find a free vent for their religious enthusiasm without having to forego their martial ardour, at the same time beholding amongst their leading dignitaries a most praiseworthy example for pious emulation.

CHAPTER IV.

1230—1291.

Re-occupation of Jerusalem by the Christians—Their expulsion by the Korasmins—Battle of Gaza—Death of Villebride, and election of Chateaufort—Reforms in the Order—Crusades of St. Louis—Sanguinary combat between the Hospitallers and Templars—Siege of Margat—Siege and fall of Acre.

BERTRAND DE TEXIS, whose election in 1230 was recorded in the preceding chapter, died in the following year. Of the career of his successor, Guérin or Guarin, nothing is known worthy of record. The traces of this Grand-Master's rule are very scanty. In a document dated October 26th, 1231, his name appears as the head of the Order. A leaden bulla or seal of his is also affixed to a document now in the Record Office of Malta, bearing date 1233. He further appears to have been alive in May, 1236, but must have died in that year. In the seal, Guérin is seen kneeling before a cross; the cross of the order is visible on his mantle. The inscription runs:—"Frater Gerinus Custos Ospitalis Jherusalem." At his death in 1236, Bertrand de Comps was elected as sixteenth Master, in which office he remained till the year 1241.

In addition to the attack made by the Pope on the discipline and morals of the Order, with which the reader is already acquainted, and which took place under his rule, Bertrand also witnessed the third re-occupation of Jerusalem by the Latins. Their brief tenure of the city, which had been the result of the treaty of Frederic with the sultan of Egypt, was brought to a close on the termination of that treaty. The sultan rejected all proposals for a renewal of its provisions, and drove the defenceless Christians out of the place. In the year 1240, however, Richard of Cornwall, brother of

Henry III. of England, made his appearance at Acre accompanied by a strong body of English crusaders. A council had been held at Spoleto, in the year 1234, which decreed that one more vigorous effort should be made to rescue the sacred province from infidel domination. Many causes had interfered to prevent the earlier arrival of this force, and on its landing at Acre the earl was surprised to learn that the count of Champagne, who had preceded him with the French crusaders, had been defeated in a battle with the sultan of Damascus, and had, in consequence, concluded a treaty so disadvantageous to the Christians, that none of their leaders, excepting the Templars, would consent to accept its provisions.

Richard had no sooner arrived at the scene of action than he at once prepared to take the field. From the well-known energy of his character, and the strength of the army which was under his command, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of his success. The sultan of Egypt, in whose possession Jerusalem and its environs still remained, was at the moment engaged in war with the sultan of Damascus. He felt, therefore, that the time was most inopportune for resisting the invasion now threatening him, and so, without waiting for any aggressive movements on the part of the earl, he offered at once to conclude a treaty by which he was to surrender Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Beritus, as well as Mount Thabor and a large portion of the Holy Land. This treaty was accepted by Richard with the approbation of most of the chiefs and dignitaries of the kingdom, and its provisions were at once carried into effect, the cities mentioned being given over to the Latins, and immediately re-occupied by them. Upon this occasion no restrictions were imposed as to the fortifying of Jerusalem, and as it was evidently impossible to hold the place in security without the adoption of prompt measures, the most strenuous exertions were made on all sides to restore its defences. The treasury of the Hospital was in consequence drained to the last farthing, and the power of the Order strained to the uttermost to further the work.

The Templars, indignant that their previous treaty with the sultan of Damascus should have been repudiated, now

in their turn refused to join in that made with the sultan of Egypt. Thus the absurd and fatal anomaly was to be witnessed of the two Orders each remaining at war with a prince with whom the other was in alliance. To this unfortunate division must be attributed much of the sad result of the next campaign, a result which Bertrand de Comps was not destined to witness, he having died, in the year 1241, of wounds received in an action against the Turcomans, who had made an irruption into the territories of the prince of Antioch. They were in this battle completely routed, and their defeat cast a halo of glory over the chivalric end of the gallant and aged Master.

The short rule of his successor, Peter de Villebride, was marked by events most disastrous to the fortunes of the kingdom and of the Order, at the head of which the unanimous voice of the fraternity had placed him. A savage horde, known by the name of Korasmins, who dwelt near the shores of the Caspian Sea, having been driven from their homes by the Mogul Tartars, had spread themselves over the neighbouring countries. The leader of this irruption was called Barbacan, a general whose skill in war and intelligence in the art of government were such as to raise him in the scale of civilization far above his wild followers. The sultan of Egypt, dreading lest this inroad should take the direction of his territories, sought to divert the impetuosity of the current into another channel, and with a politic selfishness which the circumstances of the case might well excuse, determined on sacrificing his weaker neighbours to the safety of his own dominions. With this view he suggested to Barbacan that there would be no difficulty in seizing upon the Latin possessions in Syria; and in order still further to induce him to turn his steps in that direction, offered to assist him with a subsidiary force.

This proposition was just suited to a man in the position of Barbacan, who, having been expelled from his own mountain home, had the wide world before him. To him it was perfectly immaterial whether his enemy were Christian or Moslem. All he demanded was that he should be weaker than himself, and that the prospect of booty should be sufficient to render the enterprise lucrative. On, therefore, came the new foe, over-

running and ravaging the unfortunate province which had but just returned under the rule of the Latins, and which was still suffering most severely from the perpetual warfare of which it had been the victim. Every effort which the brief space of time permitted had been made to place the sacred city in a defensible position, and had a little longer breathing time been vouchsafed to the defenders, they would probably have succeeded in holding their own, whilst the undisciplined bands of the Korasmins would have thrown themselves in vain against the ramparts. As it was, only a few feeble earthworks had as yet risen, and behind these the military Orders felt that it would be madness to attempt a stand. They therefore, after much sad and painful deliberation, determined once more to abandon to the infidel that consecrated soil, the centre of so many aspirations, and, alas! the grave of so many hopes. Many of the inhabitants, however, having only lately established themselves in their new homes, were blinded by the fury of their zeal, and burning to prevent a renewed desecration of their Saviour's tomb, persisted in remaining behind with the full determination of opposing to the death the onward course of the invaders. Others followed in the rear of the military Orders, who, after having evacuated the city, pitched their camp sufficiently near to enable them to watch the course of events.

As may be conceived, the Korasmins found an easy prey in the mob of undisciplined enthusiasts by whom they were confronted. Hurling themselves in resistless multitudes upon the feeble and unfinished entrenchments, they carried them at the first onslaught. Thence they poured into the city, where they renewed once again those scenes of carnage which had been so often before enacted on the self-same spot. It is needless to pause on the painful picture. Where savage and unbridled lust is let loose upon a defenceless people the result may be conceived. In the present instance the horrors perpetrated fully equalled anything which the most vivid imagination could dare to portray. With a cunning scarcely to be looked for in such savages, they had no sooner established themselves securely in the city than they raised upon its ramparts the standard of the Christians. Deceived by its appearance, and imagining in con-

sequence that the enemy must have been worsted in the assault, many of the fugitive Christians, who had accompanied the military Orders in their retreat, determined, in spite of the most earnest warnings, once more to return to their homes. There they found themselves entrapped by the ruthless foe, and doomed to share the miserable fate of their comrades.

Meanwhile, the Templars having discovered that a detachment of Egyptians was acting in concert with the Korasmins, called upon their ally, the sultan of Damascus, to aid them in repelling his old antagonist. In reply to this appeal, the sultan despatched a body of 4,000 Damascene horsemen to join the Christian force. With this reinforcement the Orders stood their ground in the vicinity of Gaza with the intention of watching what further course the victorious Korasmins would take. These latter did not leave them long in suspense. Satiated with slaughter, and weary of inactivity after a few days spent in the wildest revels and the vilest debauchery within the now desolate city, they advanced in a tumultuous horde, flushed with victory and eager for the fray, determined to overwhelm the handful of Latins by whom they were opposed.

In this conjuncture the councils of the Christians were much divided: the chiefs of the military Orders advised a prompt retreat, feeling that the enormous disproportion of their numbers rendered the chances of a battle so unequal as to be desperately hazardous. As, however, on the occasion of the expedition into Egypt, the presumption of one churchman, the legate Pelagius, had caused the miscarriage of the undertaking, so now, by the precipitation of another, was a still worse disaster brought about. The rash advice of the patriarch of Jerusalem overcame the prudent scruples of the other leaders, and it was, in deference to his views, decided that they should stand their ground and await the issue of a general engagement. It is one of the curious phenomena of those times that ecclesiastics were always to be found mixing themselves up with the most secular matters, and those especially with which they might be supposed to have hardly any concern, nay, still further, often, as in the instances here quoted, vehemently obtruding their opinions in questions of a purely military character, and in

contemptuous opposition to the most experienced captains of the age.

On this occasion the result did not long remain doubtful. The valour of the Christian chivalry, though exerted to the uttermost, expended itself in vain against the almost countless swarms opposed to them. The Latin army, when drawn up in its battle array, was divided into three corps. The Hospitallers, supported by the count of Jaffa, constituted the left wing; the Templars, with the militia of the kingdom, were in the centre, and the auxiliary force of Turcoman cavalry formed the right wing. Upon this occasion those jealousies which had for so long divided the military Orders, and to a great extent neutralized all the efforts made for the restoration of the kingdom, were quelled in their zeal for the common cause, and the blood of both Hospitaller and Templar flowed freely in a common stream, a worthy sacrifice to their country and religion. For two whole days was the struggle maintained, although at its very commencement the Damascenes, either from treachery or cowardice, turned their backs upon the foe and fled ignominiously from the field. This defection left the Korasmins in a numerical superiority of at least ten to one; still the Latins stood their ground undismayed, and the scale of victory seemed for a long time almost equally balanced. It was not, however, within the power of human endurance to bear up against the interminable stream of new opponents unceasingly poured upon their exhausted ranks by the indefatigable Barbacan. At length, upon the evening of the second day, the Christian force, decimated and overpowered by the sheer weight of numbers, was compelled to give way.

Signal as was their defeat it was unaccompanied by disgrace. Still struggling, though all was lost, the broken remnants of the army refused either to fly or to yield, and there, on the ground where they stood, now strewn with the mangled corpses of their comrades, they fell, one by one, faithful, even to the end, to that holy cause which they had espoused, and to which their lives and fortunes had been consecrated. In this fatal field the Masters, both of the Hospital and Temple, found a noble grave in company with almost the entire body of their respective Orders, only thirty-three of the Templars and sixteen

of the Hospitallers surviving the slaughter which marked the close of the struggle. With this disastrous defeat ended all hope of resisting the victorious advance of the Korasmins, and the slender relics of the Christian force sought the shelter of Acre. Here William de Chateauneuf was raised to the post of Master of the Hospital, vacant by the death of Peter de Villebride on the field of Gaza. Prior to his elevation he had been a preceptor in the Order, and it was from a letter of his, recording the fatal issue of that battle, that most of the details of the campaign have been preserved on the page of history.

Chateauneuf found himself at the head of his fraternity at a time when it was plunged into a state of the direst confusion and distress. Within the limits of the Holy Land there remained only a few members, mostly wounded, who, from behind the walls of Acre, were compelled to tolerate the ravage of that sacred soil which they were no longer in a position to defend. Spread like a flight of locusts over the province, the Korasmins destroyed far and wide everything which fell within their grasp. Wherever they turned their steps a heart-rending wail of distress and misery arose in their track. Had they remained united amongst themselves it is certain that they must speedily have completed the destruction of the Christians, and there is every probability that they could even have established themselves in secure and permanent empire on the wreck of the two Saracen kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus. Most providentially, however, the seeds of jealousy and mutual animosity soon sprang up in their midst. Commencing in trivial quarrels and unimportant skirmishes their disputes increased in virulence and intensity until eventually they had so far enfeebled themselves as to be no longer an object of dread to the surrounding potentates. Hemmed in on all sides by bitter and now openly declared enemies, and harassed by the peasantry of the district, whose hatred they had aroused by their licentiousness and savage brutality, they gradually diminished in numbers until before long no trace remained of a power which had so lately been the terror of the East.

Freed from the imminent peril which had at one time threatened complete annihilation, Chateauneuf took the most

energetic measures to recruit the ranks of his fraternity, and to restore some semblance of credit to its exhausted treasury. Every preceptory in Europe was drained of its members, even novices being included in the conscription ; vast sums of money were also remitted from the same sources, so that before long we find that with the re-vivifying power so peculiar to it, the Order was once more flourishing with as stately a grandeur as of old, still remaining, in conjunction with the Templars, the principal, nay, almost the only support of the kingdom.

Until this time it had been an invariable rule, in order to prevent a knight from yielding himself a prisoner, that no member so situated should, on any account, be ransomed by the public treasury. Now, however, when their numbers had become so suddenly and fearfully diminished, it was thought advisable to depart from a rigid adherence to this regulation. Chateauneuf therefore despatched an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, requesting permission to ransom all members of the fraternity then in his hands. The sultan, however, was sufficiently acute to see that if it were in the interest of the Hospitallers thus to purchase the freedom of their brethren, it must naturally be a wise policy on his part to refuse sanction to such a request. This he accordingly did, quoting to the envoys, in support of his decision, the regulation of their Order, which forbade any such traffic. The unfortunate captives were in consequence compelled to remain in slavery, whilst the envoys returned to Acre, mortified at the failure of their errand, on which much money had been uselessly spent in bribing the officers of the sultan's court, only to receive in the end an ignominious rebuff. This refusal has been very generally attributed to the influence of the emperor Frederic, who was at the time in close alliance with the sultan, and whose persevering antipathy to the military Orders has already been touched upon.

Whilst thus striving to restore the fortunes and power of the institution, after the rude shock it had so lately received, Chateauneuf was not unmindful of its interior discipline. We may gather from several different facts that at this time the most rigid austerity was being once more enforced. In support of this statement we find a special license issuing from the Pope, in which permission is given to the brethren to enter into

conversation with any secular guest who may chance to be taking his meals in their refectory, otherwise they are enjoined to maintain a strict silence during such times. We also find the following incident recorded by Joinville, the historian of the Crusade of St. Louis. A dispute having arisen between some Hospitallers and French knights, who were together in that expedition, Chateauneuf, after investigation, considered his brethren to be in the wrong, and in consequence condemned them to take their meals on the ground. They were, moreover, expressly forbidden to drive away any dog or other animal which might choose to intrude upon their platters. This discipline was maintained unrelaxed until after the most urgent entreaties on the part of Joinville himself, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to their convent.

The Crusade of St. Louis of France was one of the results of the disaster of Gaza, and the consequent loss of the principal cities of the Holy Land. That monarch, of whom history has recorded every virtue that could adorn a hero, and whose piety was destined to earn for him the posthumous honours of canonization, was seized with an ardent desire to achieve what so many of his predecessors had in vain attempted. Whilst lying on a bed of sickness he had pledged himself to the undertaking even before he had heard of the fatal day of Gaza, and he now decided upon leading in person the chivalry of France to the rescue of their co-religionists in the East. Accompanied by his three brothers, the counts of Artois, Poitiers, and Anjou, and followed by an army of 50,000 well-appointed troops, he landed at Damietta in the summer of 1249, having spent the previous winter in Cyprus. The resistance offered to his landing was but slight, and at the close of a short struggle he found himself master, not only of the shore, but of the city itself. The garrison of the fortress, struck with panic at the bold and daring advance of the French chivalry, and mindful of the scenes which had been enacted on the same spot on the occasion of its previous capture by John of Brienne, abandoned the citadel and took to flight, leaving everything open to the French.

Whilst at Damietta, Louis was joined by the whole strength

of the military Orders, led by their respective chiefs in person, as well as by a small body of 200 English lances, under the command of William Longspee, who had already served with distinction in the former Crusade, under the Earl of Cornwall. An advance towards Cairo was decided on, and the army proceeded without interruption as far as Massoura, a fortified town situated near the confluence of the two branches of the Nile. Here they found the entire Egyptian force awaiting their arrival within an entrenched camp on the far side of the river. For some time all their efforts to effect a passage by means of a temporary bridge were rendered futile by the opposition of the Egyptians. At length, however, a Bedouin Arab, tempted by the offer of a large bribe, consented to guide them to a practicable ford through which the crossing might be made. The king directed his brother, the count of Artois, to cross the ford at the head of a selected body of troops, consisting principally of the military Orders and the English knights under William Longspee. The Arab was true to his word; the ford was reached, the river crossed, and the enemy, who had in vain sought to oppose the operation, was driven from the field. At this moment a strange panic seems to have fallen on the Saracens. Abandoning their intrenchments under the idea that the whole French army was upon them, and even deserting Massoura in their terror, they fled, leaving the count of Artois in undisputed possession of both camp and city.

Had matters ended here, and had cool counsels been allowed to prevail, all would have been well, but it seems to have been the fate of these crusading expeditions that some rash and hot-headed zealot was invariably permitted to override the judgment of those who from their position and long acquaintance with the warfare of Palestine were best qualified to direct operations. The count of Artois, rejecting the prudent advice of Sonnac, the Grand-Master of the Templars, supported though it was by Longspee and the other leaders, determined to push his advantage to the utmost, and heedless of the paucity of his numbers, dashed in hot pursuit after the retreating enemy. These soon recovered from their senseless panic, and perceiving the numerical inferiority of the Christians, rallied rapidly at the call of Bendocdar, a valiant Mameluke chief, who had assumed

the command, after the death of Sacadeen, killed in the previous engagement. Turning fiercely on their pursuers, they soon threw them into confusion, and drove them in headlong flight back into Massoura. Here it was found that the inhabitants, recovering from their first consternation, had manned the walls of the place and were opposing the entrance of the fugitives. A street fight ensued, in which the superior discipline of the knights was of but little avail, and the detachment was practically annihilated. The count of Artois, Longspee, and a large number of knights were killed, whilst the Master of the Hospital, Chateauneuf, fell prisoner into the hands of the Saracens.

Louis beheld with the most lively grief and indignation this disastrous issue to a combat commenced under such glorious auspices. Crossing the ford with the remainder of his army he lost no time in advancing to the rescue. Here he was met by the Saracens, led on by Bendocdar, now completely rallied from their panic, flushed with their subsequent success, and burning to wipe out the remembrance of their ignominious flight. The fight was long and obstinate, and closed without any decided advantage to either side. Still, unquestionably the moral victory was with the Saracens, who reaped all the beneficial results of the day. Hemmed in on the ground which he occupied, Louis found himself cut off from all supplies on the side of Damietta by a Saracen force despatched for that purpose by Bendocdar, and it was not long before the army fell into a very similar predicament to that of John of Brienne. Pestilence broke out in the camp and decimated his troops. Unable to retreat as long as a Saracen force interposed between himself and Damietta, Louis in this strait meditated a sudden attack in that quarter, trusting that by taking the enemy unawares he and his enfeebled army might be enabled to cut their way through. Before he could carry this intention into effect, he was himself attacked in his intrenchments by the whole Turkish army. Wasted with disease and enfeebled by starvation his troops could offer but a very feeble resistance, nor was all the chivalric daring which on that day distinguished his own conduct able to avert the catastrophe. Disdaining to seek safety in flight at the cost of abandoning his followers, he maintained

the struggle to the last, until he eventually fell a prisoner into the hands of Bendoedar, in company with his brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitiers.

That chief behaved towards his illustrious captives with a magnanimity and generosity rare in the annals of Moslem warfare ; indeed, he treated them with the utmost consideration and respect. A treaty of peace was at once set on foot, the terms of which were not likely to require much discussion when one of the negotiating parties found himself in such a helpless position. As a ransom for himself and his army, Louis covenanted to pay the sum of 800,000 bezants, and to restore to the Saracens possession of Damietta. In order to assist in providing the necessary amount, the Hospitallers freely placed their treasury at the king's disposal. The Templars, however, were not so complaisant, and urged that the rules of their Order forbade any such appropriation of their funds. Necessity, however, knows no law, and the king felt that the crisis was of too grave and imminent a character to admit of any delicacy on his part. He lost no time, therefore, in laying forcible hands on their treasury, by the aid of which he completed the sum demanded for his liberation. As soon as the terms of the treaty had been complied with on both sides, Louis and the relics of his army returned to Acre, utterly unable to attempt anything further for the good cause. Here he lingered for four years, principally owing to the entreaties of the military Orders, who considered his presence a great safeguard for the precarious remnant of the kingdom, but also partly because of his unwillingness to return to France whilst the disgrace of his reverse was still fresh in public memory.

During his residence at Acre Louis received a message from the chief of the Hassassins, demanding the payment of blackmail as a protection against assassination, and averring that all the other Christian monarchs who had warred in the East had subscribed to the custom, and purchased safety by payment of the toll. This tribe dwelt in the mountainous country contiguous to Tripoli. They were a numerous and fanatical body of men, whose chief was known by the name of the Old Man of the Mountain. They were regarded with terror throughout the East owing to the peculiarity of their tenets. Their religion,

if religion it can be called, consisted in a blind obedience to the will of their ruler, even when it led to certain death. Assassination was held by them to be a cardinal virtue, and was blindly carried out whenever ordered by their chief. The monarch on his throne, in the midst of his court, and surrounded by the most faithful guard, was not secure from the dagger of one of the Hassassins, who, being utterly regardless of his own life, rarely failed to accomplish his mission. The dread in which the tribe was held prompted all the Mahometan leaders of the East to cultivate friendly relations with them, and they were in the receipt of subsidies in the form of tribute from nations far more powerful in point of numbers than themselves. Their name was derived from the Persian word Hassasin, signifying a dagger, which was the only weapon worn by them, and the one with which they invariably carried out the behests of their chief.

It is recorded that on one occasion the sultan of Damascus despatched an envoy to the Old Man of the Mountain demanding the payment of an annual tribute under threat of invasion. That potentate, in order to show the envoy the extent of his power over his subjects, directed one of them to cast himself headlong from the top of a tower, and another to plunge a dagger into his heart. Both commands were instantly obeyed. The prince then turning to the messenger informed him that he had 60,000 subjects, every one of whom would perform his will with the same blind obedience. Nothing more was heard of the sultan's demand for tribute.

The only rulers in the East who had steadily resisted the demand for blackmail on the part of the Hassassins, were the Masters of the Hospital and Temple. They had, at an early date, warned the Old Man that on the occasion of the first assassination the tribe should be at once exterminated, and it was well known that the threat was not an idle one. Chateaufort, therefore, no sooner heard of the audacious demand on Louis, than he instantly dismissed the embassy with the notification that unless ample reparation were at once tendered for the insult, the tribe might rest assured they would receive a visit from the whole force of the Order, for the purpose of inflicting summary chastisement. Within the stipulated time

the envoys returned with the required amende; a ring and a shirt being tendered to Louis, the first signifying that he should be encircled by the protection of the tribe, and the second that they would cling to him with attachment.

Louis left the Holy Land in 1254, and the next few years were spent by the military Orders in securing themselves within those posts which they still retained. During this lull in the political storm, the quarrels which had so often arisen between them, but which the urgency of their mutual peril had temporarily quelled, once again broke forth. Beginning in single combats or in struggles of small parties, the ill-feeling grew gradually so rancorous that eventually they rarely met without bloodshed, and not contented with isolated encounters it was not unusual for the warfare to be carried on by considerable numbers on either side. The mutual exasperation at last became so envenomed, that in the year 1259, the whole force of the respective Orders met in a general engagement. Victory favoured the side of the Hospitallers, and the slaughter was such that scarce a Templar was left to survive the fatal day. It was long ere that fraternity rallied from the blow, and by the time that their ranks had been sufficiently recruited to enable them to show front against their rivals, the breaking out of renewed hostilities against the common enemy overcame the bitterness of civil discord. It was during this, the last year of Chateauneuf's rule, that the Pope issued a bull decreeing a distinctive dress for the knight of justice. This bull is dated in August, 1259.*

Shortly after the sanguinary contest above referred to, William de Chateauneuf died in the month of October, 1259, and Hugh de Revel was elected to succeed him. This knight, the nineteenth Master of the Order, was the first who received from Pope Clement II. the title of Grand-Master. The bull conveying this dignity was dated on the 18th November, 1267. The chiefs of the Temple had, from their first foundation, taken the rank of Grand-Master, whilst those of the Hospital had, until this date, contented themselves with the simpler appellation of Master.

Under the auspices of Hugh de Revel some vital changes

* *Vide* Appendix No. 6.

were made in the organization of the European possessions of the Hospital. The various preceptories had hitherto been in the habit of remitting the surplus of their revenues, after deducting the cost of their own subsistence, to the general treasury at head-quarters in the East. In many cases, however, sometimes owing to the extravagance or mismanagement of the administrators, and sometimes from causes over which they had no control, the customary balance was not forthcoming. As, however, it was absolutely necessary that a positive and considerable sum should be relied on with certainty to support the heavy expenditure of constant warfare, it was decided, in a general council held at Cæsarea, that a definite payment should be demanded from each preceptory, based on the average receipts of a term of years, which sum they should be bound to remit to the general treasury under all circumstances, the balance of their respective revenues being retained for their own local expenses. This annual payment, which formed a species of rent-charge, was called a responsion, and was usually fixed at one-third of the gross receipts. The commission which was sent to each preceptor to announce the changes thus proposed to be introduced began with the word *commandamus*, whence arose the word commander, by which title the preceptor eventually became known. Priors were at the same time established, formed of the union of several preceptories. At the head of these were placed dignitaries with the title of prior, or, as they were afterwards termed, grand-prior. The prior held supreme control over the preceptories which constituted his priory, and he was charged with the duty of collecting and remitting their several responsions. He was also called on to maintain strict discipline, and to act as a check upon the extravagance or other mal-practices of the preceptors. He was instructed to make constant visits, so as to ascertain by personal observation that due economy and discipline were practised.

Whilst thus organizing improvements in the internal economy of his order, Hugh de Revel was at the same time making the most strenuous efforts to maintain a bold front against the perpetual aggressions of the relentless enemy. These efforts were not, however, very successful. His means of defence

were so limited, and the power against which he was called on to contend was growing gradually so overwhelming, that almost each year witnessed some new calamity. In the year 1263 the sultan succeeded in obtaining possession of the fortress of Azotus. Ninety knights of the Hospital had been placed by Revel at this post in order to lead the garrison and conduct the defence. One by one these brave men fell beneath the scimitar of the enemy, and it was not until the last of their number had succumbed that Bendocdar was able to force his way into the town. The heroic and obstinate defence of Azotus adds yet another name to that long list enrolled in history to the honour of the Order. Never had the spirit of devotion which they displayed in the sacred cause of their adoption shone with brighter lustre than during this glorious though fatal struggle.

In the succeeding year the Templars were in their turn forced to surrender the fortress of Saphoura, and these losses were soon followed by others of still greater import. Antioch, Laodicea, and Karac passed for ever from the Christians, and Acre itself was only saved for a short time by the report of anticipated succour from the king of Cyprus, which induced Bendocdar, in dread of another Crusade, to retrace his steps.

The second Crusade of Louis, in which he met his death from the pestilence which annihilated his army, brought no relief to the suffering Latins of Syria. Its course had been diverted into Africa, and there, amidst the fever-breeding swamps of Tunis, it melted away. The efforts made in the year 1271 by Prince Edward of England, though conducted with energy, were equally fruitless, owing to the insufficiency of the force of which he was the leader. Having narrowly escaped death from the dagger of one of the band of Hassassins,* that prince returned to Europe, leaving the prospects of the Christians in Syria utterly hopeless. He had, however, succeeded more through the terror of

* Immediately after the receipt of his wound, and whilst the result threatened to be fatal, Edward made his will. It was dated at Acre, June 18th, 1272, and the subscribing witnesses were Hugh de Revel, Grand-Master of the Hospital, and Thomas Berard, Grand-Master of the Temple:—"En testimoniaunce de la queu chose a ceo testament avons fet metre nostre sel et avons pries les honorables Bers frere Hue Mestre de l'Hospital et frere Thomas Berard Mestre du Temple ke a cest escrit meisent ansi lur sens."—*Acta Rymeri*, tom. i., ad ann. 1272.

his name and lineage than from any other cause (the reputation of his ancestor, Richard Cœur de Lion, being still a household word throughout the Saracen provinces of the East), in obtaining a truce for ten years, during which time a short breathing space was permitted to the harassed and dispirited Latins. During this peaceful lull Hugh de Revel died, in the year 1278, and Nicholas de Lorgue was intrusted with the baton of Grand-Master in his stead.

The death of Bendocdar in the year 1281 brought the treaty which he had made with Prince Edward to a premature close, and the military Orders were once more aroused from their brief repose. The commencement of the new war was signalized by some important successes on the part of the Christians. One of the Saracen commanders, whilst on a plundering expedition, unwarily led his forces within reach of the fortress of Margat, still an important stronghold of the Hospitallers. The garrison sallied boldly forth, and charging down on the enemy whilst they were encumbered with pillage and in a state of disorder, easily routed them and annihilated the whole body.

The sultan was so enraged at this disaster, that in the following year he despatched a force of 5,000 men for the siege and capture of Margat. Undismayed at the numbers of their opponents, the Hospitallers, feeling that they were too few to meet the enemy in open combat, determined to have recourse to stratagem. In furtherance of this object they posted a portion of their force in ambush outside the gates of the city, whilst the remainder advanced towards the enemy as though determined to give battle. After a brief struggle, and before they had become too much entangled in the fight, they pretended to yield, and fled towards the town as though struck with a sudden panic. Whilst thus hastily retiring, they took care to preserve their ranks with a precision that should have led the enemy to suspect a wile. Heedless of the warning, the Moslems, hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, dashed after the retiring foe with all the disorder of a rapid advance, and with the confidence of a victory already gained. They were, however, soon destined to discover that their anticipations were not to be so easily realized. Once drawn into the defile where the ambushade was placed, the flying Hospitallers

halted in their course and turned fiercely on their pursuers, and whilst the Saracens were preparing to re-form themselves into some semblance of order to receive this unlooked-for attack, they were dismayed by hearing the tumult of strife suddenly arise in their rear and on both flanks. Thrown into the wildest and most hopeless confusion by this sudden appearance of enemies on every side, little or no resistance was offered; the struggle became a massacre, and the battle-field was strewn with the corpses of the slain, a very slender remnant of the whole force surviving to carry to the sultan of Egypt the news of this fresh and still more serious disaster to his arms.

Aroused to a pitch of frenzy by the double defeat which he had sustained at the hands of the Order of St. John, the sultan vowed a deep and bitter revenge against the Christians. From this purpose he never swerved, although for some years the internal disturbances of his kingdom were so numerous as to prevent his being able to accomplish the design. At length, taking advantage of an interval of repose, he advanced in person against Margat at the head of a formidable army in the year 1287. Fore-warned of his intention, de Lorgue had thrown a strong reinforcement into the fortress, the garrison of which calmly awaited the attack. The sultan, on arriving in front of the walls, commenced the siege in due form; the place was invested, trenches were dug, battering rams, towers, and other military engines constructed, and all the usual routine strictly adhered to. On the part of the defenders every possible impediment was thrown in the way of the assailants, and their constant and energetic sorties created so many obstructions to the advance that the sultan seemed to gain little or no advantage.

During the time this open warfare was being carried on so much apparently in favour of the besieged, a secret and insidious advance was in progress, by which their speedy downfall was to be compassed. The visible attack had been a mere blind on the part of the sultan, who, whilst thus diverting the attention of the defenders, was quietly making his approaches below ground. In this manner he stealthily advanced, until he had at length succeeded in undermining the ramparts in every direction, temporarily supporting the walls with huge beams of

wood. Having completely accomplished his purpose, he summoned the garrison to surrender ; a message which was received with scorn by men who were buoying themselves up with the idea that they had foiled his worst attempts. What was their dismay and consternation on being informed that the walls behind which they deemed themselves so secure awaited but a signal to crumble beneath their feet. Two of their number were permitted to enter the enemy's lines in order to assure themselves of the correctness of the statement. These having received ocular demonstration of the fact, it was felt that further resistance was hopeless, and the town was given up to the sultan, the garrison being permitted to retire unmolested to Acre. Immediately on obtaining possession of this fortress, which had for so many years held them at defiance, the Saracens levelled its defences to the ground, and thus prevented its re-occupation by the Christians.

The last sad scene of the bloody drama was now rapidly approaching. Place after place fell into the hands of the victorious sultan, until at length, throughout the land, the banner of the Cross waved no-where save on the ramparts of Acre. Nicholas de Lorgue was not, however, destined to witness the *dénouement* of the tragedy. Having visited the Holy See for the purpose of making a personal appeal to the Pope on behalf of the waning church in Syria, and having utterly failed in the attempt—for in truth Europe was weary of sending her best soldiers and her hardly-earned treasures to be fruitlessly expended on the burning sands of Palestine—he returned in despair to Acre, where he died in the year 1289.

John de Villiers, a French knight, was elected in his place. He was a man whose mind was calm and far-seeing in the midst of danger, and the intrepidity of whose character was beyond the shadow of a doubt. It was to such a one that the fraternity felt they could best confide their fortunes in the perilous and desperate situation in which they were then placed. No dissentient voice was therefore raised against the nomination, which was in truth advancement to a post rather of peril and honour than of personal advantage.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the city of Acre had become the metropolis of Christianity in the East. Its

favourable situation on the sea coast rendered it the mart of the vast commerce which annually flowed both eastward and westward in the mutual exchange of the treasures of Europe and Asia. Its fortifications consisted of a double enceinte of rampart, by which the city was entirely surrounded on the land side; numerous flanking towers in close proximity to each other effectually strengthened its walls, which were so broad and solid that two chariots could pass abreast on their summit. These defences had been developed by the accumulated additions of ages, all the most celebrated of the crusaders who had resided within the city having added something to the fortress. St. Louis of France, in particular, had incurred a very large outlay in his zeal to strengthen, as far as possible, this important stronghold, the last which the Christians possessed in the Holy Land.

The grandeur of the town itself has been a fertile subject for the descriptive talents of contemporary historians. The streets, unlike those usually to be met with in the East, were wide and regular, the squares spacious, the public buildings imposing and grand, whilst the houses, which were built either of marble or of the finest cut stone, were constructed of equal height and with flat roofs, so that it was easy to pass from one end to the other without descending into the streets. They boasted, in every quarter of the town, of the luxury of glass windows, at that time still far from common in Europe, and they possessed the yet greater refinement of stained glass in the highest perfection; indeed, in this art they were far in advance of the nations of the West. Tradition revels in the picture which it draws of the splendour of all connected with this magnificent city. Silken canopies and awnings are said to have been stretched from side to side of the principal streets for protection from the mid-day heat, shedding a rich and subdued light on all around. The wealth of the world seems to have concentrated itself on this highly-favoured spot, and to have drawn thither, in consequence, the representatives of almost every nation under the sun.

Such a congregation of varied races, and such a constant stream of wealth flowing through its midst, naturally engendered a vicious mode of life, and we find the city in these, its last

days of Christian dominion, a scene of reckless turbulence and unbridled debauchery. Drunkenness, prostitution, and other vices more Eastern in their character, and too odious to be particularized, stalked rampant through its streets, and the gaily-dressed and painted harlot of Acre was notorious throughout the neighbouring districts. It was thronged by the people of no less than seventeen countries, speaking different languages, and governed by different laws. Each race occupied a separate and distinct portion of the town, having no community of interests with one another, and rendering allegiance to no supreme head. Every species of vice and wickedness consequently flourished unchecked, and the general demoralization was such that the city had gradually become a perfect sink of iniquity.

Many acts of wanton outrage having been committed on the Moslems of the neighbourhood through the brigandage of some of its heterogeneous inhabitants, the sultan, Mansour, who was only waiting for a plausible excuse to complete the expulsion of the Christians from Syria, demanded instant reparation for these wrongs. The Grand-Masters of the military Orders both urged a prompt compliance with this request. It was, indeed, not only perfectly reasonable in itself, but also at the same time backed by the whole power of Egypt—a power which recent events had taught them they were utterly unable to resist. The advice was, however, rejected with scorn; prudent counsels were stigmatized as cowardice; an answer of defiance was returned, and ere long the inhabitants of Acre learned with dismay that the whole strength of the Egyptian empire was on its road to crush this, the last stronghold of Christianity.

Mansour did not live to carry out the enterprise himself, having been poisoned by one of his generals whilst on the march to Acre. His son Khaled, however, stimulated by the last words of his father, who had directed that his body should not receive the rites of sepulture till after the capture of the city, determined to carry out the enterprise. He pushed forward his troops without delay, and ere long appeared before the walls with an army which the Arabian historians have computed at 160,000 foot and 60,000 horse. Undismayed by this enormous force, the military Orders, at the first sound of the infidel

atabal, prepared to defend themselves to the uttermost; failing in which they were ready to follow the example of so many of their brethren, and perish in the effort. As the undisputed sovereignty of the seas was still theirs, they at once removed from the city and embarked for Cyprus the whole of the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants, leaving as a garrison a strength of some 12,000 men, in addition to those who were serving under the banners of the Hospital and Temple.

Henry II., king of Cyprus, in whose person rested at this time the sovereignty of Jerusalem, on learning the straits to which this solitary remnant of his kingdom was reduced, landed at Acre with a reinforcement of 200 knights and 500 men-at-arms. This was the sole auxiliary force upon which the garrison was enabled to rely in its resistance against the almost countless swarms by whom it was beleaguered. It was not a moment for ceremony in the choice of a leader. The claims of the king, whose reputation as a soldier was, to say the least, of a very doubtful character, were overlooked in favour of one whose experience in arms and military renown were of a far higher stamp, and William de Beaujeu, Grand-Master of the Temple, was unanimously selected for the onerous post. One of his first acts was to reject, with scornful indignation, the very munificent offers which were made to him by Khaled to tempt him to surrender the town. This magnanimity secured for him the perfect confidence of the garrison, who felt that whatever perils they might be called on to undergo from the scimitar of the foe, they had nothing to dread from treachery at home.

The siege was pushed forward by the infidels with the greatest vigour, and the defence of the Christians was equally obstinate. Closer and closer were drawn the hostile trenches, and day after day saw their battalions encircling the city with a tighter grasp. The effusion of blood which marked the progress of the contest was fearful. Numerous sorties were made by the defenders, led on by the heroic Beaujeu, in which prodigies of valour were displayed, and the desperation with which they fought was marked by the piles of Saracen dead that lay strewn along the plain in the track of the Latin squadrons. In such an army, however, as that which fought under the banner

of Khaled, the slaughter of a few thousands, more or less, could have but little effect in checking his onset or averting his fell purpose. Steadily he pushed his approaches forward, step by step, until at length he was in a position to bring his battering rams into active play, whilst at the same time his miners were busily employed in burrowing beneath the towers by which the ramparts were flanked. Successive crashes marked the downfall of one bulwark after another, yet still they struggled on with the most indomitable perseverance, and with a courage the heroism of which had in it something sublime.

At last the Cursed Tower, one of the most important points in the defence of the fortress, shared the common fate, and opened a breach in the most vulnerable part of the ramparts. Henry of Cyprus, with his auxiliaries, had been stationed at this point, and he gallantly maintained the breach against every effort of the Moslem until night intervened to put a temporary stop to the strife. Then, however, perceiving that a renewal of the combat in the morning would place him in a desperate situation, and in all probability lead to his capture, if not death, he determined to abandon the defence and regain his ships. Desirous of concealing the step he was about to take, he alleged that the struggle of the day rendered a period of repose imperative to his force, and handed his post over to some Teutonic knights who were taking part in the siege, promising faithfully to relieve them in the morning. Instead of doing this he hurried with the remainder of his troops on board the fleet, which lay at anchor in the harbour, and under cover of the night set sail for Cyprus, abandoning the heroic remnant of the garrison to their fate.

The next morning at daybreak the Saracens renewed the assault with greater determination than ever, but the Teutonic knights, who retained the post basely abandoned by Henry of Cyprus, presented an impassable barrier of steel to their onset. Throughout the day the combat raged fiercely around the deadly breach, until at length, towards evening, overborne by numbers and exhausted by their long protracted defence, the Germans gave way, and the enemy, with loud shouts of exultation, poured into the place. At this critical moment, when all appeared lost, Villiers, whose enthusiastic zeal always led him

where the fight was thickest, comprehending at a glance the peril of the situation, directed his marshal to rush with the Hospitallers to the rescue. On they poured like a wave of steel, hurling itself with irresistible force against the advancing Moslems, who were streaming through the now defenceless breach. Never was the white cross of the Order displayed in deadlier fray; long and obstinate was the struggle, the one party striving to retain the advantage they had gained, the other equally eager to drive the foe back beyond the walls. At length the impetuous valour of the knights overcame every obstacle, and the Saracen, still struggling to the last, was once again hurled backward over the breach, and forced to retire discomfited to his intrenchments.

This was the last transient gleam of success that illumined the Christian cause. Innumerable fresh battalions were still at the command of Khaled, and these were poured in constant succession by their determined chief against the enfeebled and exhausted defenders of the town. Thrice on the following day was the city taken and as often regained by its dauntless garrison, yet the loss on each occasion was such as could ill be afforded, and it became more and more apparent that the place was doomed. Though each knightly warrior stood undismayed at his post, and trod the rampart firm in his resolve that the Moslem should cross it only over his lifeless body, it was evidently the energy of desperation, not that of hope. Beaujeu and the other leaders had no thought of surrender; still they felt that nothing short of a miracle could save them from destruction. What man could do to avert the blow they had done, and now there seemed to remain to them but one last duty, and that was to seal their devotion with their blood.

At length the fatal morning dawned, the sun of which was to set upon the complete expulsion of the Latins from Syria. Early in the day the marshal of the Hospitallers, whose noble daring had more than once been the means of rescuing the city from impending capture, fell at the head of his knights whilst defending a breach which had been made practicable in the ramparts near the gate of St. Anthony. Dismayed at the loss of this gallant knight, Beaujeu turned to Villiers and requested him, as a last resource, to attempt a diversion by

sallying out of the town and attacking the enemy's camp. He trusted in this manner to obtain a little respite, during which he might in some manner repair the ruin. There is no doubt that this order on his part was the means of saving the lives of Villiers and those knights who accompanied him. At the moment, the service seemed one leading to certain death, and in that way it was regarded by those who nevertheless willingly undertook its performance. Hastily assembling a troop of white cross knights, and pointing out to them that the moment had arrived to sacrifice themselves for their religion, he sallied forth by a side gate, and made a circuit so as if possible to fall upon the flank of the enemy unperceived. Khaled was, however, too wary a general to allow himself to be thus taken by surprise. Villiers found, on arrival at the intended point, that a strong force of cavalry was drawn up to receive him. All efforts to penetrate the serried mass in his front proved unavailing, and eventually he was driven back with the slender relics of his force, and compelled to try and re-enter the town. Meanwhile, the breach of St. Anthony had been carried, Beaujeu had been slain, and the town had fallen into the possession of the enemy.

All was therefore lost, and nothing left but to endeavour to rescue such of his knights as had hitherto escaped the scimitar of the foe from the massacre, which was even now flooding the streets with blood. Retreating warily, he formed a rallying point for all those able to join him, and gradually reached the shore. Here he succeeded in embarking them on board the galleys which were lying at anchor in the roadstead. This was a very difficult operation, and was not carried out without severe loss. The enemy was held in check by the archers who, posted on the vessels' decks, kept up an incessant discharge of arrows upon the advancing squadrons. Under cover of these missiles the embarkation was at length completed, and thus the sad and slender relics of that proud fraternity, which had during so many years raised the white cross as a barrier impassable to the Moslem, were compelled to abandon the sacred soil of their adoption.

Broken in spirit, and overpowered by an adverse destiny, they now, after two centuries of incessant warfare, found themselves

floating on the seas, a body of homeless wanderers, without an aim in view or a purpose to accomplish. Sad fate was this for men who, in their own persons and in those of their predecessors, had done so much for their faith, and had gained such imperishable renown—a renown which the disastrous struggle now brought to such a fatal issue had done much to increase. Amidst the despairing shrieks of the captive inhabitants, and the ferocious shouts of exultation from the victorious Moslem, which were borne on the wings of the wind, they bade adieu to the land they had loved so well, and turning the prows of their galleys westward, they reluctantly wended their sorrowful way towards the island of Cyprus.

CHAPTER V.

1291—1311.

Establishment of the Order in Cyprus—Its first naval armaments—Death of John de Villiers and election of Odon de Pins—His monastic seclusion—Dissatisfaction of the Order—His death, and accession of William de Villaret—Expedition into Palestine—Project for the capture of Rhodes—Preparations for that operation—Death of William de Villaret and accession of Fulk de Villaret—Capture of Rhodes—Destruction of the Order of the Temple.

THE slender and dispirited relics of the unfortunate garrison of Acre found shelter in the island of Cyprus, where Henry de Lusignan, anxious to remove the stain cast upon his name by his dastardly flight from the beleaguered city, welcomed them with open arms. The town of Limasol was accorded to them as a residence, and here the Hospitallers for the fourth time re-established their convent, and after a brief repose began making such arrangements for the re-organization of their body as the exigencies of the case seemed to require.

An imperative order was at once issued for each grand-priory to despatch thither, without delay, all the available members who might be residing within its limits. This injunction was obeyed with so much enthusiasm that before the expiration of many months the attenuated ranks of the fraternity at Limasol once more became augmented into something like their former numbers. Nor was it in men only that assistance poured in from Europe; the coffers of every priory were drained to the utmost for the assistance of the general treasury, so that they were soon able once more to open their Hospital and to recommence the exercise of those charitable duties which had been so rudely disturbed by the aggressions of the infidel.

Although the Holy Land had now completely passed away

from the power of the Christians, the number of pilgrims who still annually sought its shores remained undiminished; the duty, therefore, continued to devolve on the members of the Order of rendering such protection and escort on the road as lay within their means. For this purpose the galleys which had conveyed them from Acre were brought into requisition, and the brethren, driven from that sacred province to the protection of which they had so long devoted themselves, adopted a fresh career. On the new element which they had chosen, they soon succeeded in demonstrating to the Saracen foe that the flag of the Order was to be as much dreaded when waving over their galleys as it had been of yore in the van of their mailed squadrons. To the various ports of Italy and the Adriatic these new fleets wended their way in the months of March and August. They collected the grateful bands of wandering devotees at these various points of embarkation, and escorted them safely through the perils of the Levant until they landed in Syria, whence, as soon as the cravings of their religious enthusiasm had been satisfied, the brethren accompanied them back to their respective destinations.

Whilst thus employed, they not unfrequently encountered the hostile galleys of the infidel, which, scenting their prey from afar, were always to be found hovering round their would-be victims. These were not long in discovering that their old foe had lost none of his vigour, and was still as dauntless in enterprise as they had known him in past years. The numerous Turkish prizes which speedily graced the harbour of Cyprus were the first promising tokens of that maritime supremacy which was eventually to assert itself on the waters of the Mediterranean. Many of these captures proved to be extremely valuable, and in some cases individual knights had taken advantage of their position to secure for their own private use some of that wealth which should have found its way into the treasury of the Order. Discipline had, in truth, been rudely shaken by the disaster of Acre, and the sudden flash of prosperity which thus developed itself in this first commencement of a new career, seemed still further to loosen the bonds of due restraint. The very island in which the fraternity had established its convent bore amidst its balmy breezes the seeds of that

voluptuousness which from the earliest ages had been its characteristic ; and the Hospitaller, returning from a successful cruise, and released from the restraint and privations of life on board his galley, sought to make amends for the toils he had undergone by an outburst of luxurious dissipation.

Two chapters-general were held by order of John de Villiers, in which laws were passed to check this rising tendency to display and self-gratification. No knight was for the future to be allowed the possession of more than three horses, and all adornment of his equipments was once more strictly forbidden. Stringent regulations were at the same time laid down respecting the debts left by a brother at his death, specifying the mode in which they were to be defrayed. From the fact that such a regulation as this was found necessary, it appears evident that there were numerous members of the fraternity, not content with spending the proceeds of their successful cruises in a manner little becoming those who had taken upon themselves the oaths of poverty and chastity, but who were also incurring the incubus of debts. It cannot be said that the rules framed on this subject by the council were well adapted to put an end to the practice, the regulation being that in case the household and personal properties of the knight were insufficient to liquidate his liabilities, the balance was to be defrayed out of the funds he had originally transferred to the Order on his admission. This decree must have pressed far more hardly on the treasury than on the individual. It must also have increased greatly the facilities for running into debt, as creditors would feel that they had undeniable security to fall back upon in case of a failure of the knight's assets. On the whole, however, the decrees passed by these two chapters had the desired effect of checking the excesses of the turbulent, and by degrees something approaching the old state of discipline and good order was once more established.

During the remainder of the rule of John de Villiers, maritime expeditions continued without intermission, and the knights gradually curbed the power of the infidel in this branch of warfare to such an extent as to render the navigation of the Levant comparatively secure for the commerce of Europe. This was a boon which every nation could feel and appreciate,

more especially those who, like the Venetians, owed their position in the scale of nations entirely to the extent of their trading transactions. Whilst the knights of St. John had been engaged in the defence of the Holy Land, their achievements, brilliant as they were, had been of but slender assistance to the vast populations of Europe, and although religious enthusiasm had been much awakened by the tales of heroism and chivalry which were the theme of troubadour in hall and bower, still little permanent impression was left on the hearers' mind. Now, however, when in addition to the sacred cause of combating the infidel there was added the more tangible and personal benefit of protection to commerce, a cry of gratitude and warm admiration arose on every side.

The difference between the conduct of the Hospitaller and Templar was freely discussed, and paved the way for that overthrow of the latter Order which was even then dawning on the mind of Philip the Fair. They had both equally earned imperishable laurels by their gallant defence of Acre, and had both shared the same fate in their expulsion from Syria. But from the moment of turning their backs on that scene of strife, how different had been their conduct! The Hospitaller, availing himself of the nearest point from which he could still carry on the objects so dear to him, had established himself almost within sight of those shores from which he had been driven. Unable any longer to compete with his foe on land, he had not hesitated to encounter him on a new element, and those Turkish rovers who had for so many years been the terror of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, were taught to feel that the day had at length arrived when their supremacy should be ended. Instead of the slave marts of Egypt being filled with captive Christian sailors, who had hitherto furnished the bulk of their supply, the tables were now suddenly turned, and the unfortunate Turk, tugging at his oar in one of the numerous galleys of the Hospital, had ample opportunities for reflecting upon the ill-chance which had brought these new and invincible foes across his path.

The Templars, on the other hand, after a brief sojourn in Cyprus, instead of rendering the smallest assistance to their chivalric brethren in this new undertaking, hurried westward

with unseemly haste, where settling themselves in their various European preceptories, they gave way to the most unbridled luxury. Their gross licentiousness, and the arrogance of their bearing, soon drew down on them universal distrust and hatred, and there were not wanting those who possessed both power and will to accomplish their overthrow. These enemies only waited until public feeling had been sufficiently aroused to justify them in the steps they already contemplated taking. No doubt, during the last years of their existence, little can be said in favour of the Templars, and although the barbarous cruelty with which their extinction was accomplished has raised a feeling of compassion on their behalf, which to some extent effaces the memory of their misdeeds, it cannot be denied that they had of late years gravely deviated from the original design of their institution. They seemed, therefore, to be no longer fit depositaries of that enormous wealth which had been bequeathed to them for purposes so different from those to which they had appropriated it.

In the year 1294, John de Villiers, who had greatly raised his Order in public estimation, died at his convent home in Cyprus. His place was filled by Odon de Pins, a knight of Provence of great age, more noted for piety of life than for military prowess. Had he been elected to the supremacy of a fraternity of monks, he would probably have proved a most edifying selection, but in the turbulent days in which his lot was cast, and with the fierce spirits under his charge, he proved a sad failure. Occupied in the peaceful duties of his convent and Hospital, he utterly neglected those other obligations of his office which were more congenial to the temperament of his subordinates, and which were absolutely necessary to keep in check the aggressive neighbours by whom he was surrounded.

Having lost their all at the abandonment of Acre, the fraternity was still burning to recruit its finances by a continuation of those maritime forays which had been so successfully commenced under the auspices of Villiers. Whilst the galleys of the Turk, laden with the wealth of the East, were still to be found ploughing their way through the blue waters of the

Levant, and requiring but a few daring spirits to seize them for their own, it is not surprising that the inertness and monastic seclusion of Odon de Pins soon gave rise to murmurings on the part of the more active and restless members of the Order. Greater and greater became the dissatisfaction as time wore on, and the harbour of Cyprus no longer bore on its bosom those prizes which, in the time of his predecessor, had so often lain there in triumph. Utterly heedless of the increasing marks of discontent which showed themselves on all sides, Odon continued as regular as ever in his attendance on the religious duties of his profession, and as negligent as ever of its military obligations. At length, unable longer to submit to this enforced inactivity, the knights made a general appeal to the Pope for permission to depose their chief, enumerating the different causes for dissatisfaction to which they considered his conduct had justly given rise. The Pope summoned Odon to appear before him in Rome, in order to decide in his presence as to the justice of the appeal. The Grand-Master, as an obedient son of the church, instantly prepared to obey the mandate, and set forth on his journey. He was never destined to accomplish his purpose, for having been seized with illness on the road, he gradually sank under the disorder; and death, whilst it put an end to his troubles, at the same time terminated all the disputes and disagreements of which he had been the cause.

His successor was William de Villaret, also a knight of Provence, who at the time of his election was grand-prior of St. Gilles, and at the moment residing in his priory. His brother Fulk was also a knight of St. John, and greatly distinguished; so much so, that at the death of William, he was unanimously chosen to fill the vacancy; his sister Jourdain was the superior of the convent of Hospitaller ladies at Quercy, so that the family were destined, all of them, to attain the highest dignities possible in the fraternity. Villaret used no haste to quit France upon receiving the intelligence of his elevation, but availing himself of the authority with which the appointment invested him, made a magisterial inspection of all the priories in that country, instituting the most searching reforms and eradicating many

pernicious abuses. This done, he paid a flying visit to Rome to tender his respects to the Pope, after which he proceeded to Cyprus to assume the sway which had been delegated into his hands.

One of the earliest and most important acts of his rule was a descent upon Palestine, undertaken by the fraternity in alliance with Gayan, king of Persia. The accounts of this prince vary considerably, some writers having asserted that he was a Christian, others that he was a Mahometan, whilst there are not wanting those who state that he was a Pagan. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly a bitter enemy to the Saracens. He had therefore entered willingly into an alliance with the king of Cyprus, the Hospitallers, and the king of Armenia, with the view of securing the expulsion of his antagonists from the Holy Land. He was very desirous to restore the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, which he considered would form an admirable barrier on the frontier of his dominions. The records of this expedition are few and very meagre, doubts having even been raised as to whether it ever really took place. Still sufficient testimony remains to show, not only that the Christians did actually once more make good their footing in the Holy Land, but that they even advanced as far as, and took possession of Jerusalem itself. The policy of the Saracens had, however, rendered this advance of no permanent avail. They had taken the precaution of destroying the fortifications of every city within the limits of Palestine, the possession of which, therefore, must eventually remain with the power which could maintain the strongest force in the field. Accordingly we find that the Hospitallers, having once more gladdened their eyes with the sight of those holy places so familiar to their memory, were obliged to retire in face of the superior force which the Saracens brought against them; their ally, Gayan, having been suddenly called away in the midst of the campaign to quell a rebellion in his own dominions.

Thus driven from Palestine, and yet eager to bestir himself in the interests of his Order, the mind of Villaret gradually became impressed with the desire to obtain for them a new and more permanent home than that which had been accorded to them in Cyprus. He looked for a settlement in a spot where

they should be enabled to consider themselves as lords, and not merely tolerated as guests, somewhat unwelcome ones into the bargain, which was the position they had of late been compelled to accept. Various causes of discord had gradually arisen during their residence in Cyprus; oppressive taxes and other exactions had been imposed upon them, payment of which had been rigidly enforced, despite the earnest remonstrances of the Pope. It seemed, therefore, but natural that Villaret should desire to change their home to some more hospitable locality, and to obtain for his name a lasting renown by regaining for his Order a position of dignity more in accordance with that which hitherto it had always occupied.

For this purpose he turned his eyes in the direction of Rhodes, a spot which appeared in every way adapted to the purpose he had at heart. This island had originally formed a dependence of the empire of Constantinople. At the time when that kingdom fell under the power of the Latin crusaders, it became the prey of the Genoese, in whose possession it continued until Vatiens, one of the most politic and gifted princes of his age, succeeded in expelling the intruders, and restoring it to the empire from which it had been torn. Gradually, however, its governors established themselves as independent princes in the island. In order to make good their pretensions against the emperor, they opened their ports to all the Turkish and Saracen merchants who chose to make it their home, and the corsairs who ravaged the Mediterranean were always sure of a hearty welcome and a safe shelter within its harbours. To repel this noxious swarm and to destroy their nest would of itself be an act reflecting great credit on Villaret; whilst to erect in its place a stronghold which should be a terror to the infidel and a support to the commerce of Europe, was an object worthy the chivalric mind which conceived it, and certain to evoke the deepest gratitude of Christendom.

Impressed with these views, Villaret determined to carry out a secret but thorough reconnoissance of the island. He was making all the necessary arrangements for this duty when, in conjunction with the Grand-Master of the Temple, he received a summons to repair to Rome, ostensibly for the purpose of a conference as to the feasibility of a new Crusade. This, however,

was only a subterfuge on the part of the Pope to conceal the real designs he had in view, and of which more will be told further on. The Grand-Master of the Templars obeyed the summons free of suspicion and without loss of time; but Villaret excused himself from the journey on the plea of the urgent business in which he was then engaged. He was, indeed, at that moment on the eve of starting from Cyprus, burning with anxiety to obtain the most accurate information on all points which could guide him in the prosecution of his enterprise.

He coasted cautiously round the island, marking well its various points of defence, as also those which seemed to him the most vulnerable, the positions of the harbours, the sites of the towns, and as far as he could ascertain, the number of their respective inhabitants. By the time he had concluded his survey, it was made very clear to him that the undertaking was one of no ordinary magnitude, and that Rhodes possessed the most formidable means of defence if its inhabitants knew how to avail themselves skilfully of their advantages. Undeterred by the discovery of these difficulties, he returned to Cyprus, fully resolved on at once organizing an expedition for the seizure of the island. Unfortunately, however, in the midst of his preparations a sudden and violent illness carried him off, and postponed for a while the execution of the project which he had had so much at heart.

This event occurred in the year 1308, and was the source of the most lively regret on the part of the Order, by whom he was much beloved. They at once elected his brother Fulk in his place, conceiving, with great justice, that as the latter had always been in his confidence, he would prove the best-fitted person to carry out the grand design of William. The first act of Fulk, on assuming the reins of office, was to proceed to France, in order to procure an audience with Clement V. and Philip the Fair, from both of whom he hoped to obtain assistance in his project. He found the two potentates in close and secret conclave at Poitiers, in company with James de Molay, the unfortunate Grand-Master of the Temple, who had arrived there during the preceding year, in profound ignorance of the cruel plot then forming against himself and his fraternity.

Villaret lost no time in submitting his scheme to both Pope and king, pointing out the many advantages which the acquisition of Rhodes by the Order of St. John would confer upon Europe. Clement, with a very natural ambition that his papacy should be marked by an event so important to Christendom, entered warmly into the scheme. Not content with contributing a large sum of money from his own private resources, he used his utmost influence to obtain for Villaret such assistance, both in men and money, as his papal authority could extract from the various nations which acknowledged his supremacy.

In order to prevent the secret of the enterprise from transpiring, a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land was preached, backed by the promise of plenary indulgence to those who should either join the expedition or contribute funds for its support. To the Grand-Master he gave the right of nomination to the archbishopric of Rhodes, in the event of his success warranting the creation of such a dignity. Large numbers of enthusiasts responded eagerly to the appeal, and flocked to Brundisium, which had been selected as the rendezvous at which they were to embark. Villaret found that he had not means of transport for one-third of those who proposed to accompany him, most of whom were only a disorderly throng, more likely to prove an impediment than an assistance in his projected enterprise. Selecting, therefore, only the flower of this host of volunteers, he embarked them on board the galleys which had been furnished expressly for the expedition as the joint contribution of the king of Sicily and the republic of Genoa.

Villaret was a man of very haughty and reserved character, and not one to submit with impunity to the cross-examination of his subordinates. In his control lay the chief command and direction of the expedition, and the known peculiarities of his disposition aided him materially in preserving within his own breast the secret of its destination. Passing Rhodes at some little distance, so as to avoid awakening the suspicions of its inhabitants, he proceeded to Cyprus, where he embarked such members of the Order as had remained there during his absence in Europe. He thence proceeded in a north-easterly

direction, and leaving Syria on his right, entered a port in Asia Minor. All were now eager to learn their destination, but Fulk continued impenetrable in his reserve. To the members of his own Order only did he unfold his design, with the strictest injunctions to secrecy, for from them he felt sure not only of cheerful, but enthusiastic support. To the remainder of his force he still maintained the fiction of a Crusade, with the prospect of which it was his intention to blind them until the proper moment had arrived for throwing off the mask.

His immediate object in thus putting into port was the sending of an embassy to Constantinople, to demand from the emperor the sovereignty of Rhodes, as soon as he should have achieved its conquest, promising to furnish an annual contribution to the Greek empire both of men and money, should his request be granted. The authority of the emperor over Rhodes was at that time purely nominal, the reality having long since slipped from his grasp; still he declined to accede to this proposal. It is not improbable that he thought he would retain a better prospect of regaining possession of the island whilst it remained in the hands of the Saracen pirates, than could possibly be the case were it once to become the stronghold of the Order of St. John. This refusal on the part of the emperor having been fully anticipated by Fulk, had but little weight in dissuading him from his task, on the prompt execution of which he was more than ever intent. Whilst awaiting the answer from Constantinople, he had despatched spies into Rhodes with the view of obtaining really accurate information with respect to the island. These spies had returned with such glowing accounts of its wealth and fertility, the beauty of its towns, the verdure of its fields, and the commodiousness of its harbours, that his impatient spirit yearned to hold within his grasp the possession of so lovely a spot.

Once more embarking his forces, he now at length revealed to them what he proposed as their real destination. The island was speedily sighted, and without allowing the inhabitants time to recover from the surprise and panic into which the sudden apparition of his fleet had thrown them, he made a descent

upon the coast, and after a slender and desultory resistance on their part, effected his landing. By this prompt measure the open country fell, to a great extent, into his hands. Still, as the town of Rhodes remained in the possession of the Saracens, this occupation availed him but little, and it was easy to see that the most difficult part of his task remained undone so long as the banner of the crescent continued to wave over its ramparts. Hoping by a bold stroke to achieve a complete victory at once, he attempted to carry the town by storm, but in vain; the number and valour of the garrison, aided by the strength of the defences behind which they were fighting, more than counterbalanced the impetuous energy of the invaders, backed though they were by the veterans of the Hospital, and led on by the daring Villaret himself.

Many of the Saracens had, during the first moments of panic, embarked on board their galleys and put to sea. These, after a time, seeing that all was not lost, as they had at first imagined, returned to port and once again landed, thus aiding to swell the strength of the garrison. The emperor of Constantinople, also, as soon as he learnt that a descent on Rhodes had actually been effected, despatched an auxiliary force to assist in expelling the invaders. He entertained a hope that after he had defeated the intruders, he might probably succeed in regaining possession of the island for himself. Whilst these augmentations in the number of his foes were taking place, Villaret was doomed to witness a rapid diminution in the strength of his own forces. Many of the gallant spirits who in a moment of enthusiasm had joined the Crusade under the idea that its object was the expulsion of the Saracen from Palestine and the restoration of the kingdom of Jerusalem, found their ardour sensibly abating when they discovered that they were being called on to fight, not for the sacred object which had for centuries been an incentive to the valour of Europe, but for the private advantage of an Order which, notwithstanding the numerous benefits it was daily conferring on Christendom, was by many regarded with jealousy and suspicion, if not with actual dislike. One by one these disappointed crusaders abandoned the enterprise, and stole away from the scene of a strife which was daily becoming more and more unpromising.

Eventually Villaret found himself abandoned by all, except the members of his own fraternity, who, having staked everything on the cast, had determined to stand with him the hazard of the die.

Under these adverse circumstances all further attempts at the capture of the city were for the moment out of the question, and it was not long before Villaret found himself surrounded by the enemy, and in a state of siege within the limits of his own camp. Aroused by the audacity of this league of Greeks and Saracens, Villaret assembled all that yet remained to him of the invading army, and, after a brief and spirited harangue, he led them forth to the assault. The position was certainly very desperate, and he determined either to clear the country of the enemy, or sacrifice the slender remains of his force in the attempt. The struggle was long and obstinate, and the loss of the Hospitallers such as in their weakened state they could but ill afford. Desperation at length inclined the balance in their favour, and ere that evening's sun had set, Villaret had the satisfaction of standing undisputed master of the field, and of witnessing the complete dispersion of the numerous battalions by which he had been surrounded.

The routed Greeks and Saracens, under cover of night, flung themselves into their galleys, and crossing over to the mainland, spread throughout the province of Lycia the intelligence of their utter defeat. Meanwhile Villaret, having re-assembled the proud relics of his force, returned once more to his attempts upon the city. Finding himself far too enfeebled to achieve its capture by assault, he changed his tactics, and converted his attack into a blockade, determining to await the arrival of reinforcements from Europe before proceeding to more active measures. His steady perseverance and indomitable energy carried him triumphantly through the difficulties of the crisis. He succeeded in obtaining a large sum of money by way of loan from the Florentine bankers upon the security of the revenues of his Order, which he had no hesitation in pledging for the purpose ; a security which at that time could hardly have been considered a very safe one, and which must have required no little financial talent on his part to render marketable. Provided thus with the sinews of war, he was not

long in assembling beneath his banner a considerable number of those mercenary troops whose services were always to be purchased by a good paymaster.

Finding his strength now once more restored to a state that would warrant active measures, and trusting that the garrison, cooped up for so long within the walls of the town, would be disheartened by the wearisome blockade to which it had been subjected, he determined again to deliver an assault. This he did on the 5th of August, 1310, and with complete success. Before nightfall on that day the white cross banner of the Hospital was waving over the ramparts of Rhodes, and the remnant of the nest of pirates who escaped the exterminating sword of the invader, had fled in confusion to the shores of Asia.

No authentic records of this struggle now exist or appear ever to have come to the aid of the historian of the epoch, the only account of its incidents having been the somewhat apocryphal details to be gathered from a set of tapestry hangings commemorating the events of the siege, which for many years decorated the palace of the Grand-Master in the convent at Rhodes. Some of the older historians, in the dearth of more accurate records, have invented a fable which would infer that the town was captured by stratagem. Their story runs that on a dark and foggy day some of the knights covered themselves with sheep's skins, and joining a flock of sheep which was returning into the city, they entered in its midst unperceived. Once arrived at the principal gate they seized it and admitted their *confrères*. Without attaching any importance to this fable, which is repeated merely as an example of the inventive powers of some of the old historians, it is no doubt probable that some stratagem was successfully practised by which the city did fall into their hands. Nothing, however, is really known, as all accurate details are wanting. It has been presumed, and probably with reason, that an extensive fire, which nearly destroyed the convent during the first century of the residence of the Order in the island, may have consumed such documentary details of the siege as were likely to have been retained amongst the public archives.

The name of Rhodes is supposed to have been derived from

the roses, for which the island was famous. It had previously been called by the Greeks Orphieuse, or the island of serpents, owing to the number of venomous reptiles with which it was in those days infested. Possessing a mild and equable climate, which, while far removed from the scorching heat of the tropics, was at the same time free from the chilling blasts of more northern latitudes, with a soil of such fertility as to render the whole island one vast garden, broken into alternate masses of hill and dale, of which the rich and varied undulations were clothed with the most brilliant verdure, it was indeed a spot likely to attract the attention and excite the desires of a body of men who, like the Hospitallers, were in search of a permanent home. The following description of the ancient Rhodes is taken from Newton's "Travels in the Levant" :—

"Founded B.C. 408, and laid out by the same great architect, Hippodanus, who built the Piræus, Rhodes was probably one of the earliest of the Hellenic cities of which the plan was designed by one master mind. Hence that symmetry in the arrangement of the city which the rhetorician Aristides, writing in the second century A.D., describes in a well-known passage. Rhodes, he says, was built in the form of an amphitheatre; the temples and public buildings were grouped together so as to form one composition, of which the several parts balanced each other as in the design of a single edifice. The whole was encompassed by a wall, which, with its stately towers and battlements, he compares to a crown. The temples and other public buildings were adorned with celebrated works in painting and sculpture, and according to Pliny the city contained no less than 3,000 statues, of which 100 were of colossal size. The maritime greatness of Rhodes was due not only to its geographical position, but also to the convenience of its harbours and to the perfect equipment of the dockyards and arsenal, which from Strabo's description occupied a large space in relation to the rest of the city, and like those of Carthage and Halicarnassus were probably screened from observation by high walls and roofs. Any curious interloper found within these forbidden precincts at Rhodes or at Carthage was liable to the punishment of death. Aristides, in describing the harbours, specially praises their convenience in reference to the prevailing winds. They are so

disposed, he says, as if for the express purpose of receiving the ships of Ionia, Caria, Cyprus, and Egypt. Towering above these harbours stood the famous bronze Colossus, which from its position on the shore was probably intended to serve as a sea mark and a lighthouse. So vast a surface of polished metal reflecting the bright sky of Rhodes must have been visible from a great distance at sea, and must have been to the Rhodian mariner an object as familiar as the statue of Athene Promachos was to those who sailed past the Attic Sunium."

During the ages of her early civilization the hardy population of Rhodes furnished a constant supply of seamen, who in the pursuit of commerce were to be met with at every point in the Mediterranean, and whose skill and energy raised the reputation of their island to a very high pitch amongst the commonwealths of Europe. When in later years Rhodes fell under the control of the effete empire of Constantinople, it gradually became inoculated with the same vices and the same decay which were slowly but steadily effecting the overthrow of the mother country. At the time when the knights raised their banner in the island its inhabitants had lost all that energy and strength of character which of old distinguished them, and had bowed in abject submission under the yoke of the Saracen pirates whom they had received within their ports.

Villaret's first act, after having secured possession of the town was to embark on board the fleet, with a large portion of his forces, for the purpose of visiting the various small islands in the vicinity. By this means he speedily enforced submission to his authority in the islands of Nisyrus, Leros, Calamos, Episcopia or Telos, Calchos, Symia, and Cos, in none of which did he meet with any serious opposition. At Cos he determined to establish as soon as possible a subsidiary fortress, perceiving its importance as a point of support. Having completed these precautionary measures for the protection of his new acquisition, Villaret returned to Rhodes in order to take the necessary steps to establish his convent there. From the time of the first landing of the Hospitallers until their final settlement in undisputed sovereignty over that and the neighbouring islands, a period of nearly four years had elapsed, the whole of which had been passed in

a constant succession of struggles. While these events were occupying the energies and engrossing the attention of the knights of St. John, changes of the most vital importance had been taking place in Europe, by which their future fortunes were greatly affected, and to which it will be necessary now to refer.

At the death of Pope Benedict XI., the conclave of cardinals assembled to elect his successor found themselves divided into two factions, which might be distinguished as French and Italian. Fortunately for the interests of Philip the Fair of France, the leader of the French party was Cardinal Dupré, a consummate politician, and one well versed in the intrigues of a court. Perceiving that his party was not sufficiently numerous to carry the election of a French nominee, and trusting that he might meet the views of his monarch in a different way, he, on behalf of his French colleagues, suggested to the adverse faction that he would leave to them the nomination of three candidates for the post, provided they would consent to the election of whichever one of the three he might select. The Italians, perceiving that by putting forward three of their own side as candidates, they could insure the election, acceded at once to the proposal, and submitted the names of three rampant Ultramontanes for Dupré's choice. Amongst these was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, a man of unprincipled character, loose morality, and overweening ambition. Dupré conceived that Philip might, if he acted judiciously, find a willing tool in the person of this prelate, although at that moment he was an open and avowed enemy. He therefore despatched a secret messenger to the king, informing him of the decision at which the cardinals had arrived, and that the nomination of the archbishop of Bordeaux lay within the power of the French party. Philip at once wrote to Bertrand, appointing a secret rendezvous, with a view to his acceptance of certain most advantageous offers. The result of this clandestine interview was that the king undertook to procure his nomination to the chair of St. Peter, he, on his side, pledging himself to carry out the views of the former on all matters relating to church government in France. It is generally supposed that one of the clauses of this secret treaty related to the Order of the

Temple, and that by it the expectant Pope pledged himself to exercise the whole authority of his new position, to support the king in effecting the speedy and complete destruction of that fraternity. Between the Templars and Philip a bitter hatred had gradually been engendered, much fostered by the numerous acts of arrogance and insubordination of which its members had been so frequently guilty.

In order to carry out this design, Bertrand, as soon as he had been elected to the Papacy, under the title of Clement V., prepared to take the first step towards their annihilation by securing the person of the Grand-Master, James de Molay. For this purpose he wrote, as we have already seen, to the chiefs of both Orders, requiring their immediate presence at Lyons, where his court was at that time established. The ostensible purpose for which the summons was issued was to deliberate as to the propriety of organizing a new Crusade. John de Villiers declined obeying the mandate, not from any suspicion of treachery or danger, but because he was at the moment deeply engaged in his designs upon Rhodes. James de Molay, who was really the person Clement desired to entrap, most unfortunately for himself and his Order, proved more obedient, and lost no time in repairing to France, where he arrived in the early part of the year 1307. He took with him a large accumulation of treasure, the property of the fraternity, which, for greater security, he lodged in the Temple at Paris. He was at first treated with every consideration by both king and pontiff. Various discussions took place between Clement and himself, both as to the advisability of a new Crusade and also as to a projected union of the two Orders. Indeed, Clement was so urgent on this latter point that it seems not unlikely he trusted by some such amalgamation, in which the Templars might lose all individuality, and become merged in the Order of St. John, to avoid proceeding to those extremities against them which the ruthless Philip contemplated, and to the execution of which he stood pledged by his promises to that monarch. Be this as it may, Molay strenuously opposed the suggestion, and in a lengthy document which history has preserved, he adduced numerous arguments to support his antagonism to the measure. From this moment his fate was sealed. If the Pope made

his proposal as a compromise, whereby the lives and property of the Order were to be preserved, the refusal of Molay prevented its success, and thenceforward he determined to let matters take their course.

The pear was now ripe. The moment had arrived for which Philip had so long and so steadily plotted, and the fatal blow was to be no longer delayed. Secret orders were issued to the judicial authorities in every province of France, directing them simultaneously to set on foot a complete and speedy survey of all the Temple preceptories within their respective districts. They were to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the number and persons of all knights resident therein, and on October 13th these were to be all surprised and taken prisoners. An inquiry under the Inquisition was to be afterwards instituted, the application of torture being authorized in order to extort such confessions from the unfortunate captives as might justify the proceedings which were being taken against them.

These instructions were faithfully carried into effect. On the appointed day every Templar then within the limits of the French dominions was seized, and either cast into a dungeon or placed in close confinement within his own preceptory. The principal witnesses by whom the accusations brought against the Order were to be substantiated consisted of two reprobates, both under sentence of perpetual imprisonment; one of them, Nosso de Florentin, an apostate Templar, and the other, Squire de Florian, a citizen of Béziers. Both of these worthies had been confined in the same dungeon, where they had found ample time, during their hours of enforced idleness, to concoct their charges. These proved to be of so extravagant a nature that it required the full amount of ignorance prevalent in those days to render them credible. Absurd and maliciously false as they most palpably were, the inventors trusted to be enabled, by their means, to purchase liberation from the punishment which their own heinous crimes had justly brought down upon them.

These charges, which were afterwards framed into a regular act of inquisition, embraced no less than seventy-seven different items. The first thirteen imputed to the fraternity a total disbelief in God, our Saviour, the crucifixion, the blessed Virgin

and the other saints ; it was therein also alleged that they performed divers acts of sacrilege, such as spitting and trampling upon the cross and the image of our Saviour. Two articles accused them of worshipping a cat as a mark of contempt for the Christian religion. Then followed eight items accusing them of a repudiation of the sacraments of the church. Six more recorded their belief in the power of the superiors of the Order to grant absolution. Then followed six others, imputing to the fraternity a number of acts during the reception of novices which cannot be further alluded to. Three more made it a crime that the reception was performed in secrecy. Abominations, too disgusting to be named, were the subject of the next seven, after which came twenty-one more, accusing them of the worship of idols, and the remaining articles related to matters of heretical depravity. The idol alluded to as an object of worship was described as having two carbuncles for eyes, "bright as the brightness of heaven," and as being covered with an old skin embalmed, having the appearance of a piece of polished oil cloth. In their rites and ceremonies to this attractive object of worship they were supposed to roast infants, and to lubricate their idol with the fat. It was also said that they burned the bodies of their deceased brethren, and made the ashes into a powder, which they administered to the novices of the fraternity, to confirm them in their idolatry, together with other abominations too absurd and horrible to be recapitulated.

On the 19th October, 1307, the Grand Inquisitor commenced his examination of the knights confined within the Temple at Paris, whose number amounted to 140. These unfortunate men were, one after the other, subjected to the most fearful tortures under the practised hands of the Dominicans, at that time justly esteemed the most expert torturers of the age.

Whilst these revolting barbarities were being perpetrated in France, Philip had written to Edward II., who had just ascended the throne of England, enumerating the various accusations then being brought against the Order, and urging upon that monarch the advisability of his following the same line of conduct. To this letter Edward sent a reply,

the tone of which shewed a strong disbelief in the imputations cast upon the Templars. He distinctly refused to take any active measures in the matter without a strict preliminary inquiry. It may be assumed that the result of this investigation was favourable to the accused, since we find Edward writing to the kings of Aragon, Castile, Portugal, and Sicily, on the 4th of December in the same year, requesting them to pay no attention to the accusations then being brought against the fraternity. He at the same time wrote to the Pope, stating his conviction that these rumours of foul and discreditable practices were utterly without foundation. Unfortunately for the Templars, the Pope had just addressed a bull to Edward, dated the 22nd of November, which must have reached him within a few days after he had despatched his own letter. In this document his Holiness reiterated all the accusations that had been previously brought forward, and which, he asserted, were confirmed by the confessions extorted from the knights who were prisoners in France. He therefore directed Edward, in that tone of arrogant superiority with which the pontiffs in those days were wont to address the monarchs of Europe, to cause all the Templars in his dominions to be taken into immediate custody, and their property to be lodged in the hands of trustees, that it might be held in safety until he should send further instructions on the subject.

Whether this bull had really the effect of convincing Edward of the justice of the accusations, or whether he felt himself unable to cope with his ecclesiastical superior, or, again, whether he foresaw, in the impending dissolution of the Order, a prospect of securing for himself or for some of his unworthy favourites a goodly slice of that fair patrimony which the Templars had so long enjoyed within his dominions, and whose broad acres seemed now likely to fall a prey to the strongest arm, whichever of these reasons influenced the king, it is very certain, that in obedience to the orders of the Pope, all the brethren in England, save such as were fortunate enough to elude the grasp of the law, were seized within their preceptories on the 8th of January, 1308. The number thus made prisoners amounted to 229. It will not be necessary to enter into any details of the proceedings which were carried on in the two

countries, the accusations being practically the same, and the result not very dissimilar. Whilst, however, the examinations of the prisoners were prosecuted in England with comparatively little cruelty, those undergone by the unfortunate victims of Philip's malevolence were coupled with every species of torture which the diabolical ingenuity of the Dominicans could devise. A large number perished under the hands of the questioners, and many more sought a temporary relief from their agonies by confessions which admitted the justice of the accusations brought against them.

There still remained steadfast an heroic band, whose powers of endurance had enabled them to survive the tortures under which their weaker brethren had succumbed, and the constancy of whose courage had carried them through even that fearful trial, and had given them the power manfully and firmly to maintain their innocence to the last. Of these noble examples of the true Christian soldier, fifty-four were burnt alive in Paris in a single day. They died, testifying to the last to the fair fame of their Order, and the fearful injustice of the persecution to which they had fallen victims.

It was at length determined, between the Pope and the king, that matters should be brought to a close; a solemn council was therefore convoked in the winter of 1311, to decide upon the ultimate fate of the fraternity. The members of this council, ecclesiastics though they were, and antagonistic as they had so often proved themselves to the Templars, shrank, when the critical moment arrived, from the task of utterly annihilating an Order which for so many years had, by its noble deeds in the Christian cause, gained for itself the applause of every gallant spirit throughout Europe. Neither Philip nor Clement was to be turned from his fell purpose by the reluctance of a council of scrupulous ecclesiastics. The latter, in virtue of that plenary authority to which his position entitled him, decreed, on his own responsibility, and without even the form of sanction from the council, the utter and immediate suppression of the fraternity. After much discussion, and a variety of counter propositions, it was decided that all the estates of the Templars throughout Europe were to be transferred to the knights of St. John, the revenues arising therefrom to be consecrated to the defence of

the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who still continued annually to seek its shores.

The concluding act of the bloody drama remained yet to be performed. The Grand-Master and the three grand-priors of Normandy, France, and Aquitaine still languished within the dungeons of their persecutor. The extremity of the torture to which they had been subjected had elicited from each of these dignitaries a partial confession of some of the absurd accusations brought against them, and it was deemed advisable, in order to justify the atrocious cruelties and the scandalous spoliation of which the fraternity had been the victims, that these confessions should be reiterated with the utmost publicity by the unfortunate knights. For this purpose a scaffold was erected in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and on the 18th of March, 1313, the citizens were summoned to hear the confessions of these, the four principal officers of the Order, read aloud and confirmed by themselves. As soon as the prisoners had taken their places on the scaffold the bishop of Alba, after a violent harangue, in which he recapitulated the principal accusations that had been brought against the Templars, read aloud the contents of a document purporting to be an admission of their guilt on the part of the Grand-Master and his three *confrères*. When called upon to confirm these confessions, the priors of France and Aquitaine admitted the truth of the statements, and by this act of cowardice on their part purchased an ignominious reprieve of their doom. James de Molay, however, advancing to the edge of the scaffold, repudiated in a loud tone of voice his previous admissions. He announced to the assembled multitude that not only had they been originally extorted from him in a moment of weakness under the agony of torture, but further that they had been distorted and interpolated in a most scandalous and barefaced manner by the inquisitors before whom the examinations had been conducted, and who, he stated, deserved the death to which Saracens condemn those who have been convicted of lying and forgery. The prior of Normandy commenced to make a similar recantation, but the authorities hurriedly brought his address to a close, and the two recusants were taken back to their prison. The indignation of Philip was unbounded at this unexpected result of a proceeding by which

he had contemplated a complete justification for the severity of his previous persecutions, and he determined to wreak a fearful vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. Without the delay of an hour the fiat for their instant execution was issued, and on that same evening James de Molay and his fellow-victim Guy, the prior of Normandy, were both burnt before a slow fire on a small island in the river Seine. The spot where this tragedy took place is now marked by the erection of the equestrian statue of Henry IV.

The promulgation of the papal mandate announcing the extinction of the Order of the Temple had been followed by a bull carrying out the decision of the council, before mentioned, namely, that its property should be transferred to the knights of St. John. For a considerable time this mandate remained a complete nullity; eventually a small portion of the forfeited revenues did find its way into the treasury of the Hospitallers. In Castile, Aragon, and Portugal the respective monarchs created new military Orders, taking for themselves the position of Grand-Masters under the title of perpetual administrators. The ostensible purpose of these new establishments was the provision of a barrier to repel the inroads of the Moors, the real motive being that by this means they retained all the property of the defunct fraternity in their own hands. In France Philip laid claim to the sum of 200,000 livres as a reimbursement of the money which the prosecution of the Templars had cost him, and his son extorted a further sum of 60,000 livres before he could be brought to permit the transfer of the much-coveted lands to the Hospitallers. In England the overthrow of the brotherhood was followed by a general scramble for the good things thus left without an owner. Much was seized by Edward for himself; more was transferred to favourites about the court, whilst in other cases claims were put in by the heirs of the original donors which were acceded to. The Pope, indignant at this secular appropriation of so much ecclesiastical property, wrote most urgently and menacingly upon the subject. Ultimately the dread of papal fulminations led to the enactment of a bill in parliament in the year 1324, by which the Hospitallers were put into legal possession of their rights. They found, however, to their cost, that in those troublous times there was a vast

difference between legal rights and actual possession. The struggle between themselves and the many vultures who had settled upon the prey was continued for a lengthened period, and rendered the addition to their property in England a matter far more nominal than real.

Such was the sad end of the Order of the Temple, an institution coeval with that of the Hospital, and which had stood side by side with it on many a well-fought field, and during many a protracted struggle. Now, whilst the one Order had by its recent conquest of Rhodes raised itself to a still higher position in the estimation of the world, the sun of its rival's glory had set in gloom, and was for ever quenched in blood.

The accusations by which its overthrow had been achieved were in themselves so preposterous and ludicrous that they were evidently only a cloak behind which to conceal the actual motives which influenced its persecutors. At the present time it seems extraordinary that such childish and absurd fabrications should have entered the imaginations of men like Philip and his coadjutors—men distinguished for the vigour of their judgment and the wisdom of their policy, unscrupulous though it too often was. The result, however, proved that they rightly gauged the intelligence of the age, and that their fables were suited to the capacity of those for whose benefit they had been concocted. No statement was too gross, no imputation too transparent for the vulgar prejudices and credulity of the fourteenth century. Under cover of popular ignorance, and beneath the mask of pious enthusiasm, a bitter vengeance was wreaked for many a bygone injury and many a forgotten insult; forgotten, that is, by the haughty Templar in all the pride of his wealth and position, but not by those who were quietly biding their time, and by whom it was carefully nursed in silence and in secret until the fatal hour should arrive when it might be promptly and amply avenged.

Still, although it cannot for one instant be denied that the pretences under cover of which the annihilation of the fraternity was accomplished, were utterly false and without a shadow of foundation, it does not therefore follow that the Order is to be acquitted of all evil, and to be surrounded by that halo of martyrdom which it has been the object of so many panegyrists

to spread over its later days. The motives ordinarily attributed to Philip, Clement, and the other authors of their overthrow, will not suffice entirely to account for the catastrophe, though doubtless they may have had much weight in the matter. If it were avarice alone that prompted the act, how came it that Clement, who was the principal agent in the transaction, never dreamt of appropriating their revenues to himself, or even to the ecclesiastics under his own immediate control; but on the contrary, exerted his authority to the utmost to transfer them intact to the rival fraternity of the Hospital? Again, how came it that that Order did not itself share the same fate? Had the amount of their worldly possessions been the only object by which the decision of the judges was influenced, the Hospitallers would have been their first victims. They were more numerous and endowed with far larger revenues, if not in England, at all events in France, where the plot was first hatched; they would therefore have afforded a far richer booty to the spoiler than could have been extorted from the Templars. Had this motive of avarice been the only incentive which prompted Philip, who was the original author of the scheme, he was not the person to have tamely submitted to be defrauded of any portion of his gains at the very moment when they had fallen within his grasp through an abject dread of the ecclesiastical fulminations which were the only weapons Clement could have wielded against him. The Pope was, moreover, a creature of his own, elected by his nomination and pledged to support him in all his undertakings. What then had he to fear, even though he had retained in his own possession every acre of land which throughout the breadth of his fair kingdom had once been lorded over by the red cross knights?

We must needs look deeper than this for the motives which prompted the annihilation of one Order, whilst aggrandizing the other on its ruins. At this distance of time, and in the absence of any conclusive evidence on the subject, it would be unjust to assert positively what these motives may have been. That the Templars had of late years achieved for themselves a reputation far from enviable is an indisputable fact; that dissoluteness, riot, and debauchery of every kind had for some time past been rampant within their preceptories must be admitted by

every impartial student of history. To drink like a Templar had become a by-word throughout Europe. Nor were their vices confined to intemperance only; they had become cankered and corrupted through the vitiating influences of inactivity and sloth. The objects for which they had been originally called together in the bands of brotherhood, and which had been their invigorating influence during two centuries, had been abandoned by them voluntarily and for ever. The Templar in his saddle traversing the sandy plains of Palestine was an institution of the country, and, as such, grew and flourished, the European preceptories being only so many offshoots and nurseries from which the parent stem was nourished. Now that stately tree had been felled; Syria had been abandoned, and naught was left but its clinging roots, ramifying within the soil of every country in Europe, devoid of strength sufficient to enable it to spring up afresh, and yet drawing from the impoverished land, in the midst of which it had been planted, that sustenance which could ill be spared. It was the universal feeling that the day of the Order was over. Philip and Clement were therefore only carrying out the popular verdict when they swept it away from the earth for ever.

Even at the present time there are not wanting those who, without accepting the outrageous and absurd accusations enumerated above, still consider that there existed in the fraternity some unholy compact which held them together by its secret spell. There was in their mode of reception, and in many of the other formulæ of the Order, so much that was hidden from the vulgar gaze, and such strict secrecy practised, that it is not impossible, nay, it is not even unlikely, that this belief may have much truth in it. It is a curious fact that the Hospitallers, against whom no similar accusations were levelled, abjured all secrecy in their forms and ceremonies, and it is not easy to imagine the object of so much mystery if there were nothing which required concealment. Sir Walter Scott has, in his romance of "*Ivanhoe*," placed in the mouth of Brian de Bois Guilbert, a knight of the Temple, during his interview with Rebecca the Jewess, a confession that within the secret conclave of his Order difference of creed was held in derision as a nursery tale, and that their wealth was dedicated to ends of

which their pious founders little dreamed, and which were concealed from all such as embraced their profession on the ancient principles of the Order. Sir Walter, who was undoubtedly a careful portrayer of character, and one thoroughly well versed in the traditions of the age of which he wrote, would never have ventured upon such a trait as this had he not been well assured of its probability. All the concurrent testimony of the time points in that one direction, and thereby accounts for the apparent anomaly which left the one fraternity intact whilst the other was destroyed.

Nevertheless, whatever may have been their crimes, whatever their vices, it is impossible to study this last sad scene in their eventful career without a strong feeling of pity for their cruel fate. However they may have degenerated in their later years, they had for two centuries borne their part nobly in the struggles of the East, and had earned for themselves a reputation which should have saved them from so disastrous an end. Within these pages their name will not again appear; from this time their brethren of the Hospital will be left to struggle on alone; but the ill-disciplined gallantry and the impetuous valour of the Templar, now that he is no more, may well be pleaded in palliation of those crimes which so unfortunately darkened his fair fame.

CHAPTER VI.

1311—1365.

Villaret establishes his Order at Rhodes—His arrogance—Plots against him—His flight to Lindos—Appeals to the Pope—His resignation—Appointment of Elyon de Villanova—Division of the Order into *langues*—Deodato de Gozon and the Dragon of Rhodes—War against the Turks—Capture of Smyrna—Election of Deodato de Gozon—His resignation—Intrigues of Heredia the Castellan of Emposta—Election of Cornillan and Roger de Pins.

VILLARET, by his recent successes, found himself in undisputed possession of the island of Rhodes. He therefore lost no time in endeavouring to secure his position by restoring the ramparts of the town. He also made such arrangements with the islands surrounding his stronghold as their close proximity seemed to render advisable.

The principal of these was Cos, afterwards called Lango, and now known by the name of Stanchio. This island was considered so much more important than its neighbours, that Villaret determined to render it secure from a *coup de main* by the erection of a castle to be garrisoned by a body of knights. After the division of the Order into *langues*, it was confided to the charge of the knights of Provence, and so remained until at the chapter-general held in the year 1356 at Avignon, this monopoly was abolished, and its government once again thrown open to the whole fraternity. Its possessors for the time being were bound to supply a galley of twenty-six oars as their contribution to the general fleet of the Order. Of the other islands, Calamos and Leros were celebrated for their marble quarries, being otherwise very sterile; their inhabitants subsisting entirely by their trade in marble and by general commerce. Symia was esteemed valuable owing to its vineyards and the excellence of

the wine which it produced. It also carried on an extensive trade in sponges, which were raised by divers. So much was this calling recognized as peculiar to the island, that by one of its municipal laws no youth was permitted to marry until he was able to penetrate to a certain depth of water, and to remain there during a specified length of time. Its shipwrights had also achieved a wide reputation, and their light craft were celebrated throughout the Mediterranean for excellence both under oar and sail. On the summit of its most considerable height in the island, the Grand-Master erected a post of observation, whence intelligence of any approaching danger might be conveyed to Rhodes, either by signal fires or by one of its swift boats. The smallest of the islands was assigned as the private domain of the Grand-Master, and although there is some doubt in the matter, the general opinion appears to be that it was the island of Patmos. Within a few miles of Cos was another island named Nisyros, in which was a hot spring of medicinal water, and also an excellent harbour. It abounded in delicious fruit of every description, and its advantages as a residence were so apparent that it soon grew into a place of importance. A considerable town sprang up, ornamented with columns and statues made of the porphyry with which it abounded. Eventually it rose to be a bishop's see, subordinate to the archbishop of Rhodes.

Having, in consequence of this personal inspection, taken such steps as he deemed necessary for the security of his government, Villaret returned to Rhodes, trusting to enjoy a period of repose after the lengthened struggle in which he had been for so many years engaged. His hopes were not, however, as yet destined to be realized. The Saracens whom he had expelled from Rhodes had fled to the court of Osman, or Othman, a Turkish prince at that time the ruler of Bithynia in Cappadocia, as also of much adjacent territory. This prince beheld with extreme jealousy the establishment of a foe so redoubtable as the Hospitallers had always proved themselves to his nation and religion, in such close proximity to his own dominions. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Rhodian fugitives to persuade him to attempt the task of expelling the white cross knights from their new home.

Collecting a considerable force, he made a descent on the island before Villaret had had time to restore the fortifications of his stronghold to anything like a state of security. The determined valour of his knights proved sufficient to supply all deficiencies in the strength of his ramparts, and after several unsuccessful assaults, Othman found himself compelled to abandon the attack, and to retire crestfallen to his galleys. Amadeus V., count of Savoy, rendered loyal assistance to the besieged Hospitallers during this incursion, which took place in the year 1315. In commemoration of the fact, his descendants have since that time always borne the white cross with the word "*Fert*" as a device, that word being composed of the initial letters of the sentence, "*Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit.*"*

The failure of Othman's enterprise left Villaret a period of leisure in which to complete the establishment of his government. Under his able superintendence, and expedited by his energy and promptitude, the ramparts of Rhodes were rapidly placed in a state of security. The Saracen inhabitants of the town having either fled of their own accord or been expelled by the victors, Villaret found that it was necessary to create a new population by attracting to his capital a number of Christian immigrants. Trade was encouraged in all possible ways, and merchants from every country in Europe were tempted to take up their abode in the island, by the freedom from restrictions and taxation which commerce enjoyed under the rule of this politic chief. He made it, in fact, a free port, the result of which was that within a very few years its harbours were filled with rich argosies laden with all the most precious commodities of European traffic, from whence they bore back, on their return voyage, the no less valuable merchandise of the East. To protect this vast and annually increasing trade, the galleys of the Order, now developing into a considerable fleet, traversed the Levant in all directions, at one time conveying the homeward-bound merchantmen to their destination, and at another falling upon the Turkish corsair wherever he dared to show his flag. Rarely indeed did they return to port without some substantial tokens wherewith to remunerate themselves for the hardships and perils of their voyage.

* This explanation of the word *Fert* has been disputed by many writers.

The wealth of the fraternity was now increasing with amazing rapidity, and although the lately-acquired estates of the Templars as yet produced but little to their new lords, the prospect of their shortly developing into a source of revenue was such as to warrant a somewhat free expansion in their expenditure. The usual consequences of such a state of things soon manifested themselves. Luxury in every form gradually usurped the place of that simple mode of life which had satisfied their predecessors. The renown which the capture of Rhodes reflected upon the knights had attracted into their ranks a large number of the younger members of the noblest houses in Europe—youths whose minds were filled with all the martial ardour incident to their age and station, but in whose hearts there was but little of that religious enthusiasm which, two centuries before, had recruited the ranks of the institution with a body of men as austere in their private life as they were chivalric in their warlike zeal. The age had indeed changed, and with it the thoughts and feelings of the world at large. The sentiment of piety which, though rude in its development, had formed the main incentive to the deeds of daring hitherto recorded, was now giving way to the more material and worldly aspiration for glory. It was thought by these young candidates for knightly fame that, provided the Hospitaller were ever prepared to meet his foe either on the deck of the galley or behind the ramparts of his stronghold—provided he were at all times ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the defence of his Order and of his faith, it mattered but little what his private conduct might be. Whilst he could point to the deeds of daring which had rendered his name famous among his brethren, he deemed it quite unnecessary to practise those austerities which the rules of his profession had enjoined.

Many, indeed, of the older knights beheld with dismay this rapid and complete demoralization which was undermining the first principles of their institution. They were loud and urgent in their remonstrances to the offenders, endeavouring to restrain some of the most notorious excesses, which they feared would bring them into public disrepute. They pointed to the fearful tragedy which had been so recently enacted against their brothers in arms, showing how the same weapons that had been em-

ployed in the destruction of one Order, might at any moment be made available against the other, should they by their conduct draw down upon themselves the odium of the powers that be. The revenues, moreover, of the Templars were, as they remarked, more apparent than real, whilst, on the other hand, the public treasury was encumbered with enormous liabilities on account of the loans raised by Villaret from the bankers of Genoa and Florence for the purpose of achieving the conquest of Rhodes.

What rendered all their exhortations utterly futile, was the fact that the Grand-Master himself, the man to whom every one naturally looked for example and support, was, in his own person, outvying his youthful *confrères* in the extravagance of his luxury and the dissipation of his life. Surrounded by favourites, on whom he bestowed all the patronage of his office, he gradually assumed an overbearing arrogance of manner towards all who were not disposed to render him the most absolute homage. He seemed to consider that the acquisition of Rhodes through the force of his genius and the dauntless perseverance of his will had invested him with a sovereignty in the island far more absolute than that appertaining to his magisterial position. That supremacy, which others looked on as vested in the Order, and of which he was merely the chief administrator, was by him considered a personal matter, peculiar to himself alone. The murmurs which the arrogance of his conduct gradually engendered were at first low and suppressed. Men were loth to think hardly of the hero under whose guidance they had added so greatly to their renown. They were prepared to tolerate much in him which they would never have borne in another. Still, patience and forbearance have their limits, and Villaret gradually found that the lustre even of his reputation was becoming insufficient to stifle the murmurs excited by his haughty bearing.

Secret disaffection eventually developed into open complaint, which rose to such a pitch that Villaret was summoned before the council to give an account of his government, and to answer the numerous charges preferred against him. These consisted not merely of allegations as to his intolerable pride and hauteur towards those with whom he was brought into contact, but, at the same time, of misappropriation of the public revenues,

which he was accused of having squandered, partly to support his own ostentatious display and luxurious mode of living, and partly by bestowing them with a lavish hand on the crowd of sycophantic favourites by whom he was surrounded. To this summons Villaret paid not the slightest heed, asserting that his position placed him completely above the jurisdiction of the council. As it would have been impossible to adjudicate upon his alleged delinquencies in his absence, the mal-contents were sorely puzzled to decide what should be their next step. At length a knight, named Maurice de Pagnac, possibly not without an eye to future contingencies, proposed that Villaret should be boldly seized within the precincts of his palace, and brought *vi et armis* before the council.

The execution of such a measure was, it was felt, no easy matter, owing to the difficulty of approaching the person of the Grand-Master, who was invariably surrounded, not only by his own favourites among the fraternity, but also by a compact body-guard of mercenaries which he retained in his pay. The attempt was therefore deemed impossible by day, since the certain result of such a step must have been a sanguinary and probably a fruitless contest. The only feasible project was to make the seizure secretly by night, when the attendance on his person was naturally much reduced. One of his valets was bribed to undertake the conduct of the affair, and he guaranteed to admit a body of the conspirators into the sleeping apartment of the Grand-Master, where the capture might easily be effected. All being now satisfactorily arranged, nothing remained but to fix the moment for carrying the plot into execution. The conspirators, however, found that a traitor is a double-edged tool cutting both ways, and not more to be trusted by his new employers than by his original master. Whether the valet was over-bribed to reveal the conspiracy, or whether he was in reality, as has been alleged, so far attached to his lord as to have shrunk from carrying out the views of his enemies, it is very certain that he betrayed the plot to Villaret, who was thus put on his guard.

The promptitude and boldness of his character stood him in good stead at this critical moment. He was, therefore, not long in forming a decision as to the line of conduct

it would be advisable to pursue. Under the pretence of a hunting party in the country he, with a chosen body of his adherents, left his palace on the morning of the day selected for his capture. He betook himself in all haste to the castle of Lindos, a fortified post about seven miles from Rhodes, protecting a small but convenient and well-sheltered harbour. Once safely lodged within the ramparts of this asylum, Villaret bid defiance to the wiles of his antagonists, and protested against any acts to which the council might resort during his absence. Enraged at the failure of their enterprise, and realizing that by this act of open defiance Villaret had completely compromised himself, the mal-contents once more assembled in solemn conclave at the council board. They now found themselves joined by many of the more moderate members, who had hitherto remained neutral, but who now threw the weight of their influence into the adverse balance. They were naturally indignant that their chief should have so far outstepped the limits of his authority, as to seize upon and retain, in defiance of rules, a stronghold of which they were the lords, and which he was, moreover, garrisoning with foreign mercenaries unconnected with the Order.

Loud, long, and stormy was the debate, for even then Villaret was not without friends whose allegiance he had secured either by the brilliancy of his former reputation or by the munificence of his later days. Their voices, however, were not sufficient to stay the progress of the decision. His last offence had been too open and barefaced to admit of explanation, and a decree was therefore passed deposing him from his office. The next step to be taken was to provide a successor, and here the politic wiles of Maurice de Pagnac reaped their expected fruit. He had from the very first been the leader and the mainstay of the insurrectionary movement. To him every one had looked for guidance and support in the desperate crisis which was clearly drawing on. Now when a chief was required of sufficient energy to establish and retain a usurped authority, all eyes were naturally turned on him as the most fitting candidate for such a difficult post. He was in consequence unanimously elected the new Grand-Master. A report of the whole proceedings, together with the announcement of the

new nomination, were at once forwarded to the see of Rome for the decision and approval of the Pope.

Villaret at the same time, from his stronghold at Lindos, also forwarded his version of the affair in an appeal to his ecclesiastical superior. Here then was a tempting opportunity presented to the pontiff for interfering in the affairs of the Order, and for gauging his influence and authority. Three several bulls were issued by him dated in the year 1317. In the first of these his Holiness thus addresses Villaret:—"We are sorry to learn that you have been assaulted and compelled by your own knights to fly from the city of Rhodes into a fortress in another part of that island. Although their conduct appears to have been highly incorrect, still you are accused of having excited it. We therefore cite both them and you to our presence in order that we may investigate the affair, and base our decision on correct information." The second bull was addressed to de Pagnac, citing him to appear likewise at Avignon. The third nominated a vicar-general who should act as a *locum tenens* for the Grand-Master during the absence of the two claimants to that dignity. The knight who was selected by the Pope for this office was Gerard de Pins, a personage of considerable note and of great influence amongst his brethren. During the disputes which had led to the deposition of Villaret and the election of a rival he had maintained a strict neutrality, supporting neither side, but lending the powerful influence of his example to those who were endeavouring to heal the schism thus unfortunately generated in their midst.*

The nomination of the Pope was acquiesced in by all parties without dispute, and during a period of fifteen years which elapsed before a Grand-Master once more ruled in person at Rhodes, Gerard maintained the dignity and interests of the Order with the most exemplary firmness.

The two claimants whose rival pretensions were about to become the object of papal decision, departed on their journey to Avignon. It was to this city that Clement had, on his election to the chair of St. Peter, transferred his seat of government, and his successor, John XXII., still resided there. During

* The bulls here referred to are all in existence amongst the papal archives in Rome.

the course of his voyage, Pagnac had ample opportunities for discovering that the sympathies of Europe were strongly manifested in favour of his rival. Wherever they passed he saw that Villaret was received with all the honours due to the head of a powerful Order, who had in his own person achieved European renown by the conquest of Rhodes. He himself was, on the other hand, looked on simply as an insurrectionary firebrand, who from motives of ambition had stirred up a revolt amongst the knights against their legitimate lord. When they arrived at Avignon he did not find matters in any way improved. Whatever might be the feeling of John as regarded the conduct of Villaret, he was certainly by no means disposed to favour de Pagnac. That knight soon perceived that all chance of establishing his claim to the dignity of Grand-Master, for which he had so long toiled and plotted, and to which he so ardently aspired, was for ever at an end. In the bitterness of his feelings he withdrew from the papal court to indulge in solitude the chagrin with which he was overwhelmed. The blow was, however, too great to be withstood, and before long he sank under his disappointment, and died of a broken heart.

His death removed one great obstacle from the path of the Pope. That astute politician now saw his way clear to a solution of the difficulty in a manner which would enable him to place a creature of his own at the head of the Order. With this object in view he reinstated Villaret in his office, having, however, previously exacted from him a pledge that he would resign it again immediately. In return for this step he was promised the appointment to a grand-priory, to which he might retire, and where he might enjoy the dignity of an exalted station and the extensive revenues of his new office, free from all interference on the part of the fraternity. Villaret carried out his engagement, and resigned his post. John thereupon summoned to Avignon all the members of the Order who were within reach of his influence. There, under his own surveillance and the pressure of his own immediate presence, he caused a successor to be nominated, in whose allegiance and ready obedience he felt sure that he could confide. Elyon de Villanova was the knight thus selected, and irregular as was the mode of his election the fraternity felt themselves unable to resist it.

He was therefore recognized by them as their new chief without cavil, and took his place on the rolls as the twenty-fifth Grand-Master in the year 1319. Villaret received his appointment to the grand-priory which had been promised to him, and retired thither in bitterness of spirit, to end in disgrace and comparative solitude that life, the earlier portion of which had been so brilliant and prosperous. Sad fate for a man who had undoubtedly done great things, not only for his own Order, but for Christianity at large. The student of history cannot fail to sympathize with the noble and ambitious spirit thus untimely doomed to a life of inglorious inactivity, even though he had by his own faults of character been chiefly responsible for the evils which befel him. No records bearing upon the remainder of his life are now in existence. All that is known is that he died at Montpellier on the 1st September, 1327, where, in the church of St. John, his monument still exists.*

By this arrangement on the part of the Pope the interests of the Order suffered a double injury. In the first place they were compelled to receive as their chief a knight, not of their own selection, but a nominee of his, and one who soon gave evidence of the influences under which he was acting, by bestowing some of the most valuable appointments at his disposal upon the needy relatives of his patron.† The other injury inflicted on the Order was the alienation from its jurisdiction, during the lifetime of

* The inscription on his monument runs thus:—"Anno Domini MCCCXXVII. die salicet 1er Semptembris obiit nobilissimus Dominus Frater Folquetus de Villareto Magister magni Hospitalio Sacræ Domus Sancti Joannis Baptistæ Hyerosolimitani Cujus anima requiescat in pace Amen. Dic pro me pater et ave."

† It is stated in many histories that Pope John XXII. was the son of a cobbler. Whether this be true or not it would be difficult now to determine. Certain it is that he sprang from a very low origin. An amusing story is told of his election. It seems that he had earned a very high reputation for sanctity and humility, two virtues which were so pre-eminent in him that he received a cardinal's hat amid universal approbation. This dignity did not appear in the least to exalt the lowly churchman in his own eyes, and when the election of a new Pope in place of Clement gave rise to much dispute he took no part therein. It was therefore proposed and unanimously agreed to between the rival candidates that the nomination should be left in his hands. To their amazement and consternation this humble priest in his mildest voice pronounced the words, "Ego sum Papa," and thus appointed himself to the vacant dignity.

Villaret, of the priory to which he had been nominated. They thus learnt the lesson that by disagreement amongst themselves they were paving the way for the admission of a power which they would not easily be able to shake off, and which would be exercised without in any way consulting their interests or advantage.

Villanova was in no hurry to exchange the luxury of the papal court for the comparative banishment entailed by a residence at Rhodes, so, for a period of thirteen years, he, under one pretence or another, postponed his departure. During this interval a chapter-general was held by his mandate at Montpellier. It was on this occasion that the Order was, for the first time, divided into languages, or "*langues*," as they were termed. Many writers, in dealing with this subject, have dated back this division of the fraternity almost to its first establishment. There is certainly no trace whatever in any of the records now existing to warrant such a supposition. It is at this council that such a division appears for the first time. The Order, although originally established on its charitable basis by Italian merchants, had rapidly become principally French in its composition, and this nationality had always preponderated. The fact that the chapter-general had assembled at Montpellier added still more to the influence of the French element. We find, therefore, that whilst the number of *langues* was fixed at seven, no less than three of those seven were French, viz., the *langues* of France, Provence, and Auvergne. The other four were Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. The dignities in the gift of the Order were at the same time attached in proper proportion to these new divisions, the leading posts, owing to the weight of French influence, being given to their three *langues*. The name of Sir John Builbruix appears at this chapter as the Turcopolier, or commander of the light cavalry. This dignity was from that time permanently allotted to the English *langue*. In addition to this grand-cross, three others were at the same time appropriated to England, viz., the bailiwick of the Eagle (an honorary distinction formerly belonging to the Templars) and the grand-priorities of England and Ireland.

Many needful reforms were introduced into the regulations at this chapter. These were not made before they were urgently required; the discipline which had prevailed during the later

years of Villaret's rule having been most lax. The number of those who preferred an easy and luxurious residence in a European commandery to the secluded life and constant warfare entailed by the necessities of the case at Rhodes was very great. The difficulty of overcoming this feeling, and of compelling the absentees to make their appearance at the convent had increased so rapidly that the subject was one of the first brought under the consideration of the chapter. It was there decreed that a certain term of actual residence at Rhodes, and the performance of a definite number of caravans (as the voyages on board the galleys were called) should be an absolute requirement to qualify a knight for holding any official post or dignity whatsoever. Several other stringent reforms were at the same time proposed and agreed to, though not without considerable discussion, and many loud expressions of dissatisfaction. In fact, it soon became apparent that, owing to the chapter having been held in France, where the European dignitaries of the Order preponderated, they seemed more interested in the preservation of their local privileges than in strengthening the hands of the Grand-Master and the power of the central government.

Notwithstanding the warning which they had received in the destruction of their brethren of the Temple, there were many members blind enough to raise their voices at the council board, urging the abandonment of Rhodes, and the retirement of the Order within its European commanderies. They attributed all the financial difficulties of the treasury to the lengthened struggle for the acquisition of that island, and the outlay necessary for its subsequent fortification and maintenance—difficulties which in spite of the recent acquisition of Templar property, were in some countries threatening to overwhelm them with insolvency.* They urged also that the new system of naval warfare in which

* This was especially the case in England, where in the early part of the fourteenth century the revenues of the Hospital had fallen into such an encumbered and embarrassed condition under the superintendence of Thomas Larcher, the grand-prior of England, that utter insolvency seemed looming in the near distance. Fortunately, however, for the interests of the Order, the unthrifty Larcher either resigned or was deposed, and Leonard de Tybertis, the prior of Venice, nominated his successor. This knight, by his superior financial administration, succeeded in restoring the credit of his priory. We find it under the governance of his successor, Philip de Thame,

they were engaging was at variance with the leading principles of the institution, and not befitting its knightly character. Having been compelled to abandon the Holy Land, they conceived that they were rendering little or no service to the cause of Christianity by the maintenance of a desultory and predatory warfare amidst the piratical islands of the Levant. As a cure for these evils they proposed the abandonment of their new stronghold. This was a remedy which would probably have proved most agreeable to themselves, but, at the same time, it must inevitably, if carried into effect, have soon brought about the complete annihilation of the Order. Fortunately, the views of these *fainéant* knights did not find favour with the majority of the chapter. Instead of abandoning the island of Rhodes, measures for its more complete protection received the sanction of the assembly.

This chapter-general was held in the year 1331, and in 1332, Villanova, after a delay of thirteen years from the date of his election, proceeded to Rhodes. Here he found that under the lieutenancy of Gerard de Pins the fortifications of the town had been considerably augmented and developed, and a spirit of discipline had been introduced into the convent, to which for many years it had been a stranger.

Whilst strengthening his position at home, Gerard de Pins had, at the same time, been called on to resist the aggressions of a foreign foe. Orcan, the son and successor of Othman, deeming that the dissensions caused by the deposition of Villaret had created a favourable opportunity for attack, decided on renewing the attempt on the island in which his father had so miserably failed. He assembled a large fleet upon the shores of the province of Caria, where he was joined by many of the former inhabitants of Rhodes, who had been expelled from the island by Villaret. Thus reinforced he set sail for his destination. Gerard, who had received timely notice of the contemplated descent, determined not to await the shock of the onset behind the walls of his fortress, but to meet the enemy boldly on that element where his knights had lately been so victorious. Manning such of his galleys as were then lying in the harbour, and being joined by six Genoese vessels which had assembled in the year 1338 (as will be referred to in the next chapter), returning a comparatively satisfactory revenue to the general treasury.

there, he put to sea, and encountered the enemy near the little island of Episcopia.

The infidel fleet was vastly superior in point of numbers, but laboured under the disadvantage of being inconveniently crowded with the troops intended for the attack on Rhodes. The seamanship of the Hospitallers, and the skill with which they availed themselves of their greater powers of manœuvring more than counterbalanced their numerical inferiority. The day ended in the complete destruction of Orcan's fleet, many of his galleys being sunk and others captured, so that but few escaped from the scene of strife. This disaster proved such a check on the Turkish power that Gerard was left during the remainder of his government to pursue unmolested the reforms he had commenced. When, therefore, on the landing of Elyon de Villanova, he resigned the reins of office, he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that his lieutenancy had reflected glory on himself, and had been most beneficial to the interests of the fraternity.

It was during the earlier years of Villanova's residence in Rhodes that the legend is recorded of the encounter of a Hospitaller with the famous dragon. The tale is so well known, and has been the subject of so much illustration (notably in the series of sketches by the German artist Retsch), that it appears almost needless to repeat it in these pages; still, as it was one of the incidents held in the highest estimation amongst the Order in subsequent ages, occupying a prominent place in all their histories, it would be wrong to pass it over in silence. The story runs that a large monster had made its appearance in the island, where it committed the most fearful devastation, carrying off many of the inhabitants, especially women and children, and establishing itself as the terror and scourge of the locality. Numerous attempts had been made to accomplish its destruction, but in vain, many of the bravest knights having lost their lives in their gallant endeavours to rid the island of the pest. The Grand-Master, dismayed at the losses he had sustained in this novel warfare, forbade, under pain of the severest penalties, any further attempts at the destruction of the monster.

One knight alone had the hardihood to dare disobedience to this mandate. Deodato de Gozon, a youth whose dauntless courage scorned to quail beneath this strange foe, and whose

heart was touched with the deepest emotion at the wail of grief extorted from the miserable inhabitants by the ever-recurring ravages of the dragon, felt that he could not refrain from one further attempt in behalf of these suffering peasants. Without confiding his design to any one, he retired, by permission, to France. There in his paternal castle he caused a *fac-simile* of the monster to be constructed in wood, covered with scales, and exhibiting as nearly as possible the terrifying aspect of its living counterpart. Having procured two English bull dogs,* whose breed was even then famous throughout Europe, he trained them, as also his horse, to the attack of the fictitious monster, teaching them to fix their grip upon the belly, where the animal was unprotected with scales. Having thoroughly accustomed his four-footed assistants to the aspect of the foe, he returned to Rhodes, and at once proceeded to carry his project into execution. It is needless to enter into the details of the contest, though these are fondly dwelt on with the most elaborate minuteness by the recorders of the legend. Gozon, by the aid of his canine allies, achieved the destruction of his enemy, though not before he had well-nigh paid with his life the penalty of his temerity at the first onset of the brute. He was borne back in triumph to Rhodes, where the whole town received its deliverer with the loudest acclamations. This triumph was, however, at first, very short lived. The Grand-Master promptly summoned him before the council to answer for his wilful disobedience to the magisterial mandate. On his appearance before the board he was stripped of his habit as an unworthy and rebellious knight. Having by this display of severity duly marked his determination to enforce obedience, Villanova, at the unanimous request of the members of his council, was induced to relent. In consideration of the noble gallantry displayed in the action, he not only restored his habit to Deodato, but nominated him to one of the richest commanderies in his gift.

How far this legend can be borne out by facts is a very disputed point, some writers throwing discredit over the entire story, whilst others are prepared to admit the probability of its

* Retsch's notion of English bull dogs, as shown in the sketches referred to, certainly proves that there is much ignorance on the subject of that breed, even amongst educated artists abroad.

having, at all events, some foundation. The opponents of the legend argue upon the gross improbability of the existence of any such monster, with the voracious propensities and extraordinary powers attributed to it. They further assert, that in the middle of the fourteenth century there could have been no difficulty in achieving its destruction, without having recourse to the chivalric but somewhat antiquated expedient of a combat on horseback. The use of Greek fire had long been known, and gunpowder itself was gradually being adopted. With the assistance of these agents it could not have been necessary for the attacking party to have run any great danger in securing the extermination of the reptile. On the other hand, it seems strange that the story should have obtained such very general credence, and have been so universally upheld by succeeding generations. It is an indisputable fact, that the tomb of Gozon bore the following inscription:—"Ingenium superat vires. Deodatus de Gozon eques imanem serpentem interfecit. Ordinario perpetuo militiæ tribunatu et extra ordinem pro magisterio functus pmo. chissor pfectus hox a suffragatorib: m. e. raro explo. designatus est communi cere Eq gallorum provincialim posit: An MCCCLXVI."

Which may be thus rendered—

"Skill, the conqueror of force.

"Deodato de Gozon, knight, slew an enormous serpent. Appointed perpetual commander of the forces, and extraordinary lieutenant to the Master. First president of the council of election, he was by a rare example chosen Grand-Master by the electors. The French Knights of Provence erected this, An MCCCLXVI."

This monument being dated only thirteen years after Gozon's death, there does not seem to have been time for a legend to spring up, had it not contained an element of truth.

It may be remarked that, at Coventry, there is still preserved a statue in carved oak of a knight of St. John killing a dragon, which evidently dates back to the fifteenth, or at latest, the sixteenth century. Moreover, it must not be forgotten, that the island had, when under the Greeks, been called Orphieuse, or the isle of serpents, from the number of venomous reptiles swarming therein. That there was some

truth underlying the legend seems, on the whole, certain. Deodato de Gozon did undeniably destroy some noxious beast or reptile which had infested the island, after others had failed in the attempt. He thus gained for himself a reputation that gradually swelled until it attained the monstrous proportions of the above recorded fable. In reference to this subject, Newton states:—"Over the Amboise gate" (he is speaking of Rhodes) "a head was formerly fixed, which has been thus described to me. It was flat on the top and pointed like the head of a serpent, and as large as the head of a lamb. This head was certainly on the gate as late as the year 1829, and seems to have been taken down some time previous to 1837. This is, perhaps, the same head which Thevenot saw in 1657, and which he thus describes:—'*Elle était beaucoup plus grosse et plus large que celle d'un cheval, la gueule fendue jusqu'aux oreilles, de grosses dents, les yeux gros, le trou des narines rond et la peau tirant sur le gris blanc.*' According to the tradition in Thevenot's time, and which has been preserved in Rhodes ever since, this was the head of the great serpent slain by Dieudonné de Gozon in the fourteenth century."*

Madame Honorine Biliotti thus describes the head which she saw in 1829:—

"This skull, which was fastened over the inside of the Amboise Gate, the point of the jaw downwards, broad towards the top, and contracted near the point like the head of a serpent, seemed somewhat smaller than the skull of a horse; the lower jaw and the front cartilages were missing, so that I was obliged in imagination to replace the portions destroyed by time. The sockets of the eyes were large and round, there was no trace of skin upon the bones, which were completely blanched. In short, this skull, such as I saw it, without lower jaw or the point of the muzzle, had more the appearance of a serpent's head than that of a crocodile."†

Villanova had not long assumed the personal government of Rhodes, before he was called upon by the Pope to join in a league for checking the aggressive designs of the Turks. The other members of the alliance were to be the king of Cyprus,

* "Newton's Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," vol. i., page 151.

† "Biliotti L'île de Rhodes," page 151.

the republic of Venice, and the Pope himself. In his letter demanding their aid, the pontiff supports his request by bringing forward the most vehement accusations against the members of the Order for their luxurious mode of life, general effeminacy, and gross laxity of discipline. It is more than probable that these complaints were not devoid of truth, still, the tone of the letter, concluding as it did with a proposal, or more properly speaking, a demand, that they should contribute six galleys to the allied fleet, clearly marks his object in making such reproaches. The assistance of the fraternity was most urgently required to forward the political views of his Holiness. He consequently strove to make a refusal impossible, by coupling his request with an accusation of want of zeal for the cause of Christianity. His letter had the desired effect. The knights embraced the opportunity thus afforded of disproving the charges preferred against them; they contributed their full quota to the allied armament, and throughout the war which took place, became the life and soul of the enterprise. The only result of any importance achieved by the league was the capture of the fortress of Smyrna, where the horde of pirates which infested the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had been accustomed to find a ready shelter.

The league lasted with fluctuating success for several years, until its members, having dropped out one by one, the Hospitallers found themselves without assistance to continue the further prosecution of the warfare.

A war had broken out between the Genoese and Venetians, which compelled the former republic to retire from the alliance. The Pope, before long, became eager to withdraw from a contest which was draining his treasury without much tangible result. The league, therefore, gradually died of inanition; and without any positive treaty of peace having been ever made, active hostilities ceased, and matters settled down very much on their former footing.

During the interval the Order had experienced a change of rulers, for in the year 1346 Villanova died, and Deodato de Gozon, the hero of the dragon, was nominated as his successor. Vertot relates that on the occasion of this election Gozon rose in his place at the council board, and taking

his audience completely by surprise, nominated himself, as the person best qualified to succeed to the vacant office. This tale is a vile fabrication, for amongst the documents recently discovered in the archives of the Vatican is a letter addressed to Gozon by Clement VI., dated in July, 1346, in which after congratulating him on his election to the magisterial dignity, the Pope goes on to allude to the fact of his having been prevailed upon with great reluctance to accept the post. This letter, coupled with the fact that he twice, during his rule, tendered his resignation, most completely exonerates his memory from the stigma of arrogance, which this anecdote of Vertot's is calculated to cast upon it.

During his continuance in office, Gozon was much troubled by the difficulty he experienced in obtaining payment of responsions from the more remote commanderies. A circular is extant, addressed by him to the priors of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, reproaching them for not having remitted any responsions since the fall of Acre. The war between the Genoese and Venetians created a new difficulty, against which Gozon had to contend. The fraternity contained within its ranks knights belonging to both those nations, and these naturally sympathized with their countrymen in the struggle they were respectively carrying on. When residing in their European commanderies they could not refrain from enrolling themselves amongst the belligerents on either side. By their rules no knight was permitted to draw his sword in support of any quarrel subsisting between Christian nations. The Pope, therefore, called upon Gozon to put a stop to this infraction of the statutes, a mandate far easier given than obeyed. Deodato, in reply, pointed out to his Holiness that the Order in its corporate capacity had never sided with any European power when at war with a neighbour. It was, however, he said, impossible for him to prevent individual knights from giving such practical proofs of their sympathy, especially when their own native country chanced to be one of the belligerents. This response appears to have given but little satisfaction at the papal court; nor, it must be owned, was the argument by any means a sound one, or in accordance with the spirit of the regulations as originally framed.

This was not the only incident which occurred to disturb the serenity of Gozon's administration. The due governance of the dignitaries and principal officers of the institution, residing, as so many of them did, far away from his own immediate supervision, became a matter of ever-increasing difficulty. Possessed as they were of considerable patronage and with control over large sources of wealth, they were enabled to ingratiate themselves with the higher powers in the various countries where they were residing. Finding themselves, for this reason, protected and supported by the monarch, they were able to bid defiance to the authority of the Grand-Master. Gozon became so discouraged and so deeply hurt at the position in which he found himself, that he twice petitioned the Pope to allow him to resign his office. On the first occasion he was induced by the pontiff, after much persuasion, to retain his dignity, but on the second application his request was complied with. Meanwhile, however, he had died of apoplexy in the latter part of the year 1353, and was succeeded by Peter de Cornillan, the grand-prior of St. Gilles.

At this time there resided at the papal court of Avignon, as ambassador from Rhodes, a knight of the name of Heredia. This envoy had found means to ingratiate himself with the pontiff to such an extent that he became his principal confidant and councillor in all affairs of state. By the influence, if not by the direct nomination of the Pope, he had been appointed prior, both of Castile and St. Gilles, as well as castellan of Emposta, dignities which elevated him far above any of his *confrères* then resident in Europe. To be the recipient of such unblushing favouritism naturally rendered him very unpopular with the members of his Order, who felt that he was monopolizing patronage to which they were justly entitled. He was a man of a naturally ambitious turn of mind, and was much chagrined at feeling that the dislike of the fraternity was such as to prevent his ever reaching the object of his aspirations—the Grand-Mastership at Rhodes. Under these circumstances the idea suggested itself to his scheming brain, that if he could procure the removal of the convent from that island he might himself be nominated, by his friend the Pope, to supreme rule therein under the title of Bailiff. He felt that were he once

invested with this authority he would be able to exercise it with but little submission to the control of his nominal chief. Under his advice, and acting in accordance with the suggestions put forward by him, the Pope despatched him, in company with Raymond de Beranger and Peter de Cornillan (who was a relative and namesake of the new Grand-Master), to Rhodes, to submit his views to a general council of the Order.

He was instructed to inform the Grand-Master and council, on the part of the Pope, that it was thought desirable the convent should be at once removed from Rhodes to the adjacent continent. There, in immediate contiguity to the Saracen, it would, by the terror of its name and the prowess of its members, check all further aggressions on the part of the infidel, and form an advanced post of Christianity in the very midst of its foes. It was with feelings of dismay that the new chief de Cornillan listened to the treacherous and cunningly devised suggestions thus laid before him. On the one hand, he felt that natural reluctance, which became a faithful and obedient son of the church, to oppose himself to the desires of its supreme head. On the other, he could not but foresee that the probable result of any such movement would be to plunge the Order, defenceless and far from aid, into the hands of its relentless enemies, by whom its speedy and utter extermination would inevitably be accomplished.

Under these conflicting circumstances he decided upon throwing as many obstacles as possible in the way of the project, without attempting any open opposition. With this view he explained to the envoys that although he was himself at all times ready to obey whatever mandates he might receive from his Holiness, yet this was a subject on which he personally could have no authority to decide. The proposed change of residence was a matter of so great importance to the future welfare of the fraternity that it would be absolutely necessary to assemble a chapter-general wherein the question might be debated and determined. It by no means accorded with the views of the Pope and his adviser Hieredia that such a council should be held at Rhodes. Its distance from Avignon was so great as to prevent his being able to use that influence and pressure upon its members which would be necessary to secure their

acquiescence in his new scheme. A council held in Rhodes would be attended so largely by those whose attachments and interests would naturally dispose them to vote in favour of remaining in the island, that there would be but a slender prospect of carrying his point. He, on the other hand, trusted to find amongst the dignitaries of the Order resident in France a sufficient number more desirous of securing his favour than careful for the welfare of their own institution. He therefore summoned the chapter to assemble at Montpellier. Before the time of its meeting, however, had arrived, he determined to bring it still closer within the sphere of his influence, and altered its venue to Avignon.

The Pope had also changed his views as to the locality to which he contemplated transferring the convent. Instead of the shores of Asia Minor he now looked to the Morea as a more suitable and advantageous point of occupation. To this suggestion Heredia made no opposition. Provided the convent were removed from Rhodes, so that he might assume the government of the island, it mattered little to him where they established it. He therefore supported the new proposition with the same eagerness as he had shown towards the former one. The title to the Morea was at this time in dispute between James of Savoy and the emperor of Constantinople, but the greater part of it was in the actual possession of the Turks, who were advancing step by step towards its complete acquisition. In compliance with the desires of the Pope, negotiations were entered into with James of Savoy on the part of the chapter to treat for the allocation of a suitable residence for the convent. These negotiations were intentionally prolonged by every possible device, the project of a residence in the Morea being as little to the taste of the fraternity as that in Asia Minor. The knot was eventually cut by the death of James of Savoy, which took place before anything definite was decided on; the design consequently fell to the ground, and became virtually abandoned.

It has already been mentioned that Peter de Cornillan, or Corneillan, a knight of Provence, and formerly grand-prior of St. Gilles, had been elected Grand-Master in place of Deodato de Gozon. This change had taken place in the year 1353, but Cornillan did not long enjoy his dignity, having died in

1355, before the chapter had had time to assemble at Avignon. He was in his turn succeeded by Roger de Pins, also a knight of Provence, whose rule lasted during a period of ten years. The only event of importance which occurred to mark this interval was an attempt made on the part of the Order to impeach Heredia before a grand council for having detained and misappropriated revenues intended for the general treasury. They soon perceived that he had established himself too firmly in the good graces of the pontiff to permit them to effect his overthrow, and the only result of the appeal was to confirm him in all his dignities, without affording any redress for the spoliations of which he had been undoubtedly guilty. At the same council it was decreed that in future no serving brother should be raised into the class of knights of justice. General receivers were also appointed, to whom all responsions should be paid, and by whom they should be remitted direct to Rhodes. This step was taken to guard against any further misappropriation of revenue, such as that recently effected by Heredia.

Roger de Pins died in the year 1365, and was succeeded by Raymond Beranger, who, like his two immediate predecessors, was also a knight of Provence. A period of 250 years had now elapsed since first the Order was established as a military body by Raymond du Puy. Since that time many changes had taken place, and the institution had developed into a very complex organization. It will be well, therefore, at this point, to make a pause in the historical narrative, and to furnish some details of the power into which the fraternity had expanded, and of the mode in which their affairs were conducted.

CHAPTER VII.

1338.

Divisions of Class in the Order—Langues—Grand-Master, his position and power—Courts of Égard—Bailiffs—Their Offices—Adaptation of the Order to change of circumstances—System of management in Commanderies—Report on the Grand-Priory of England in 1338—Lists of Commanderies and other estates in the Grand-Priory.

It has already been stated that at its first institution the Order of St. John was composed of three separate classes, ranked under the respective heads of Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. Of these the second class, namely, the Chaplains, gradually became subdivided into conventual chaplains and priests of obedience. The former were specially attached to the head-quarter convent, and performed all the ecclesiastical duties appertaining thereto; whilst the latter carried on such parochial duties as were incident to their profession in the numerous European commanderies. The serving brothers were also soon divided into two classes, one comprising those who entered the Order in this rank with the hope of winning their spurs under the White Cross banner, and afterwards of obtaining admission into the class of Knights; the other, composed of men who, owing to the want of advantages of birth were unable to enter in any other capacity.*

* “Fratrum nostrorum triplex est differentia. Alii enim sunt milites, alii sacerdotes, alii servientes. Sacerdotum autem et servientium status rursus in duo dividitur; Sacerdotum in sacerdotes conventuales et sacerdotes obedientia. Servientium in servientes armorum, videlicet in conventio receptos, et servientes officii vel stagii. Qui vero sub gradu militiæ ad hoc idoneus et aptus pro formâ statutorum et consuetudinum ad professionem nostri ordinis admitti postulabit, priusquam habitum suscipiat et professionem faciat, cingulo militiæ decoretur necesse est. Si autem ab aliquo principe Catholice,

At the chapter-general, held in 1357, under the Grand-Mastership of Roger de Pins (referred to in the last chapter), the former of these two subdivisions was abolished, it being then decreed that no member of the class of serving brothers should be eligible for promotion into the rank of knights of justice.

As time wore on, and the advantages of birth were more and more considered, the regulations for admission into the first class gradually increased in stringency. The insignia of the belted knight were no longer deemed a sufficient guarantee for the introduction of the wearer; it was made necessary that he should adduce proofs of the nobility of his descent before he could claim admission as a knight of justice. These proofs were of four kinds—testimonial, literal, local, and secret. The proof testimonial was so called from its being the testimony of four witnesses, themselves gentlemen by birth, who guaranteed the nobility of the candidate; the proof literal was gained from title-deeds or other legal documents; the local proof was obtained through commissioners who were appointed by the Order to proceed to the district where the candidate resided, and there to inform themselves as to his birth. The secret proof was a further investigation carried out by the same commissioners without the knowledge of the postulant. In the various *langues* these proofs of nobility differed materially, four quarterings only being required in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese *langues*; eight in the French; whilst in the German no less than sixteen were called for. The stringency of these regulations was not relaxed until a later period of the Order's existence. Then an innovation gradually crept in, and knights of grace were appointed to meet the case of wealthy candidates whose parentage was not such as to bear the requisite test. The establishment of the princely mercantile families who formed the mainstay of the Venetian and Genoese republics led originally to this addition.

Over and above this tripartite division we have already seen

aut altero, facultatem militiam præstandi habente militiæ insignia non fuerit adeptus a fratre milite ordinis nostri suam professionem recipiente, aut altero fratre milite militiæ hujusmodi insignia, secundum consuetudinem militiam præstandi recipiat; et demum ordine præfato ineat professionem."

—*Consuetudo Ord. Sac. Mil. Sanct. Johan. Geros.*

that during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villanova, in the year 1331, the fraternity was separated into seven *langues*, viz., Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. In the year 1461 an eighth *langue* was added by the division of that of Aragon into two parts, the new portion receiving the title of Castile and Portugal.

The supreme head of this fraternity, which comprised amongst its members natives of almost every country in Europe, was the Grand-Master. The position of this dignitary in the scale of potentates had varied with the fluctuations that took place in the fortunes of the institution. During their stay in Palestine he was possessed of a very powerful voice in the councils of that kingdom, sharing with the Grand-Masters of the other two Orders almost the entire direction of affairs. His influence in Europe was at that time but slight. It is true that his fraternity possessed landed property to a considerable extent in every country, which property naturally gave him a certain amount of influence in its vicinity. Still, residing as he did at a point so far remote from the centre of European politics, that influence could rarely be exercised in any great degree. When the expulsion of the Latins from Syria compelled the brotherhood to seek a new home, and led to their establishment in the full sovereignty of the island of Rhodes, all this became changed. On the one hand their influence in the East gradually diminished as the prospect of re-establishing the Latin kingdom grew more and more hopeless. On the other hand, the barrier which they had set up in their new home against the encroachments of the Turk on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean led to the admission of the Order of Rhodes as a by no means unimportant member of the body politic of Europe. The Grand-Master as its head, found in consequence, that the consideration with which he was treated rapidly increased. The subsequent transfer of the convent from Rhodes to Malta led to a still further augmentation of this influence, and we shall eventually find him not only arrogating to himself the rank and privileges of a sovereign prince, but actually in correspondence upon terms almost of equality with the principal potentates of Europe.

It is curious to mark how, during these successive ages, the authority which the Pope exercised over the Order became

gradually reduced. Constituted originally as a religious establishment, it owed its earliest organization wholly to his fiat, and during the first two centuries of its existence appears never to have disputed his authority. Indeed, it was to the fostering approval of so many successive pontiffs that it was indebted for the first development of that power into which it subsequently expanded. As by the expression of his approval the successor of St. Peter gave to his *protégés* a support which carried them triumphantly through all the difficulties of their position, so there is but little doubt that the exercise of the same power on his part in an antagonistic direction would have been equally successful in crushing them. Time, however, gradually brought great changes in their relative position. Many rude shocks diminished the extent of the Pope's authority, whilst each succeeding generation augmented the influence of the military friars. Step by step they gradually shook off the dictatorial yoke of papal domination until eventually his sovereign authority became little more than nominal, and the Grand-Master ruled over the island in which his fraternity was domiciled with absolute power.

The rules of the institution do not appear to have contemplated the exercise of autocratic sway by its chief over the members of his Order; being, on the contrary, framed so as to mark the extreme jealousy with which his authority was to be limited. Even after the possession of the island of Malta had established him in the rank of a sovereign prince, and entitled him to maintain envoys in all the principal courts of Europe, his power over the members of his own fraternity was so limited as to render his position often very difficult to support. The doctrine laid down in the rules appears to have been that the sovereignty was vested in the Order generally, and not in the Grand-Master personally; in fact, he only ranked as the first amongst his equals, or, to quote the language used in the statutes, *primus inter pares*. The principle of the Habeas Corpus, so justly prized by Englishmen as the sheet anchor of their liberties, was carried out to its fullest extent in these statutes; it being illegal for the Grand-Master to detain a member in custody for a period of more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial. Nor did the vow of obedience taken by a candidate at his profession give his superior that power over

his actions which might have been expected. He was permitted, in case he disapproved of any order, to appeal to the Court of Egard, and to persist in his disobedience until the sentence of that court should have been pronounced.

This Court of Egard was originally established as a tribunal before which any dispute arising between members of the fraternity might be brought to trial or arbitration. It had its origin at a very early date in the annals of the institution, and although, as time wore on and wrought changes in the Order, certain alterations in the Egard were also introduced, still it always remained the same in principle. Even until the very last years of the knights' existence as a sovereign body, this court continued to be the principal, nay, the only tribunal of appeal before which they sought redress for their grievances.

It was composed of one member from each *langue*, whose appointment rested with the *langues* themselves. Over these a president was placed, named by the Grand-Master. It will be seen that, by this arrangement, the *langue* to which the president belonged would have two votes, whilst each of the others had but one. It was in this way, and in this way only, that the Grand-Master could exercise any influence in its decisions. On the assembly of the Egard, either of the disputants had the right of challenge, the person objected to being, in such case, replaced by another member of the same *langue*. The cause having been gone into, the depositions of the witnesses, which were verbal and never reduced to writing, were summed up. At this stage the disputants were directed to withdraw, the members of the Egard discussed the case with closed doors, and gave in their verdict by ballot. The parties were then called back into court, and, before the result of the ballot was made known, they were asked whether they were willing to abide by the award of the Egard. If they assented, the ballot-papers were examined, and the votes of the majority carried the cause.

Should, however, either of the parties have refused to abide by the award, the votes were nevertheless examined and recorded, and a new court was assembled to act as a court of appeal. This was called the *renfort* of the Egard, and its constitution was the same as the first, except that the number of members was doubled. From the decision of this court a

further appeal lay with a third, which was called the *renfort of the renfort*, in which there were three members of each *langue*. Should either of the litigants still continue dissatisfied, a court of ultimate appeal was appointed, of which the decision was final. This was called the bailiffs' Egard, and was composed of the conventual bailiffs, or, in the absence of any of their number, of the lieutenants who were performing their duties. The Grand-Master selected whom he pleased from amongst their number to act as president. That functionary must have in no case presided in either of the three preceding courts. The decision of this tribunal being final, its sentence was carried into execution immediately after its promulgation.

It would be difficult to conceive a court of equity more admirably calculated to administer justice without partiality. The doctrine that every man should be tried by his peers was recognized and acted on. The decision resting upon the votes of the members gave it all the leading features of a trial by jury. The possibility of favouritism was obviated by the selection of members from every *langue*. The right of appeal was most amply provided for, the constitution of the tribunal assuming in each case a broader basis until there remained no possibility of a wrong verdict. The proof of the estimation in which these courts were held lies in the fact that, throughout the Order's existence, no important change was made in them. When the fraternity was expelled from Malta by the French, at the close of the eighteenth century, the courts of Egard were in principle what they had been four centuries earlier.

Next in importance to the Grand-Master in the governance of the Order ranked the bailiffs, or grand-crosses. These dignitaries were of three kinds: the conventual bailiffs, the capitular bailiffs, and the bailiffs *ad honores*, or honorary bailiffs. The first-named of these resided continuously at the convent, and were the immediate chiefs of their respective *langues*. There was consequently only one for each *langue*. His election lay, not with the Grand-Master, but with the members of the *langue* itself. The principle of seniority was generally recognized, but not universally applied in cases where great merit, or, as was sometimes the case, extreme popularity led to the selection of a junior knight. The capitular bailiffs

did not reside in the convent, their presence there being only required on the occasion of a chapter-general. They were, on the contrary, presumed to fix their abode within the European possessions of their *langue*, of which they were the grand-priors. In the English *langue* there were two of these capitular bailiffs, or grand-crosses—the grand-prior of England and the grand-prior of Ireland. The bailiffs *ad honores* were originally appointed either by a chapter-general, or, in its default, by the Grand-Master in council, acting under the sanction of a papal bull. This prerogative was gradually found to be highly inconvenient. The princes of Europe were perpetually urging the Grand-Master to its exercise in favour of their own friends, and had their requests been always complied with, the rank would have lost its value from the number of its holders. Eventually, therefore, the Grand-Masters surrendered the privilege, whereupon the Pope assumed to himself the right thus yielded. Under papal auspices the appointments became so numerous, and such strong opposition was offered, that at length the privilege was almost entirely abolished, certain titular or honorary bailiffs being attached to each *langue*. There was one such in the English *langue*, viz., the bailiwick of the Eagle; thus giving to that *langue* four grand crosses: the conventual bailiff, two capitular bailiffs, and one bailiff *ad honores*.

The conventual bailiffs each held *ex-officio* an important post in the active government of the fraternity. Thus the bailiff of Provence was the grand-commander. This office made him president of the treasury, comptroller of the expenditure, superintendent of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. The bailiff of Auvergne was the grand-marshal. He was commander-in-chief of all the forces, both naval and military. In those days the services were not kept distinct as they are now, and the knights served indiscriminately either on land or sea. The grand standard of the Order, the famous White Cross banner, which had waved over so many a well-fought field, was intrusted to his charge. The bailiff of France was the grand-hospitaller, under whose control came, as the name imports, the supreme direction of the hospitals and infirmaries of the Order. The bailiff of Italy was the grand-admiral. He acted as second in command to the

grand-marshal. The bailiff of Aragon was the grand-conservator, whose duties were somewhat analogous to those of a commissary-general in a modern army. The bailiff of Germany was grand bailiff of the Order, his jurisdiction being that of chief engineer. The bailiff of Castile and Portugal was grand-chancellor, and, as such, was supreme over the legal tribunals. The bailiff of England was the Turcopolier or chief of the light cavalry.

It has been a matter of some dispute as to what was the real signification of the term Turcopolier. The most probable of the explanations seems to be that of Ducange, who states in his glossary that the word Turcopolier is derived from the Greek *πῶλος*, a colt, and thence an offspring generally, signifying the child of a Turkish parent. They were in all probability the children of Christian fathers by Turkish mothers, who, having been brought up in their father's religion, were retained in the pay of the Order. "Being lightly armed, clothed in eastern fashion, inured to the climate, well acquainted with the country and with the Mussulman mode of warfare, they were found extremely serviceable as light cavalry and skirmishers, and consequently always attached to the war battalions."* The earliest record now in existence where mention is made of an English Turcopolier is dated in 1328, when an English knight was appointed to the office, and from that time until the year 1565, the post was invariably filled by an Englishman.

It is difficult to account for the arbitrary attachment of a peculiar office to each different *langue*, when it is remembered that most of these posts seem to have required much technical professional knowledge, and should, one would have thought, have been held by men chosen owing to their fitness for the appointment. It would certainly have appeared more sensible to have selected as chief engineer a man who had made the science of engineering, as then known and practised, his peculiar study, rather than to have given the appointment invariably to the bailiff of Germany, when that dignitary may have been, and probably very generally was, ignorant of the simplest rudiments of the profession. The only solution of this

* Addison's "History of the Templars."

incongruity seems to be that it was designed to prevent the jealousies and cabals which would inevitably have sprung up on the occasion of every vacancy. Again, although the Grand-Master did not actually possess the patronage of these offices, still he must have been enabled, from his position, to influence the selection, and as that influence would probably often be exercised in favour of his own countrymen, the result would have been to overthrow the balance of power between the various nationalities. As it was, the preponderance of the French element perpetually led to disagreement. It will be seen, later on, that it was the source of much difficulty at a critical juncture in the Order's fortunes. The regulation was, therefore, very probably made as a precaution against the monopoly of the all-powerful French *langues*. It certainly seems the simplest method by which that result could be obtained.

Even, however, granting this reason, it still becomes difficult to account for the particular selection of the offices attached to each *langue*. The French element being so overpowering, it was natural that the three most important offices should be attached to the heads of their three *langues*, but as regards the others, no such solution can be given. It may have been that the offices which chanced to have been held by the different *langues* at the time when their respective apportionment was decreed, were from that moment permanently attached to them. This surmise is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the office of Turcopolier was held by an English knight in the year 1328, and in the year 1331 it was, at the general division of offices, definitively appropriated to that *langue*. This may have been the case with other nations.

Lieutenants were nominated in the same manner as the bailiffs, whose duty was to act for them, and to occupy their position whenever they were absent from the convent, or when they were incapacitated by sickness from attending to their duties in person.

The property held by the Order in the various countries of Europe was, for the convenience of superintendence, divided into estates of moderate extent, which were called commanderies. Several members of the fraternity were attached to each of these

estates in various capacities, and at its head was placed a brother, in whose hands was vested its supreme control, and who bore the title of commander. Although it was a post of importance and responsibility, it was not necessarily held by a knight of justice, a certain number of the commanderies in every priory having been reserved for the other two classes. It seems strange, but it is a fact, that in commanderies thus governed, there were nevertheless knights attached in the subordinate position of *confratres*. The commander was bound to exercise the most rigid supervision over the estate under his control, and to husband its resources with care. Grand-priors were appointed, under whose surveillance a certain number of commanderies were placed (usually all those contained in a province or other territorial division). These officials received from the commanderies all their surplus revenues, which were lodged in the treasury of the priory.

The payment to be made by the grand-priory to the convent at Rhodes, under the title of responsions, was calculated at one-third of the gross receipts of the commanderies. An average was struck, and a fixed amount based thereon. As the commanderies paid over to the treasury of the prior the actual balance remaining of their revenues after payment of expenses, the grand-priory was either a gainer or loser, according as those remittances were more or less than had been calculated on. The responsions were remitted to the treasury through the medium of receivers nominated to act in the capacity of bankers in most of the leading commercial cities of Europe. The grand-prior was bound to make a personal inspection of each commandery in his district at least once in every five years. He had full authority to correct abuses, and to order such renewals, alterations, and improvements as seemed to him necessary to develop the productive resources of the various estates.

It is an interesting study to observe how the system carried out by the Order of St. John adapted itself to the varied circumstances of the localities where its property was situated. In Palestine there were pilgrims to be tended, and sick to be nursed; there was also constant warfare to be waged against the Moslem. We find, therefore, that here the Hospitaller in

his barrack convent was half soldier, half monk. At one time clad in the black mantle of his profession, he might be seen seated by the pallet of the humble and lonely wanderer, breathing into an ear that might perhaps be shortly deaf to all earthly sounds, the consolations of that faith which they both professed, and which had drawn them to that distant spot, so far from all the ties of home and kindred. At another time he might be seen mounted on his gallant steed, clad in burnished steel, hewing a pathway for himself and his brave companions in arms through the serried ranks of the foe. The spirit of the times was in accordance with such strange transformations, and the Order, in thus adapting itself to that spirit, laid the sure foundation of its future grandeur and eminence.

In later years, when the fraternity had established itself in Rhodes, we find great changes rapidly made in their organization, habits, and duties. The hospitals were still maintained and tended, but they no longer constituted an important branch of the knights' duties. There were no weary and harassed pilgrims to sustain and support; the sick had dwindled into the ordinary casualties incident to the population of a small island. The knight was no more to be seen forming one of that squadron who, under the white cross banner, had so often struck dismay into the hearts of the enemy. Having established himself in his new home, and expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land having ceased to be practicable, he commenced to fortify his stronghold. Rampart and ditch grew and extended, and the skill of engineering science was exhausted to devise fresh defences, or to improve those already existing. The fortress of Rhodes, and, at a later date, that of Malta, remain imperishable records of the energy, the perseverance, and the skill with which he carried on his work. Meanwhile he was busily engaged in developing the power of his Order on the sea. The flag of his adoption waved in every corner of the Mediterranean, the terror of the infidel and the bulwark of Christianity. On the waters of this, his new dominion, he trod the deck of his galley every inch a sailor. Few who saw him now would recognize in the hardy mariner of the Levant the warrior-monk of Palestine.

Whilst these changes were taking place in the characteristics

of the fraternity, another sphere was at the same time opening for the display of their gift of adaptation to circumstances and place. Having been originally organized as a body, one of the leading features of which should be the poverty of its members, they had ended in amassing wealth almost fabulous in extent. True, the individual remained without possessions of his own, the acquisitions continually falling into the hands of the fraternity being common property. Under cover of this distinction they sheltered themselves against the apparent inconsistency between their vows and their acts. Whilst, however, they thus disclaimed all personal interest in the benefits of their wealth, they were never remiss in turning it to the best possible advantage. In addition to its privileges property has also its duties, the due performance of which requires special aptitude and training. We find the knight of St. John in his European commandery abandoning the chivalric aspirations of the Syrian crusader and the reckless intrepidity of the island seaman, and appearing under a totally different aspect from either, as a genial lord of the manor and a wary steward of the property of his Order.

Nor was the new duty thus imposed upon him by any means an easy task. The mere existence of these bands of warrior monks, acting under an organization of their own, free from external control, was a perpetual source of contention with the powers that be, in every land wherein they had gained a footing. Freed by the dicta of papal bulls from most of the restrictions imposed on the laity, and yet only partially acknowledging the authority of the church, they held extensive property in countries to the crown of which they paid no due allegiance, and the revenues of which they transmitted for expenditure to a distant land and for foreign objects. At the same time they refused to the church those tithes which she gleaned from all her other votaries. They were dreaded by the monarch, who scarce knew whether to regard them as friends or foes, and they were hated by the genuine ecclesiastic, who looked upon them as unauthorized encroachers, despoiling the church of much property which the piety of her sons might otherwise have dedicated to her own special use. It was a difficult matter for the commander, placed in such a position, to steer a middle course, and undeterred by the threats of the monarch on the

one hand, or the mitred churchman on the other, to pursue the even tenor of his way, and with calm steadiness and perseverance to carry on that process of extraction for which he had been appointed to his office.

In different countries this system must of course have varied ; still the leading features of the operation were undoubtedly the same in all. We are fortunate in being able to form a very accurate notion of what this was from a report drawn up in the year 1338 by the then grand-prior of England, Philip de Thame, to the Grand-Master Elyon de Villanova.* The picture which this document affords of the stewardship of landed property in England in the fourteenth century is most valuable, and a careful study of its contents will give the reader an accurate representation of the position of agriculture in its various branches at that period.

The document is practically a balance sheet of income and expenditure. Let us begin with the income side. In each manor the first item recorded is the mansion, with its kitchen garden and orchard. The house itself was not a source of actual revenue ; still, in so far as it obviated the necessity of any payment of rent, it was valuable property. The garden and orchard appear in every instance to have produced somewhat more than was required for the consumption of the household. The amount realized for the excess varied from a few shillings up to nearly a pound, but rarely approaching the latter sum. A further source of profit was the *columbarium*, or dovecote, which in some cases produced as much as thirty shillings, the usual average being from five shillings to half a mark.†

Next on the list stands the rent received from arable, meadow, and pasture land. The first varied much in the different counties. In Lincoln and Kent it ran as high as two shillings

* This report, which exists in MSS. in the Record Office at Malta, was printed by the Camden Society in the year 1857, under the title of "The Hospitallers in England." The report was prefaced by a most admirable digest from the pen of the Rev. L. B. Larking, to whose essay the author is indebted for much of the matter contained in the remainder of this chapter. The original MS. is in perfect preservation, and although somewhat difficult to decipher, from its crabbed and contracted Latin, still the writing is as distinct and clear as on the day when it was first penned.

† The mark was thirteen shillings and fourpence.

an acre, whilst in Somerset and Norfolk it did not yield more than three halfpence. Meadow land seldom fell below a rental of two shillings an acre, and in Oxfordshire it reached as much as three shillings. Pasture land was not calculated by the acre, but by the head of cattle; the average receipt from that source may be taken at something like the following figures:—An ox or a horse, a shilling; a cow, two shillings; a sheep, a penny; a calf, sixpence; a goat, three farthings.

Messuages, mills, and fisheries stand next on the list, and do not require any special explanation. The profit of stock afforded a very considerable source of revenue. This was the return produced by the cattle bred and fattened on the home farm. In more than one instance it is recorded that through the devastation of enemies, damage by inundations, and other causes, the stock returned no appreciable profit.

A fruitful source of income was that derived from churches and chapels appropriated to the Order, the funds of which were paid into the treasury, vicars and chaplains being provided by it. A glance at the figures given under this head will show that, as is the fact with many parishes in the present day, the lay impropiators swept off the lion's share of the substance originally dedicated to the support of the church. In the case of sixteen of these, the combined amount paid to the credit of the *langue* was no less than £241 6s. 8d., whilst the cost of providing chaplains was only £34 10s. Certainly this anomaly, which has so many bitter opponents in the present day, can plead the excuse of long standing, since we find it flourishing even in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In those days the system of villainage, or compulsory service of bond tenants, was universal throughout Europe. We see it figuring largely on the credit side of our balance-sheet. These services were generally rendered either by payments in kind, such as poultry, eggs, corn, &c., or by the giving of a certain amount of labour for the benefit of the lord of the manor. As these latter have almost invariably been entered in the accounts as money receipts, there can be little doubt that a fixed commutation had been concurred in between landlord and tenant. The former thus secured for himself a certain and settled revenue, whilst the latter was protected from the caprice of his lord,

who might otherwise have demanded his services at a time when his own crops required attention. From an entry which occurs in the manor of Shaldeford, the price at which this labour was commuted may be deduced, it being in that instance fixed at twopence a day, the total amount received under this head throughout England being £184 16s. 8d.

We next come to the rent paid by freeholders, the entry for which is placed under the heading of *redditus assisus*. In only one instance is its nature specified. In the manor or bailiwick of Godsfeld in Hampshire it is distinctly stated to be rent for houses in the two towns of Portsmouth and Southampton. The profits arising from the fees and perquisites paid to the manor courts, constitute an entry in almost every bailiwick. In some cases they amounted to a considerable sum. An officer called the steward of the manor was appointed for the collection of these dues.

There yet remains an item of income to be explained which was of a totally different character to the rest, and could only have arisen under an ecclesiastical *régime*. This is a voluntary contribution from the neighbourhood, and is entered under the title of *confraria*. The mode of collection is not specified, but we may presume that by a system similar to that practised in the present day in many Roman Catholic countries, a house-to-house visitation was annually made for the purpose of extorting the charity of the pious. The amount thus scraped together by the wealthy mendicants of St. John from the overtaxed and harassed commons of England amounted in 1338 to nearly £900. It appears that even this large sum was less than what had previously been obtained, as may be gathered from an entry where the smallness of the contributions under this head is accounted for by the poverty of the country, and the heavy taxes payable to the king for the support of the navy.*

* “Item ibidem collecta que semel fit per annum in diversis ecclesiis que vocatur confraria et ad voluntatem hominum si velint aliquid contribuere necne quia non possunt compelli ad contribuendum et solebat valere per annum 27 marcas (£18) et aliquando plus et aliquando minus et nunc in presenti propter paupertatem communitatis regni et propter diversas oppressiones ut in tallas (sic) contributionibus domino regi pro defensione maris et lanis quas dominus rex capit per totam terram non possunt levare

Having thus glanced at the various items standing on the credit side of the balance-sheet, we now come to the expenditure. The first and principal charge against the funds of the commandery was that for the maintenance of the household. In every manor there was a commander, in whose charge was vested the property, and attached to him were other brethren termed *confratres*. These, together with the chaplains, formed the first class in the establishment, and a separate table was provided for their use. There appear to have been three different tables, at which, according to their rank, the members of the establishment had their commons; the first, that already mentioned, the second for the free servants of the Order, and the third for the labourers or *garciones* kept in its employ. Most of the provisions consumed at these several tables were provided from the stock on the land, and consequently cost nothing. There appears, however, very generally an item under the name of *coquina*, which embraced the supply of meat and fish beyond what was taken from the estate. Three different kinds of bread were supplied to the several tables, viz., white bread, ration bread, and black bread. There were also two kinds of beer, the *melior* and the *secunda*. In addition to their keep the commander and his *confratres* had an annual allowance for their dress, and as this was the same in each commandery it may be assumed that it had been fixed by authority. It consisted of £1 for a robe, 6s. 8d. for a mantle, and 8s. for other articles of clothing. The members of the household had wages in addition to their keep, which not only varied greatly for the different classes, but also for the same service in different commanderies. The highest in rank was the *armiger*, who in some cases received as much as £1 a year; the more usual stipend for him as well as the *claviger*, the *ballivus*, the *messor*, and the *coquus*, being a mark. The wages of the *lotrix* or washerwoman seem to have been the smallest, in most cases amounting to 1s. only.

A very heavy charge is of frequent occurrence in these accounts under the head of *corrody*. This term signified a claim to commons at the different tables of the establishment, and was probably originally granted either in repayment for money lent

nunc nisi et vix 10 li (£10).”—Extract from revenue account of Grenham Hospitallers in England.

or as a return for some favour conferred on the Order. The table from which the corrodary drew his commons, depended upon his rank. Those who were of gentle blood were accommodated at the higher table with the commander and his *confratres*; the others, according to their position in life, were quartered either on the *liberi servientes* or on the *garçiones*. In some cases these corrodaries were in the receipt of very luxurious rations. For instance, at Clerkenwell, William de Langford is entitled to his commons at the commander's table whenever he chooses to dine there, together with a place for one chamberlain at the second table, and for three inferior servants at the third. But on occasions when it was not convenient for him to be present he drew instead an allowance of four loaves of white bread, two of ration bread, and two of black bread, three flagons of best beer and two of the second quality; one whole dish from each of the three tables, together with, nightly, for his bedroom one flagon of best beer, and, during the winter season only, four candles and a faggot of firewood. For his stable he drew half a bushel of oats, hay, litter, and one shoe with nails daily. All these allowances were granted to him for the term of his life by charter from Thomas Larcher, who was at the time grand-prior of England. This worthy seems to have distributed pensions and corrodies right and left with the most reckless profusion; so much so, that some years prior to the date of this report he was either superseded by, or resigned his post to, Leonard de Tybertis, grand-prior of Venice, under whose fostering care the revenues of the English *langue* underwent a rapid change for the better.

The charge for repairs was infrequent and small in amount. We may infer from this that it had always been the practice to keep up the buildings in good substantial repair, and thus prevent large outlay at any particular time for restorations. It must be remembered that charges under this head are only for materials other than the timber and stone found on the estate, and would not include the labour which, in most cases, could be furnished from the staff of the establishment.

In addition to the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the household and its corrodaries, there was in many commanderies a heavy item under the head of hospitality. The

rules of the Order were very strong as to the free exercise of this virtue, and it seems clear, on studying the accounts, that they were always most rigidly and liberally complied with. In fact, the various commanderies seem to have partaken very much of the character of houses of public entertainment, where both rich and poor might feel certain of a hospitable reception. Of course no charge was made for this service. It seems, however, probable that the item of *confraria*, which has been already alluded to, had its proportions considerably swelled by the donations of such among the better class of travellers as had experienced the hospitality of the fraternity. How far this claim to reception and maintenance on the part of the wayfarer may have extended it is difficult to determine, but there must have been a limit somewhere, since, unless the fourteenth century differed widely from the present day, an unrestricted system of open housekeeping would have entailed the maintenance of all the idle vagabonds in the country. The Anglo-Saxon law limited the claim in the case of monasteries to three days; probably, therefore, the same restriction was made at the commanderies. It may also be assumed that in the case of the poorer class of wayfarers a good day's work on the farm was extorted in return for the day's keep, thus, in a measure, deterring the idler from seeking a shelter, the sweets of which could only be purchased by the sweat of his brow.

This wholesale system of hospitality was not to be traced purely to a pious motive; there were many sagacious reasons of policy which much encouraged the practice. It must be borne in mind that in those days newspapers did not exist, the majority of men travelled but little, and information was slow in spreading from one point to another. We may readily conceive, therefore, what a vehicle for the collection and distribution of important intelligence the table of the commander must have been. The grand-prior, in his head-quarters at Clerkenwell, might be regarded somewhat in the light of the editor of a metropolitan journal receiving constant despatches from his correspondents at their provincial commanderies. These would contain a digest of all the gossip, both local and general, which may have enlivened the meals of the preceding week. This information could, of course, be collated and

compared with that forwarded from other quarters, so that the earliest and most correct intelligence would always reach the prior, and this he could at times turn to very valuable account. We may conceive him, on some occasions, in a position to give a friendly hint to the king, in council, of some projected political movement hatched in the fastnesses of the north or in the secluded glens of the west. For such information we may feel sure that an ample *quid pro quo* was expected, in the shape either of a direct donation or of exemption from some of the numerous burdens with which the less fortunate laity were oppressed. The knights were well aware of the advantages which their organization gave them on this head, and were not slow to avail themselves of it. The records exhibit carefully the expenses they incurred in hospitality to travellers, but they do not say anything of the results, pecuniary and otherwise, which were obtained by the practice. The intelligent reader may, however, perform that calculation for himself, and it is to be feared that on striking the balance but little would remain to be carried over to the credit of charity.

There are, nevertheless, some entries which show that this exercise of hospitality was not always free from inconvenience. Although the fraternity did not grudge a heavy bill for the sustenance of their numerous provincial guests, provided the information forwarded by the commander was of a value commensurate with the expenditure, yet cases might, and constantly did occur, where the outlay was large and the results disproportionately small. A few items of local gossip or provincial scandal would be dearly purchased at the expense of many a good quarter of wheat and malting barley. Under such circumstances it was but natural that an exculpatory note should accompany the obnoxious item to explain away its unwelcome appearance. It was frequently necessary for the commander, whose position gave him considerable standing in the county where he resided, to receive at his table those of the laity who considered themselves his equals, and who chanced to live near him. This has, in more than one case, been quoted as an excuse for the extent of the housekeeping accounts. Thus, for instance, we find at Hampton that the Duke of Cornwall is made to bear the blame of the heavy bread and beer bill

which the fraternity had contracted,* and in the Welsh commanderies the tramps became the scapegoat, who, to quote the expressive language of the accountant, "*multum confluent de die in diem et sunt magni devastatores et sunt imponderosi.*" The accounts of Clerkenwell, the head-quarter station of the Order in England, show that its proximity to the court rendered it peculiarly liable to this expense. The king had the right, not only of dining at the prior's table whenever he might choose to honour that dignitary with a visit, but also of sending to the priory such members of his household and court as he might find it inconvenient to provide for elsewhere. It is not, therefore, surprising that we find among the housekeeping expenses of this establishment 430 quarters of wheat at 5s. a quarter, 413 quarters of malting barley at 4s., 60 quarters of dragget malt at 3s., 225 quarters of oat malt at 2s., 300 quarters of oats at 1s. 6d., in addition to a lump sum, which we may call the kitchen bill, of £121 6s. 8d., besides many minor items for meal, porridge, pease, candles, &c. It was, indeed, a long price that the community had to pay for the presence of the monarch and his satellites, yet, doubtless, they received such consideration for the same as enabled them to bear the burden without succumbing thereto.

Of all the entries on the expense side of the account, that which seems the most strange is the outlay for law charges. Many of these entries reflect much disgrace upon the administration of the law in the fourteenth century. Some of the items are innocent enough; as, for instance, the salaries of the law officers of the Order, and the fees of counsel, which appear to have been usually 40s. a year with robes. In addition, however, to these, there are numerous others which prove the barefaced venality of our courts of justice, almost all the leading judges being in the pay of the fraternity. Thus, in the exchequer, we find the chief baron, Sir Robert Sadyngton; the barons William Everden and Robert Scarburg; the engrosser, William Stoneve; and the two remembrancers, Gervase Willesford and William Broklesby, each in the receipt of £2 a year. The opponitor, Roger Gildesburgh, figured for an annual salary of £5. In the

* "*Una cum supervenientibus quia dux Cornubiæ juxta moratur.*"—Extract from *reprise* of Hampton manor.

court of common bench, the chief justice, Sir William Herle, received £10 a year; judge William Shareshull, £5; judges Richard Aldeburgh and John Shardelowe, £2 each. In the king's bench, the chief justice, Geoffrey Scrope, received £2 besides a couple of manors at Huntingdon and Penhull. His brother justice, Richard Willoughby, figures on the list for £3 6s. 8d., and in the court of chancery four of the clerks pocketed an annual fee of 40s. each. All these entries are expressly stated to be payments made to the legal authorities to insure quiet possession of the lands which had been transferred from the recently suppressed Order of the Temple.

Before leaving this valuable document it may be well to mention that the number of the fraternity at this time resident within the limits of the grand-priory of England was 119, in addition to three donats and eighty corrodaries. Of these, thirty-four were knights of justice, fourteen of that number being commanders; forty-eight were serving brothers, of whom sixteen were commanders; and thirty-four were chaplains, of whom seven were commanders. The rank of the remaining three is not specified in the document. It must be remembered that these numbers only include that portion of the English *langue* comprised in the grand-priory of England. The *langue* embraced as well the Scotch preceptories and the grand-priory of Ireland. The actual numbers in these are not known.

In addition to the commanderies the Order held in England smaller estates called *cameræ*. These were not of sufficient importance for the appointment of commanders. They were either administered by bailiffs or farmed out. Their proceeds went directly into the treasury of the grand-priory, none of the fraternity being maintained by them. The *langue* also stood possessed of sundry manors formerly the property of the Templars. Lists of the commanderies, *cameræ*, and Templar lands are furnished at the end of this chapter, showing their respective gross incomes and local expenditure; the balance being available for the general treasury of the priory.

The total amount thus credited to the grand-priory was £3,826 4s. 6d. The expenditure of the general treasury in pensions, bribes, &c., was £1,329 2s. 4d., leaving a balance for

the payment of responsions of £2,304 15s. 2d. The grand-priory of England was assessed at the amount of £2,280. It will be seen, therefore, that in the year in question the receipts reached a trifle over that sum; the balance came into the hands of the grand-prior.

The income of this dignitary, as shown in the accounts, was £1 per diem. For a period of 121 days, this charge appears in the several commanderies, two or three days in each, under the head of the grand-prior's visitation. For the remainder of the year it is charged in a lump sum as one of the expenses of the general treasury. He received, in addition, an allowance of £93 6s. 8d. for robes for himself and his household.

The property which the Order possessed in Scotland does not appear to have realized anything in 1338, owing to the constant wars which were devastating the country. It was estimated to have yielded in former years the sum of £133 6s. 8d.*

The amounts given in these lists appear small, but when taken in comparison with the cost of articles of food at the time, become important. The accounts do not give us sufficient data to obtain an average price for these; but there is an assize of the year 1335 in London, which constitutes a fair guide, always remembering that country prices would be smaller. By this we find wheat priced at 2s. per quarter, a fatted ox at 6s. 8d., a fat sheep 8d., pigeons 2d. per dozen, a fat goose 2d., and a chicken 1d. At these prices a shilling would go very much further than a sovereign does at the present time.

The list given of Templar lands shows that the Order had by the year 1338 received a considerable addition to its income from the transfer. It will also be seen that there were many estates held by tenants for life, either rent free or at a very low rate. This property may therefore be considered as of a gradually improving character. It must not be assumed that the Hospitallers were equally fortunate with their Templar estates in other countries. Nowhere did that

* "*Terre et tenementa, redditus et servicia, ecclesie appropriate, et omnes possessiones hospitalis in Scocia sunt destructa combusta per fortem guerram ibidem per multos annos continuatam unde nil hiis diebus potest levare. Solebat, tamen, tempore pacis, reddere per annum C C marcas.*"

body hold so much land as in England, nor was the transfer of their possessions by any means so honestly carried out in other countries. Even in England very extensive Templar estates fell into secular hands, and although twenty years had elapsed since their suppression, the accounts show that the grand-prior had not been able as yet to obtain their restoration. He enumerates them at the end of his report, giving the names of the spoilers who were still standing between the Hospital and its own. They are as follow :—

The manor of Strode, value £50	} Held by the Countess of Pembroke.
„ „ „ Deneye, £66 13s. 4d.	
„ „ „ Hurst and Neusom, £120	
„ „ „ Flaxflete cum Cane, £100, held by Randolph Nevill.	

A water mill at York, £13 6s. 8d., held by the king.

The manor of Carleton, £13 6s. 8d., held by Hugh le Despencer.

„ „ „ Normanton-in-the-Vale, £10, held by Lord de Roos.
„ „ „ Lydleye, £66 13s. 4d., held by the earl of Arundel.
„ „ „ Penkerne, £20, held by the earl of Gloucester.
„ „ „ Gutyng and Bradewell, £133 6s. 8d., held by Master Pancium.
„ „ „ Bristelesham, £66 13s. 4d., held by the earl of Salisbury.
„ „ „ Bulstrode, £50, held by the abbess of Burnham.
„ „ „ Sadelescombe, £66 13s. 4d., held by earl Warrenne.

Such was the mode of life carried on in the commanderies of the English *langue* during the first half of the fourteenth century. It will not be too much to assume that in other countries a very similar system was pursued. Certain differences must, of course, have been made to suit the habits and character of the people. Although the liberty of the English peasant in those days was but limited, it was far greater than

that enjoyed by his continental brother. Doubtless the commander in a French or Spanish manor ruled over his peasantry with an autocratic despotism, denied to him in England. We may also safely assume that in no other *langue* would there have been so large an expenditure in the item of beer, either *melior* or *secunda*. Certainly nowhere else would so noble a revenue have been extracted from the same extent of land. Still, allowing for these and other minor differences, the report of the grand-prior, Philip de Thame, affords a very excellent clue to the general system of governance adopted by the Order of St. John in the management of its property.

COMMANDERIES OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND.

County.	Commandery.	Gross income.			Expenditure.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Berkshire	Grenham, including Shaldeford	76	13	6	34	8	8
Wiltshire	Anesty	93	0	0	39	18	8
Dorsetshire	Mayne, including Kyngeston and Waye	96	2	10	42	5	4
Devonshire	Bothemescomb, including Coue	50	11	0	22	3	2
Cornwall	Trebyghen	75	11	4	20	10	8
Somerset	Bucklands, including Halse ..	124	10	4	83	9	8
Hampshire	Godesfield, including Badeslee and Runham	66	13	11	30	3	8
Sussex	Palyng	78	11	3	34	0	0
Oxford	Clanefeld	60	13	4	34	9	0
Gloucestershire ..	Quenyngton	179	8	4	57	6	9
Herefordshire	Dynemoor, including Sutton, Rolston, and Wormebrigge	182	7	3	82	1	4
Pembrokeshire ..	Slebech	307	1	10	141	2	7
North Wales	Halstan, including Dongewal	157	5	10	79	7	0
Warwickshire	Grafton	78	15	2	29	15	1
Derbyshire	Yeveley	95	6	0	63	6	0
Yorkshire	Newland	56	5	4	30	6	0
Ditto	Mount St. John	58	8	4	24	16	0
Ditto	Beverley	83	17	6	43	17	6
Northumberland ..	Chibourn	23	18	8	17	13	4
Nottinghamshire ..	Oscington ..	95	0	8	77	7	0
Lincolnshire	Maltby	116	6	8	50	6	6
Ditto	Skirbeck ..	84	11	8	79	5	0
Leicestershire	Dalby, including Beaumont	128	15	8	66	8	3
Northamptonshire.	Dyngley	79	4	0	37	0	4
Buckinghamshire.	Hoggeshawe	74	14	10	28	16	4
Bedfordshire	Melcheburn	106	2	4	49	17	10

COMMANDERIES OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND—
continued.

County.	Commandery.	Gross income.			Expenditure.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bedfordshire	Hardwyck, including Clifton and Pelyng	69	3	5	15	10	0
Cambridgeshire . .	Shenegeye, including Wende-ye, Arnyngton, and Cranden	187	12	8	60	18	8
Ditto	Chippenham	110	16	9	94	16	6
Norfolk	Kerbok	192	2	4	71	12	7
Suffolk	Batesford, including Codenham, and Melles	93	10	8	33	3	10
Essex	Mapeltrestede	77	16	8	37	16	8
Ditto	Staundon	34	15	4	23	0	0
Kent	Swenefeld	82	4	4	52	18	4
Ditto	Sutton-atte-Hone	40	0	0	—		
Middlesex	Clerkenwell	400	0	0	421	12	4

CAMERÆ OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND.

County.	Camera.	Gross income.			Expenditure.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dorsetshire	Chiltecomb, including Tolre.	24	5	4	4	5	4
Hampshire	Wodecot	1	6	8	Nil.		
Leicestershire . . .	Swyneford, including Shade- well	27	2	6	7	2	8
Derbyshire	Baruwe	36	2	0	12	15	4
Lancashire	Wolueton	13	6	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Le Stede	6	13	4	Nil.		
Yorkshire	Coppegrave	13	6	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Huntyndon	6	13	4	Nil.		
Ditto	Steynton	6	7	8	1	13	4
Nottinghamshire .	Wynkebourne, including Deynilthorp	62	8	5	22	8	5
Lincolnshire	Horkestouwe and Botnesford	41	6	11	Nil.		
Northamptonshire.	Blacolneslee	33	6	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Gildisburgh	53	6	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Hetherington	53	2	0	13	15	4
Bedfordshire	Eton	77	12	4	20	5	8
Cambridgeshire . .	Asshelee	23	6	8	4	13	4
Suffolk	Preston	13	6	8	Nil.		
Essex	Saunford	5	0	0	Nil.		
Ditto	Stilbyng and Chauree	53	6	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Brokesbourn	20	0	0	16	0	0
Kent	Stallesfed and Ore	26	13	4	Nil.		
Middlesex	Herefeld	26	13	4	Nil.		
Buckinghamshire .	Wydende	6	13	4	Nil.		
Warwick	Ruton on Donnesmor	Not stated.			Nil.		
Bedfordshire	Chikewell	13	6	8	Nil.		
Middlesex	Newynton	10	0	0	Nil.		
Ditto	Hampton	83	13	10	30	7	2

PROPERTY TRANSFERRED FROM THE TEMPLARS.

County.	Commandery.	Gross revenue.	Expenditure.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Northumberland .	Thornton.....	16 5 0	7 5 0
Ditto	Penhull.....	Not stated.	Nil.
Yorkshire	Couton	83 6 8	9 1 8
Ditto	Rybstayn and Wederby . . .	167 11 8	66 9 10
Ditto	Wythelee	13 6 8	Nil.
Ditto	Etton	13 11 2	Not stated.
Ditto	Ffoukebrigg	18 4 0	7 6 8
Ditto	Alnerthorp	19 17 8	1 13 4
Ditto	Westerdal	37 16 0	6 6 8
Ditto	Coupmanthorp	10 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Kelyngton	20 0 0	Nil.
Lincolnshire	Wilughton, including Gaynesburg, Golkesby, Calke- well, Thorp in Warectis, Ingham, Cabourne, Lym- berg, Saxeby, Mere, Wad- yngton, Estirkele, Claxby, Temlby, Walcote	284 3 5	82 10 8
Ditto	Upton	Not stated.	Nil.
Ditto	Keteby and Bellewode	Not stated.	Nil.
Ditto	Hareby	16 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Bruere, including Rouston and North Kirkeby	177 7 8	84 0 2
Ditto	Caldecot	2 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Egle	122 11 10	55 18 4
Ditto	Aslakeby	40 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Suth Wyme	26 13 4	Nil.
Ditto	Donyngton	10 0 0	Nil.
Nottinghamshire .	Marnham	20 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Tfaufour	4 13 4	Nil.
Rutlandshire	Stretton	8 0 0	Nil.
Huntingdonshire .	Wassinglee.....	Not stated.	Nil.
Buckinghamshire .	Radenach	6 13 4	Nil.
Cambridgeshire ..	Wilbergham	98 1 8	32 17 0
Ditto	Dokesworth	16 11 0	8 8 4
Norfolk	Togrynd	6 16 0	0 15 11
Suffolk	Gyselingham	0 5 0	Nil.
Cambridgeshire ..	Wendeye	16 13 4	Nil.
Essex	Cressing and Wytham	133 12 4	40 5 8
Ditto	Sutton	16 13 4	Nil.
Ditto	Swnton	4 4 0	Nil.
Ditto	Sharnebrock	0 13 4	Nil.
Bedfordshire	Melbrock	Not stated.	Nil.
Ditto	Stokton	16 13 4	Nil.
Ditto	Langeford	16 13 4	Nil.
Hertfordshire	Langenok	25 6 8	Not stated.
Ditto	Dyneslee	18 0 0	Nil.
Middlesex	Sylleston	10 0 0	Nil.
Kent	Waltham	2 0 0	Nil.
Ditto	Ewell	26 13 4	Nil.
Ditto	Dertford.....	Not stated.	Nil.

PROPERTY TRANSFERRED FROM THE TEMPLARS—*continued.*

County.	Commandery.	Gross revenue.			Expenditure.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Surrey	Sutwerk	16	13	4	Nil.		
Sussex	Compton	2	13	4	Nil.		
Ditto	Shepelee	17	17	6	10	16	8
Leicestershire	Rothelee	87	7	0	20	13	8
Ditto	Melton Mowbray	6	13	4	Nil.		
Ditto	Stonnesby	6	13	4	Nil.		
Warwickshire	Ballessall, including Flecham- stede and Chelidcote	127	2	6	74	19	0
Ditto	Warrewyck	18	3	4	12	6	8
Pembrokeshire	Templeton	6	3	3	Nil		
Somersetshire	Templecombe, including Wileton, Westcombeland, Lopene, Lode, Bristoll, Worle, Hidon, Templeton, and Cleyhaugre	106	13	0	66	13	0
Wiltshire	Roucle, including Lokerugge	20	7	7	7	7	7
Somersetshire	Chiryton	13	15	1	5	0	0
Oxfordshire	Saunford, with Templecoulee, Meriton, Sibford, Horspath, Overhorspath, and Little- mor	141	5	4	59	17	7
Ditto	Bradewell	15	16	8	Nil.		
Ditto	Werpesgrave cum Esyndon . .	18	0	0	Nil.		
Gloucestershire	Templegutyng	6	13	4	Nil.		
Ditto	Broughton	5	0	0	Nil.		
Worcestershire	Lawern	5	0	0	Nil.		
Warwickshire	Wolneye	5	0	0	Nil.		
Ditto	Herberbury	6	4	0	Nil.		
Ditto	Stodleye	0	15	0	Nil.		
Herefordshire	Uppededene	44	4	8	15	12	0
Monmouthshire	Garewy, including Hare- woode, Lamadoek, Keimeys, and Sanctus Wolstanus	87	0	4	46	17	0
Shropshire	Staunton, with Prene	32	7	1	8	9	10
Staffordshire	Keel	13	6	8	13	6	8

CHAPTER VIII.

1365—1402.

Election of Raymond Beranger—Expedition to Alexandria and capture of the town—Election of Heredia—His previous history—He escorts the Pope to Rome—Joins the expedition to Patras—Capture of the town—Heredia falls into the hands of the Turks—His ransom—Schism in the church—Heredia returns to Avignon—His death—Election of Philibert de Naillac—Battle of Nicopolis—Purchase of the Morea—Its subsequent restoration—Timour the Tartar—His overthrow of Bajazet—Loss of Smyrna.

THE vacancy caused by the death of Roger de Pins was, as recorded at the end of the sixth chapter, filled by Raymond Beranger, who, like his predecessor, was a knight of Provence. He inaugurated his accession by an expedition, undertaken in concert with the king of Cyprus, against the infidel. The port of Alexandria had of late years become the principal rendezvous of the Turkish corsairs who infested the Levant. He determined, therefore, in conjunction with his ally, to make a sudden and bold attempt against this powerful fortress. The armament assembled in Cyprus, and consisted of a fleet mustering nearly one hundred vessels of various sizes, carrying a large body of troops, most of whom were mercenaries serving under the banner of the Hospital. The sudden appearance of this expedition within the harbour of Alexandria took the garrison completely by surprise, and the Grand-Master, hoping to profit by their confusion, ordered an immediate assault. The defenders were, however, too numerous to allow the success of this attempt at a *coup de main*. The parapets were speedily lined on all sides, and wherever the Christians attempted to penetrate, they were met by a most obstinate resistance.

This was the first occasion upon which, within the lifetime of any of its members, the Order had taken part in a regular expedition against the Turks. The fraternity was therefore

nerved and excited by feelings of emulation to vie with the prowess of their ancestors. In vain the defenders poured the most murderous missiles upon their opponents. In spite of showers of arrows darkening the air in every direction, heedless of the Greek fire and boiling oil which were streamed upon those who attempted to mount the ladders, or of the huge rocks beneath the weight of which they were crushed to the earth, they still persisted in the assault. Encouraged by the presence and example of their chief, they returned with redoubled ardour after each successive repulse, until at length, overcoming every obstacle, they forced their way into the town, and drove the enemy into the citadel. This fierce struggle cost the Order the lives of no less than one hundred knights, but its results were so important that the sacrifice was well warranted. The booty found in the town was enormous, and the shipping in the harbour so extensive that its destruction was a serious blow to the naval power of the Turk.

This capture took place on the 10th October, 1365, and Raymond at once prepared to follow up his success by attacking the citadel. Before he was able to accomplish his design, he received intelligence that the sultan of Cairo was advancing to its relief with an army so considerable as to render a further contest hopeless. He therefore re-embarked his forces, and returned in triumph to Rhodes. Unfortunately before doing so, a disgraceful scene of murder and pillage took place, and Beranger left behind him only a town in flames, the bulk of the population massacred, and a wail of execration at the very name of Christian. A large number of Europeans who had been captured and made slaves were released and brought to Rhodes, many unfortunate Turks being also taken on board the galleys to undergo in their turn a similar fate. Amongst the former was Pierre de Saint Georges, a nephew of the Pope. This auspicious release went far to ingratiate the fraternity with his Holiness, and rendered him more ready than he had hitherto been to support its interests.

Two years after, the Order, in alliance with the republic of Genoa and the king of Cyprus, attacked and carried the fortresses of Tripoli, Tarsus, Laodicea, and Bellinas. These successes so enraged the sultan Amurath I., that he commenced

preparations for an attack on Rhodes. Beranger at once took all the necessary precautions to resist such an invasion. He purchased ample stores of provisions, ammunition, etc., for the town and other fortified points in the island, and called upon the various grand-priories to supply reinforcements of men, horses, and arms. The storm, however, passed away without bursting, and Beranger was left to end his days in peace. This event took place in the year 1374, when Robert Julliac, the grand-prior of France, was appointed to fill the vacancy. At the time of his election he was residing in his priory, and before making his journey to Rhodes, he proceeded to Avignon to pay his homage to the Pope. Whilst there he received instructions from his Holiness that the knights should in future take under their control the entire responsibility and direction of the defence of Smyrna. This was a post which, whilst most valuable to the interests of Christendom, was one of extreme danger and costliness to its immediate holders. Situated as it was at a considerable distance from Rhodes, its garrison was completely isolated. Any energetic attempt, therefore, upon the part of the enemy by whom it was surrounded would probably lead to its destruction before sufficient reinforcements could arrive. The cost also of the maintenance of such a force as the place imperatively demanded was a terrible drain upon the already crippled resources of the treasury at Rhodes. As a partial alleviation of this burden, the Pope assigned for the special support of the defence of Smyrna the sum of one thousand livres annually, payable out of the tithes of the kingdom of Cyprus.

Charged with these unwelcome instructions, Julliac proceeded to Rhodes, and there, before a general council, he announced to its members the mandate of the pontiff. The dismay upon receiving this intelligence was unbounded. It was felt that the post was one of almost certain destruction sooner or later, and that whoever might be selected to form one of its garrison would be proceeding to inevitable death. At the same time they saw plainly enough how difficult it would be for them to oppose the wishes of the Pope without incurring the imputation of cowardice, a charge from which they naturally shrank with chivalric horror. It was therefore decided to accept the trust,

and to rely on the spirit of the fraternity to furnish volunteers for the purpose. This confidence was not misplaced; the necessary numbers came forward with alacrity, and were at once despatched to take over their new acquisition.

The old and constantly recurring difficulties as to the non-payment of responsions from the various priories again came to the front during Julliac's rule. It was decided in council that any receiver who failed in remitting the due amounts to the general treasury, should be at once superseded and replaced by one who would make his payments with punctuality. The same regulation was to be enforced against commanders. The execution of this decree led to much ill-feeling on the part of the defaulters, who laid their remonstrances before the Pope. Julliac showed great tact in his manner of dealing with this appeal. He pointed out to his Holiness that it was impossible for the Grand-Master and council to carry on the government of the Order if their decrees were to be constantly objected to and suspended from action until the matter had been decided. The Pope saw the justice of the complaint, and ruled that all regulations emanating from the council were to be at once carried into effect, any appeal therefrom notwithstanding. As regarded the immediate subject in dispute, he further decided that the fiat of the Grand-Master as to removals from office on account of non-payment of responsions should be final.

This firmness and decision on the part of Julliac was attended with the happiest results. It was seen on all sides that he was a man not to be trifled with, at the same time that he was rigidly just and impartial in his decisions. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to carry out any permanent reform, as he died on the 29th July, 1377. He was buried in an antique Greek sarcophagus of white marble, which was utilized for the purpose. This sarcophagus, after the capture of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, was emptied of its contents and turned into a basin for a public fountain. It remained converted to this ignoble use until quite recently, when it was purchased by the French government, and deposited in the museum of Cluny. The inscription placed on it at the time of Julliac's death still remains. It runs thus:—"Hic jacet in Christo religiosus et

pater Ordinis Frater Robertus de Julhiaco quondam Magister sacræ domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani qui obiit Die xxix Julii Anno Domini mcccclxxvii Cujus anima requiescat in pace." "Here lies in Christ the holy brother and father of his Order, Brother Robert de Julliac, formerly Master of the sacred house of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, who died on the 29th day of July in the year of our Lord 1377, may his soul rest in peace."

Juan Ferdinand d'Heredia, the castellan of Emposta, grand-prior of Catalonia, Castile, and St. Gilles, the most extraordinary pluralist that had ever been known in the fraternity, was nominated as the new Grand-Master. The career of this man had been so strange, and his influence over the fortunes of the Order both for evil and for good so powerful, that he has with justice been looked on as one of the most conspicuous characters who have figured in its annals. Descended from a noble family in Aragon, he was the younger brother of the Grand Justiciary of that kingdom, a post of honour and importance second only to that of the crown. His brother, who had been for some years married without issue, was anxious to see the family perpetuated through him, and therefore caused him to marry at a very early age. The fruits of this union were only two girls, at the birth of the younger of whom Juan was left a widower. His brother, still eager for an heir, lost no time in securing for him a second alliance, selecting for the purpose a niece of his own wife. From this marriage a son was born, who was regarded both by his father and uncle as the future inheritor of the vast wealth and high dignities of the family, Juan himself being destitute of fortune, and entirely dependent on his brother. His second wife died after giving birth to a daughter, leaving him again a widower with four children, three girls and a boy. Shortly afterwards, to his dismay, and to the complete overthrow of all his expectations, his brother's wife, who had for so many years been childless, gave birth to a son, whose advent was speedily followed by that of another. This disastrous incident left Juan, who was of a high spirit and haughty temperament, beggared in fortune, and without prospects for the future. Unable to rest quietly in his new position, and to remain through life an abject pensioner on his brother's

bounty, he secretly took his departure for Rhodes, leaving his children under the protection of their uncle. There he was received with every demonstration of welcome by the Grand-Master, Elyou de Villanova, and at once professed as a knight. He soon ingratiated himself with the dignitaries of the fraternity, and his advancement became as rapid as his high birth and unquestionable merits warranted. He was promoted in succession to the commandery of Alhambra, to that of Villet, then to the bailiwick of Capsa, and lastly to the castellany of Emposta, one of the most important posts possessed by the Order.

The grand-priory of Catalonia having become vacant, the nomination of a successor to the dignity gave rise to a dispute between the Pope and the Grand-Master. The former had nominated a *protégé* of his own in defiance of the wishes of the council, and in utter disregard to the claims of seniority. They strongly resisted the nomination, and appointed a successor on their own account. In such a delicate matter the Grand-Master felt desirous that the dispute should, if possible, be decided amicably. He determined, therefore, upon sending an envoy to the court of Avignon, with plenary powers to treat with his Holiness upon the disputed question. This was an office of much delicacy, requiring a person of extreme tact, in whose judgment and good faith the council could place implicit reliance. Heredia was unanimously selected for the duty, and, having received the most detailed instructions as to the line of conduct he should pursue towards the Pope, he set sail for France.

After his arrival at Avignon he was not long in discovering that it would be impossible to induce Clement to revoke the nomination he had made to the vacant dignity. Heredia therefore directed his energies towards the bringing about of a compromise which should be amicable in its nature, and by which the dignity of neither party should be offended. After much negotiation with the rival claimants, in the course of which he displayed in an eminent degree that diplomatic address which was destined shortly to secure his own political advancement, he obtained their joint consent to an arrangement by which the revenues of the priory were to be divided between them, the Pope's nominee retaining the title. To this decision

the pontiff willingly gave his sanction, overjoyed to find the dispute brought to a close without the necessity for any retractation on his part. The compromise was not equally gratifying to the council, and Heredia felt that his own position at Rhodes would probably be much affected thereby. He, moreover, was not slow in perceiving that he would be in a position to secure his own advancement far better by ingratiating himself with the Pope than by a weary residence at Rhodes with an offended chief and antagonistic council. Instead, therefore, of taking his departure after his mission had been brought to a conclusion, he lingered at Avignon until he had succeeded in obtaining from the pontiff the appointment of supervisor to the disputed priory, neither of its joint holders being competent, from their advanced age, to undertake the duty themselves. It was not long before they both died, and the appointment being thus again thrown open, Heredia, who had by this time completely established himself in favour at Avignon, obtained from the complaisant pontiff his own nomination to the vacant dignity.

The dismay of the council at Rhodes when the intelligence reached them of this new usurpation of authority on the part of Clement may be readily conceived. This was aggravated by the fact that the envoy from whose diplomatic address they had expected such great results had himself taken advantage of those abuses which they had commissioned him to oppose, and had secured a nomination to which, by the rights of seniority, he did not possess any claim. The new grand-prior felt that, after having taken this step, all idea of a return to Rhodes must be abandoned. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to secure his position at the court of Avignon, and to ingratiate himself with his new patron. In this he was so successful that ere long he became the favoured minister and principal adviser of the Pope.

About this time hostilities had broken out between the kings of England and France. An immediate collision being anticipated, Clement, who was earnestly desirous of avoiding such a calamity, despatched Heredia in the capacity of a mediator to the hostile camps, trusting that his diplomatic skill might suffice to bring about a suspension of arms. The envoy, who entertained

but slender hopes of being able to effect such a result, secured the pontiff's permission to attach himself to whichever party was willing to accept his mediation should the opposing side decline his services. In the course of his negotiations he discovered that the king of France was desirous of ridding himself, upon any terms, of the English invaders, and was therefore most willing to accept his good offices. On the other hand, when he visited the British camp, he found Edward in a very different mood. His offers of mediation were peremptorily refused, and he himself treated with the coolest disdain. Irritated at this behaviour on the part of the English monarch, he announced that, in pursuance of the permission he had received from the Pope, he should join the ranks of the French king in the struggle which he perceived to be impending.

Within a few days the battle of Crecy was fought. Heredia, under the French banner, displayed the most conspicuous gallantry, and, towards the close of the engagement, was the means of saving the life of the French king. Philip had been unhorsed and surrounded, when the grand-prior cut his way into the midst, gave the king his own horse, and arrested his pursuers, thus enabling him to make his way to the Chateau de Broye. Heredia was desperately wounded in the effort, and lay for some time in a very dangerous condition. Before his recovery was complete it came to his ears that some of the chivalry of England in the hostile camp had expressed themselves in no measured terms as to the impropriety of an envoy having taken an active part in the battle. Heedless of his own enfeebled condition, he at once despatched a herald to Edward, offering the gage of battle to any one who considered his conduct unbecoming the character of his office. This gage would undoubtedly have been accepted had not Edward at once published the declaration made to him by Heredia before the battle, and therefore honourably acquitted him of all impropriety. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds he once more resumed his office of negotiator. It is to his good services on that occasion that the truce, which was shortly afterwards concluded between the two monarchs, has been generally attributed.

During the pontificate of Innocent VI., the successor of

Clement, the fortunes of Heredia reached their zenith. He had been the most intimate friend of the new pontiff prior to his elevation, and now became his sole confidant and adviser. He was appointed governor of Avignon, and the affairs of the papacy were entirely committed into his hands. Whilst occupying this exalted position he was courted on all sides. The princes of Europe and their ministers sought by the most lavish gifts to ingratiate themselves with a man in whom so much power was vested. He consequently amassed a large amount of treasure, which he bestowed upon his children. These, now no longer dependent on their uncle, found themselves raised by their father to a position suited to the claims of their birth, and surrounded with all the pomp and luxury which wealth could bestow. Heredia was a man of no ordinary mind; there was a magnificence in his ideas more suited to one born to the inheritance of a princely revenue than to the cadet of a family, however noble. Thus we find him, in gratitude to his patron, surrounding Avignon with a fortified enceinte at his own sole cost, a work which must have entailed the expenditure of a vast sum. The Pope, equally prodigal in his gifts, though more crafty as to the source from whence he drew them, bestowed upon him in return the two grand-priories of Castile and St. Gilles. As the cost of this gift fell exclusively upon the unfortunate Order, the council was naturally very indignant. The just claims of the senior knights were by the mere dictum of the Pope set aside, and the principal dignities which should have been in its gift were lavished upon a man who had proved himself a traitor to its interests.

After the death of Innocent and during the sway of his successor, Urban V., Heredia perceived that his influence at the papal court was sensibly declining. The death of Urban, and the election of Gregory XI., in 1370, caused it to become still further curtailed. He therefore came to the conclusion that it would be wise to provide himself an honourable retirement for his old age, far from the scene of political turmoil in the midst of which he had been for so many years plunged. With this view he cast his eyes upon the Grand-Mastership at Rhodes as a position precisely suited to his purpose. The death of Julliac presented him with an appropriate opportunity for

carrying his design into execution. Availing himself of the vast interest which his position had secured for him amongst the cardinals and others whose voices were likely to control the electors in their choice, he caused himself to be put in nomination. The council had so often felt the weight of his influence when exerted prejudicially to themselves, that they were not slow in realizing the policy of disarming such potent antagonism by linking his interests indissolubly with their own. It was universally admitted that he was at the time the most able man within the ranks of the fraternity, and had he not so often proved a bitter enemy to its interests, his election would have been unanimous; as matters stood, it was not till after a long and acrimonious discussion that his partisans were able to carry their point. Eventually they were successful, and Heredia found himself duly elected to the post he coveted, and to which it had hitherto appeared so improbable that he could ever attain.

It was at this time that Gregory carried into execution the project he had long entertained of restoring the seat of the papacy to Rome. A period of seventy years had now elapsed since Clement V. had removed it to Avignon, and Gregory began to perceive that unless some such measure were speedily adopted, the allegiance of the City of the Seven Hills would in all probability be lost to the pontificate. The Pope was escorted on his voyage from Marseilles to Italy by the new Grand-Master, who had assembled a fleet of eight galleys for his own conveyance to Rhodes, and it is recorded that he steered with his own hands the galley in which his Holiness was embarked. In the Gulf of Lions they encountered a severe tempest, during which Heredia, in his novel capacity, displayed most excellent seamanship in extricating his vessel from peril. It is much to be doubted whether this statement can be credited. His career, although a varied and a notable one, had not led him much upon the sea; it is therefore more than probable that whatever skill may have been shown at this crisis was due to the presence of some humbler individual, whose nautical knowledge was at the service of the Grand-Master.

Having seen the Pope securely established in his new home,

Heredia took his leave, and proceeded on his way to Rhodes. Whilst off the coast of the Morea he fell in with a Venetian fleet, then on its way to Patras, a city which had belonged to the republic, during which time it had been famed for its commerce in silk. It had recently been captured by the Turks, and the object of the expedition was to attempt its recovery. The Venetian general was overjoyed at meeting with the Grand-Master, and implored him to lend his valuable aid in the undertaking. Heredia felt that his presence was urgently required at Rhodes, and he had, moreover, attained an age when he might well have been excused from joining in any such enterprise. His, however, was a spirit in which the fire of chivalry burnt as brightly in his old age as in his youth. Casting aside all the dictates of prudence, he entered eagerly into the views of the Venetians, and joined his force to theirs against the common enemy.

The allied fleets, having reached their destination, disembarked their forces, who marched direct on Patras, situated about a mile from the shore. The town fell at the first assault, but the citadel, which was very strongly fortified, resisted all attempts at an escalade. It was soon seen that nothing short of a regular siege would suffice for its capture. This was therefore commenced in due form, and through the vigour of Heredia, pushed forward with extreme rapidity. A practicable breach was no sooner established than, weary with the delay that had taken place, and irritated at the losses his force had sustained, he at once directed an assault to be delivered. Impetuous as ever, in spite of his years, he was the first to plant a ladder on the point of attack, and thence surmounting the breach, he forced his way on to the rampart before he could be followed by any of his knights. The first person he encountered there was the Turkish commandant, whom he at once assailed. A desperate struggle ensued, which ended in the death of the Turk, Heredia cutting off his head and bearing it away in triumph. The loss of their leader having disheartened the garrison, a very slender resistance was made, and the capture of Patras was completed.

Unfortunately for Heredia, he was induced by the Venetians to extend his conquests still further in the Morea, and the city of Corinth was selected as the next point of attack. Whilst making a reconnoissance before this place with a very slender escort, Heredia was surprised by an ambuscade of the enemy. After a most energetic but fruitless resistance, he was captured and carried off into the city. The chiefs of the expedition were so dismayed at this untoward event, that they offered the restoration of Patras as his ransom. This, however, the Turks refused, asserting that they should soon be in a position to re-capture the town for themselves. Upon this the Christians supplemented their offer by the further proposal to pay a large sum of money, and to leave the three grand-priors of England, St. Gilles, and Rome, all of whom were then with the army, as hostages for the payment. It is stated by almost all the historians who have narrated the event, that this offer having been accepted by the Turks, Heredia himself put his veto on it, stating that it was far better that an old man like himself should perish in slavery than that three more youthful and valuable members should be lost to the Order, even for a time. He also declined the payment of any ransom out of the public treasury, asserting that he had sufficiently enriched his own family to enable them to come to his assistance in this his hour of need. No entreaties, they add, could change the indomitable resolution of the gallant old man, and his companions were reluctantly compelled to leave him in the hands of the enemy, where he remained for a period of three years, until, in 1381, he was ransomed by his family, and thus enabled to proceed to Rhodes.

Such is the story as told by the leading historians, with, however, one notable exception. Bosio, the Italian writer, who is in many respects the most trustworthy chronicler of his epoch, asserts that Heredia was eventually induced to permit his ransom to be effected by the Order, pending the arrival of the necessary funds from his family in Spain; and that the three grand-priors were left as hostages until the money was sent from Rhodes. This certainly seems the most rational solution of the difficulty, and it is very probably the true record of what did actually take place.

During this interval a schism had sprung up in the Church,

which was destined to have a most pernicious effect upon the Order of St. John. At the death of Gregory, in 1378, the populace of Rome, fearful lest the cardinals, then assembled for the election of his successor, should choose a pontiff who would restore the seat of government to Avignon, compelled them, by the most open and glaring intimidation, to nominate an Italian, the Neapolitan archbishop of Bara. This prelate ascended the papal throne under the title of Urban VI. In spite of the protests which poured in from all quarters against the validity of the election, he at once assumed the reins of government and the exercise of his office. The cardinals, on the other hand, had no sooner escaped from their thralldom at Rome than they reassembled in a secure spot from which they decreed their former appointment invalid, on the score of intimidation. They further proceeded to a new election, and nominated Robert, brother of the count of Geneva, to the pontificate under the title of Clement VII. The rival popes fulminated their ecclesiastical thunders, each against the adherents of his opponent, and the schism rapidly spread throughout the whole of Europe. Heredia, upon his release from captivity, at once declared for Clement, in which he was supported by the convent at Rhodes and the *langues* of France, Provence, Auvergne, and Spain. The Italian, German, and English *langues*, on the other hand, joined the party of Urban, and thus the dispute found its way into the heart of the Order. As a further complication, Pope Urban, in revenge for the Grand-Master's declaration in favour of his rival, formally deposed him, and on his own authority nominated Richard Carracciolo, grand-prior of Capua, as his successor. It has been a disputed point how far Carracciolo can be considered a legitimate Grand-Master, some writers having recognized his claim to the dignity, whilst others ignore him altogether. As the deposition of Heredia and the election of Carracciolo never emanated from the council of the Order, nor were afterwards ratified by them, but were simply the arbitrary acts of a pontiff whose own title was not recognized by the majority of the fraternity, there can be but little doubt that the nomination was invalid, and that Heredia still remained the legitimate Grand-Master. This view of the case is materially strengthened

by the fact that on the death of Carracciolo, which took place before that of Heredia, Boniface IX., who had replaced Urban, refrained from nominating a new chief, and contented himself with making his own near relative, Boniface of Caramandra, lieutenant of the Order. He at the same time annulled all the appointments which had been conferred by Carracciolo, in order to remove, as far as practicable, any further cause for schism.

During these disputes and disorders Heredia found it was impossible to enforce due obedience to his authority from many of the European commanders. Availing themselves of the doubtful nature of his position they neglected to pay their responsions; and repudiating all submission to the decrees of the council, they assumed an independence most fatal to the interests of the fraternity. Under these circumstances Heredia was requested to return to Avignon, and to seek at the hands of Pope Clement the means of reducing the refractory commanders to submission. Mindful of the bad use which he had once previously made of his authority on a similar occasion, the council, prior to his departure, extracted from him a pledge that he would faithfully remit to the public treasury all the responsions which he might collect. So as to compel him to hasten his return to Rhodes they further decreed that during his absence from the convent the power should be withheld from him of nominating to any vacant dignities. They carried their precautions still further by selecting four knights, who were to accompany him, ostensibly as an escort, but in reality as a check on his movements. Their suspicions proved groundless. Heredia, as Grand-Master, was a very different person from the young and ambitious knight, with his fortune still before him and his way to push in the world. At his request the Pope summoned several chapters-general at Avignon, at all of which he presided, and in which many beneficial regulations were enacted. By precept and example he succeeded in recalling a great majority of the recusants to their duty, and obtained for the treasury the payment of many arrears in the responsions.

As at this time Smyrna and Rhodes were threatened by the Turks, he despatched to both places, at his own cost, vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war. He also made

several foundations in favour of his *langue* in the kingdom of Aragón.

At length, in the year 1396, Heredia, bowed with years and with the cares of his office, sank into the grave, universally regretted and beloved by his fraternity. The virtues and good deeds of his old age had obliterated the reminiscences of what he had been during the earlier portion of his career. Men forebore to think on all the wrongs which he had wrought against them in former times when contemplating the advantages and the prosperity, which, during his rule of twenty years, he had been the means of promoting. He was, in truth, a strange compound of good and evil. Greedy of wealth he was, yet no miser; he was ever prompt to scatter with a lavish hand, and with the most magnificent profusion, those treasures which he had toiled so incessantly to amass. Ambitious in the highest degree, he scrupled not at the means he employed to attain power; yet, having gained the highest dignity which the Order could bestow, he used that power only for the public service, and for the most beneficent purposes. Indeed, both his rapacity and his ambition seem to have sprung more from the desire to benefit his children than himself. Their position in life once fairly established, much of the eagerness with which he had pursued wealth and power seems to have subsided. He was left in his old age to earn for himself that high position which he undoubtedly occupies as one of the greatest and wisest of those who had as yet swayed the fortunes of the fraternity. Vertot well sums up his career by saying that it would have been good for the Order had he never entered it; or, having once reached the goal, had he been permitted never to be taken away from it. He was buried in the monastery of N. D. de Caste, in Spain, of which he was the founder.

The vacancy caused by his death occurred at a time when the convent was not only distracted by the papal schism still raging in Europe, but also threatened by a new and redoubtable antagonist in the East. Under these circumstances it was necessary that it should be extremely cautious in the selection of a successor. Philibert de Naillac, a native of Berri, grand-prior of Aquitaine, was the knight who enlisted in his favour the majority of suffrages. Subsequent events fully bore out the

wisdom of the choice. He had no sooner assumed the duties of government than he was called upon to join in a general European Crusade against the foe already alluded to.

Bajazet, or Bayazid, a descendant and successor of Othman, had overcome in succession most of the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded. His ambition increasing in proportion to his successes, he threatened an irruption into Hungary. Thence he openly boasted that he would push his way into Italy, where, after having planted his standard on the Capitol at Rome, he would convert the altar of St. Peter's into a manger for his horse. The Pope became terrified at these menaces, which the power of Bajazet's army and the feebleness of the eastern portion of Europe rendered by no means impossible of execution. He therefore invoked the aid of Europe to crush the proud dream of the aspiring chieftain. In obedience to his call a league was formed, comprising Charles VI., king of France, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, the republic of Venice, Michael Paleologus, the Greek emperor, the knights of Rhodes, and the chiefs of sundry other petty principalities in the East.

This expedition, of which the greater part was composed of Frenchmen, marched through Germany, Bavaria, and Austria into Hungary, where they were joined by de Naillac, with a large contingent of his fraternity. The count de Nevers, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, commanded the French contingent, whilst Sigismond, king of Hungary, attached the Hospitallers, with whose worth he was well acquainted, to his own forces. The army which had thus assembled was so powerful that throughout its ranks an overweening confidence and a fatal sense of security prevailed. It was deemed impossible that Bajazet, with his wild hordes, could for one moment stand against the proud array advancing to overwhelm him. Their march, in consequence, resembled more a triumphal progress than a critical movement in the face of a bold and wary enemy.

During this time Bajazet had been engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, a city which he was most anxious to subdue, but which at the moment he did not feel sufficiently strong to attack openly. He remained quietly with his troops, not

attempting to oppose any check to the advance of the Christians, but contenting himself with watching warily the general course of events, and studiously concealing all information as to his own movements. The allies having passed the Danube, entered Bulgaria 100,000 strong, of whom one-half were cavalry.

Their first operation was to undertake the siege of Nicopolis, a powerful fortress on the right bank of the Danube, a little below the confluence of the Aluta and Osma. This place was founded by Trajan, and some remains of his walls are still to be seen. The works occupied a height dominating over that part of the town which lay without the enceinte. It was a very strong post and well fortified, being one of considerable commercial importance. At this time it was commanded by one of Bajazet's most experienced leaders. The defence was conducted with the utmost skill and bravery, every inch of the ground being warmly contested. The Christians found the advance very slow and their successes unimportant, when taken into consideration with the losses they daily sustained. During all this time their camp was the scene of the most reckless debauchery, and the reins of discipline seem to have been utterly relaxed. No attempts were made to gather information as to what was going on beyond the immediate vicinity of the army, and all were lulled into a state of the most supine and fatal security. Meanwhile Bajazet, having collected his forces, was advancing with the utmost rapidity and the most profound secrecy to the relief of the beleaguered fortress. So admirably were his dispositions carried out that it was not until his army appeared in their front that the negligent and incautious besiegers had the slightest intimation of his proximity. What ensued was a precise counterpart of those scenes so often before enacted upon the soil of Palestine. Headstrong obstinacy and unthinking impetuosity were once more destined to bring about crushing and humiliating defeat.

Sigismond was well acquainted with the practice then universally prevalent amongst Eastern generals of placing in the van of their armies the most worthless of their levies. These were intended to bear the brunt of the first onset, whilst the better and more trustworthy troops were held in reserve for subsequent action, so soon as the vigour of the attack had exhausted itself.

He therefore proposed that a similar measure should be adopted in their own army, and suggested that his raw militia would be the most suitable opponents for the undisciplined hordes of the enemy. The count de Nevers, however, with that blind obstinacy by which the bravest men so often mar their fortunes, would listen to no such proposition. He asserted that the van was the post of honour, and as such belonged of right to the chivalry of France. The attempt of Sigismond to substitute in their place his Hungarian forces arose, he considered, simply from a desire to secure for his own nation the chief glory of the day. Supported as he was by leaders as hot-headed and arrogant as himself, all remonstrances were unavailing. The king was therefore reluctantly compelled to witness the flower of the combined army wasting its energies and exhausting its powers against the worthless rabble who were preceding the main body of Bajazet's army.

Eagerly placing himself at the head of his gallant array, de Nevers, with an impetuosity which might have led to success had it been tempered with the smallest display of prudence, dashed furiously at the advancing foe. As might have been expected, the swarms opposed to him were scattered like chaff before the wind. Without offering any resistance worthy of the name, they either suffered themselves to be helplessly slaughtered, or endeavoured to purchase safety by a tumultuous and disorderly flight. The dispersion of this advanced body soon disclosed to de Nevers' view a spectacle which would have dismayed any but the strongest nerve. Directly in his front were drawn up, in dense and serried masses, a huge column of janissaries, then justly considered the flower of the Turkish infantry. Their vast and solid battalions presented a firm and apparently impassable barrier to his further progress. Without a moment's pause, however, the French dashed at their new assailants, and a desperate combat ensued, which lasted for a considerable time before success declared itself on either side. The impetuous onset of the Christians proved in the long run irresistible, and the proud janissaries, whose renown and unbroken career of success had up to this moment led them to consider themselves invincible, quailed beneath the vigour of de Nevers' attack. After a protracted though vain attempt

to maintain their ground, they at length gave way, broke their ranks, and sought shelter in flight.

Bajazet had as yet brought into action only a portion of his forces. On perceiving the disaster which had befallen his janissaries, he advanced for their support a large body of cavalry, in whose rear the flying infantry found cover from the fierce pursuit of the foe. The ardour of the French appeared to rise with each successive obstacle. Heedless of the vastly superior numbers opposed to them, and without waiting for support from the remainder of the army, they dashed at their new antagonists with so vigorous a charge that they carried all before them. This second barrier was swept away with the same facility as the first.

Up to this point all had gone well. The main body of the army had apparently only to remain quiet spectators, whilst the chivalry of France were overcoming and dispersing in helpless confusion ten times their number of the choicest forces under the banner of Bajazet. Had de Nevers halted there, and rallying his scattered forces permitted the rest of the army to advance and follow up the victory he had so gloriously achieved, that day must have witnessed the complete overthrow of Bajazet's power. Fate, however, had decreed it otherwise. Although his ruin was indeed close at hand, it was not by Christian might that his destruction was to be accomplished. He was, on the contrary, permitted to enjoy yet one more brief hour of triumph ere his own day of retribution dawned.

Hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, de Nevers did not for one moment stop to consider the exhausted state to which his troops had been reduced by their previous efforts. Pressing forward, he permitted them to break their ranks, and to urge their jaded steeds after the flying foe in every direction. It was whilst they were in this disordered condition that, on crowning the brow of a hill, they were surprised to see on its far side a dense forest of spears, which had hitherto been concealed from their view. This was Bajazet's grand corps of reserve, with which he still trusted to redeem the fortunes of the day. Placing himself at its head, he prepared once more to renew the combat against his redoubtable antagonists, who had thrice overcome all that had been opposed to them. Those very

victories, however, had only the more surely prepared for their present defeat. Men and horses were all exhausted; their ranks were broken, and all organization lost in the late disorderly pursuit. What wonder, then, that this fresh array of troops, led by Bajazet in person, should gain an easy victory! Combat there was little or none, and only a very slender remnant of that gallant band succeeded in extricating itself from the fatal plain.

The scale of victory had now turned. The Hungarians, witnessing the complete destruction of their French allies, in whom they had placed their chief reliance, and being themselves principally raw undisciplined levies of militia, did not wait to encounter the shock of Bajazet's advance. They gave way at once, and fled ignominiously from the field. The Bavarians, however, under Gara, the elector palatine, and the Styrians under Herman de Cilly, stood firm, and, supported by the knights of Rhodes, sustained with a resolute front the onset of the enemy. Being reinforced by such of the French cavalry as had escaped the previous *melée*, they resumed the offensive, and to the number of about 12,000, hurled themselves anew on the Turk. At this moment it seemed as though the fate of the day might still be restored. The impetuous charge of those gallant spirits carried them through the serried ranks of the janissaries, who were totally unable to withstand the shock, whilst the sipahis who advanced to their support were thrown into the utmost disorder, and appeared as though they were once more about to quail before the chivalry of Europe.

At this critical moment the Kral of Servia, a faithful ally of Bajazet, rushed to the rescue with a fresh body of troops numbering 5,000. This reinforcement decided the victory in favour of the Turks. The heroic band which had struggled so long and so nobly to restore the fortunes of the day, was crushed by the new foe, and the larger number perished gloriously around their banners. A few faithful knights, amongst whom was Philibert de Naillac, gathered round Sigismond, and with the greatest difficulty extricated him from the battle-field. Having gained the side of the Danube, they placed the king and the Archbishop of Grau in a little boat which was lying beneath the shelter of the bank, they them-

selves remaining on the shore to cover the retreat of the monarch. As soon as they had assured themselves that the stream had carried the boat beyond the reach of the enemy, de Naillac, accompanied by Gara and Cilly, took possession of another boat, and made good their own escape in a similar manner. Most fortunately they very soon encountered the combined fleet of the Hospitallers and Venetians, by which they were promptly conveyed to Rhodes. Here, after a detention of a few days, during which de Naillac entertained his royal guest with great splendour, Sigismond passed on into Dalmatia.

The results of this action, which took place in 1396, and has since been known as the battle of Nicopolis, were most disastrous to the Christians. The whole of the prisoners who fell into the hands of Bajazet, were ordered by him to be murdered in cold blood, to the number of upwards of 10,000. The carnage lasted from daybreak till four o'clock in the afternoon of the day following the battle. Only the count de Nevers, and twenty-four other knights, from whom Bajazet expected a large ransom, were rescued from the general slaughter. If, as has been recorded by contemporary historians, the French, prior to going into action, had massacred such Turkish prisoners as were then in their hands, this butchery may be considered in the light of a reprisal, and its diabolical atrocity somewhat mitigated.

The overthrow of the allied army having left Bajazet completely at liberty, he once more pursued his cherished schemes of conquest. The siege of Constantinople, which had hitherto assumed the form simply of a blockade, was converted into an active operation, and pushed forward with extreme vigour. At the same time he overran the whole of the Morea, and extended his advantages to so great a degree, that the ruler of the country, one of the porphyro-geniti, Theodore Paleologus, fled from his dominions. He took refuge at Rhodes, and whilst there offered to sell his rights over the district to the knights of St. John. This proposal having been accepted, and the price agreed on, which was paid partly in money and partly in jewels, the Order sent commissioners into the Morea to take formal possession of its new acquisition. The inhabitants of Corinth welcomed them with joy, feeling that they would be

far more secure under the white cross banner than under the enfeebled sway of the Paleologi. Bajazet had during this interval been compelled to withdraw his forces from their ravaging expeditions, and to concentrate them for the purpose of opposing a new enemy who had appeared in his rear. The city of Sparta, taking advantage of the temporary freedom gained by the absence of their dreaded foe, refused to admit the commissioners within their walls, or in any way to confirm the transfer which had taken place. Paleologus is suspected of having stimulated this opposition, as he already regretted the sale he had effected, now that the dread of Bajazet was less imminent. The Grand-Master felt that he was in a difficult position. He and his council had been prepared to pay, and to pay liberally, for the sovereignty of the Morea; but this was quite another matter from having to undertake the subjugation of the country. They were therefore compelled to consent to the rescinding of the contract. It was, nevertheless, with the utmost difficulty, and not till after the lapse of several years, that they eventually succeeded in rescuing from the grasp of Paleologus the treasure and jewels which had been handed over to him.

In about the year 1400, as nearly as can be traced, de Naillac built the tower of St. Michael at the western extremity of the main harbour of Rhodes. This tower was square in plan, and three stories in height, the one at the bottom being much lower than the others. A machicolated parapet ran round the top. At each corner was a circular projecting turret, also machicolated. On the top of the tower was an octagon lantern with steps on the outside, giving access to the summit, whence an extensive look-out view could be obtained. The total height of the tower, including lantern, was 150 feet. It bore the escutcheon of de Naillac as well as that of the Order. A cut-stone gateway connected the tower with a platform, armed on both sides with heavy guns, which swept the harbours. This tower was thrown down in the earthquake of 1863, and the ruins have been removed.

Up to this time the career of the ambitious Bajazet had been unchecked by any serious reverse. One by one he had overcome the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded, and

establishing himself on the conquered territory, had created a powerful and ever-enlarging kingdom. His recent success at the battle of Nicopolis seemed to open the way for further acquisitions, and to smooth for him the path of ambition he had determined to tread. The capture of Constantinople, and such feeble remnants of the Byzantine empire as were still retained by the Paleologi, had long been a day-dream with him. The moment seemed now to have arrived when that project might be carried into execution. All dread of further opposition from the countries of western Europe was at an end. A wail of lamentation had arisen throughout France when the news reached that country of the fearful slaughter of the battle of Nicopolis, and the inhuman butcheries which had followed it. The penalties of intervention had been too severe and universal to admit of the slightest prospect that any further opposition was to be feared from that quarter. Everything seemed to promise favourably for Bajazet, and consequently most disastrously for the Greek emperor. Under these critical circumstances the latter was at length driven to seek the aid of one whose interposition was in the long run likely to prove as fatal as that of Bajazet.

In an evil hour for Christianity he applied for the assistance of Timour-Lenk, or Tamerlane, the redoubted Tartar chief, the fame of whose exploits was even then ringing throughout the Eastern world. Of the origin of Timour, different versions have been recorded. Some have asserted that he was of very mean parentage, his father having been a simple shepherd, and that he himself had been engaged during his early youth in superintending the pasturage of his flocks. Others again endeavour to trace his descent from the great Djenghis Khan. Whichever may be the correct version, there is no doubt that he established his power entirely by the strength of his own right hand, and that from the most slender beginnings, he raised himself to a dominion over the countries of the East so extensive as to have excited within his breast the hope of some day aspiring to universal empire. The character of Timour was one which marked him as a being destined to play no ordinary part on the stage of life. With all the qualities requisite for a great commander, he was at the same time endued with the keenest political sagacity,

a gift which enabled him to consolidate his conquests, so as to render their retention a matter of no difficulty. Naturally ferocious and bloodthirsty, he aimed at a rule of terror, which he considered the surest protection of a sovereign. The saying is attributed to him that the throne of a monarch could never be safe unless its base were floating in blood. The ambitious tone of his mind may be well gathered from another of his favourite sayings, that as there was but one God in heaven, so there should be but one ruler on earth. Indomitable in will, he never formed a resolution without persisting in its execution, in spite of every difficulty. Opposition appeared only to increase his determination, and he thus succeeded in overcoming obstacles before which a less dauntless mind might have been cowed. His person was as singular and conspicuous as his character. He was lame, the result of a fall from the rampart of a fortress which he was assaulting. Notwithstanding this infirmity, he had an upright gait and a proud commanding air. His head was large, his brow expansive, and his hair, which was snowy white, combined with the ruddiness of his complexion to give him a most remarkable appearance. The game of chess was a passion with him, and he had but few equals in the art. Deeply imbued with superstition, he held the priesthood in profound reverence; at the same time his own religion has been much disputed, and appears to have been selected to suit his policy rather than his faith and convictions. As the great majority of his subjects were Mahometans, he adopted their tenets, but he seems never to have practised them very rigidly, nor to have hesitated in any breach of their laws which might advance his temporal prosperity.

Such was the ally whose aid the emperor of Constantinople had invoked, thus bringing upon Europe the savage who had hitherto contented himself with sweeping the vast plains of Asia. Timour, who was not over-pleased at the prospect of so powerful a neighbour as Bajazet, entered willingly into the views of the Greeks. He therefore at once sent an envoy to the Ottoman prince requiring him to desist from the further prosecution of his designs against Constantinople. He also called upon Bajazet to restore to the neighbouring princes, many of whom had taken refuge at his own court, those

territories that had been torn from their sway. To this demand Bajazet returned a peremptory refusal, accompanying his reply with the most insulting and offensive threats against his Tartar rival. The fiery nature of Timour was promptly aroused by the terms of Bajazet's message. He therefore resolved to wreak a bitter vengeance upon the prince who had dared thus to oppose his views and arouse his wrath. A call to arms throughout his extended dominions was speedily obeyed in all quarters, and a vast force, composed of the various nations which acknowledged his sway, was speedily collected beneath his banners.

The first active operation of the war which then began, was the siege of Sebastia, now Sivas, a powerful fortress in Cappadocia, the defence of which was conducted by Ortogul, a favourite son of Bajazet. The extreme strength of the place, and the powerful garrison within its walls, led that prince to consider that it would be an easy matter to detain Timour until his father should be in a position to advance to his support. Little, however, did he know the audacity and overpowering daring of his opponent. Neglecting all the ordinary routine of a siege, Timour hurled his wild hordes, in endless succession, against the ramparts, and by the sheer force of numbers, succeeded, after an almost incredible amount of slaughter, in forcing his way into the town. The whole of the defenders were at once put to the sword in the fury of the moment, Ortogul himself being one of the victims.

The news of this, the first reverse which had fallen upon his arms, accompanied, as it was, by the loss of his favourite son, caused the most poignant grief and the liveliest anxiety to Bajazet. Hastily assembling his forces, he pushed rapidly forward to meet the enemy who had dealt him so cruel a blow. The hostile forces encountered each other near the town of Angora. The result of the desperate encounter that ensued was fatal to Bajazet; his army was cut to pieces and utterly annihilated, whilst he himself fell a prisoner into the hands of his foe. He remained in captivity, suffering the most cruel indignities, until his death, which occurred a few months later, and which was undoubtedly brought on by the keenness of his disappointment at the utter overthrow of all his projects.

The knights of Rhodes had now cause to lament the pre-

city with which the Greek Emperor had invoked the aid of so dangerous an ally. After having, by rapid advances, and with the able assistance of his lieutenants, secured to himself the full results of the successes he had gained, Timour turned his eyes in the direction of those European conquests which had so often excited the ambition of Bajazet. His keen glance instantly perceived that the strongest bulwark of Christianity he would have to overcome was that island fortress, the heights of which were crowned with ramparts, and defended by those well-known warriors of the Cross, the fame of whose deeds had penetrated even to the remotest borders of Asia. Before he could attempt to crush the parent establishment, he saw that it would be necessary to deal with the offshoot at Smyrna, and he therefore led his forces in that direction.

It is stated that his first summons merely required the form of planting his standard upon the citadel, and that William de Mine, the knight to whom the Grand-Master had confided the defence, rejected the offered compromise with scorn. Such a proposal sounds, under the circumstances of the case, most improbable; nor was it at all in accordance with the character of Timour. The real demand, probably, was surrender. We have an account of the capture of Smyrna from the pen of the Persian historian Sefet-el-din, who was a contemporary writer. He states that Timour sent an embassy thither offering the following conditions:—That the garrison and inhabitants should all embrace the Mahometan faith, in which case they were promised great advantages and good treatment; or, if they refused to abjure Christianity, that they should pay a suitable ransom. In either case, of course, they were to surrender the fortress. Failing the acceptance of one of these alternatives, they were all to be put to the sword. The historian records that, as they were predestined to perish, both promises and menaces were alike useless.

De Naillac had foreseen that whatever might be the issue of the struggle between Bajazet and Tamerlane, the victor would be sure to turn his arms against Smyrna. He had therefore taken every precaution for its defence. He appointed William de Mine, the grand-hospitaller, as its governor; a knight in whose dauntless courage and intelligent zeal he felt

he could confide. He had also poured in large reinforcements both of men and munitions of war. The Persian historian says, on this head, that "the princes of Europe had sent there many brave Christian warriors; or, to speak more plainly, a band of mad devils." Everything, therefore, had been done to render the place as secure as its exposed position would permit.

Timour, finding his proposals rejected, gave instructions to his generals to commence the siege at once. Under their command, however, little or no progress was made. At length he himself arrived before the place on the 6th day of the month Djé mazul-Evel, 805 (the 1st December, 1402). His first act was to summon the garrison to a prompt surrender. In order to secure the immediate submission of the fortresses he attacked in person Timour had adopted a system from which he never deviated. On the first day a white flag was hoisted over his pavilion: this signified that if the town surrendered on that day, the lives of its people would be spared, and the place itself preserved from pillage. On the second day a red flag was substituted: the conditions then were, the death of the governor and of the leading inhabitants, but still with security to the masses. Should this day pass without submission, on the third morning a black flag was seen waving; this was final, and from that moment the only hope of the garrison was a successful resistance, as the capture of the place was inevitably followed by the massacre of all the inhabitants, and the town itself delivered over to pillage.

This last stage having been reached, the defenders of Smyrna knew their fate, and prepared manfully for resistance. Timour's first attempt at an assault was frustrated by the knights with great slaughter. Pouring upon the assailants every species of missile which the art of war had in those days developed, including Greek fire, boiling oil, seething pitch, and other similar devices, they at length succeeded in driving the Tartars back in confusion to their camp. The bitter experience of this failure shewed Timour that he was now confronted by men against whom the dashing and off-hand measures he had so often successfully adopted would be unavailing. Bold and determined though the onset might be, he was met by a foe who could die, but would not yield, and against that living

rampart of Christian warriors it was in vain that he hurled the choicest battalions in his vast army. Taught by this experience his fertile genius soon devised a means for meeting his opponents upon a different footing.

He constructed numerous round wooden towers on rollers and of such dimensions as to contain 200 men within each. They were divided into three compartments, of which the centre one was on a level with the ramparts. The top floor was to be crowded with archers who could look down on the defenders, and pour a destructive fire on them at the moment of assault. In the centre floor a drawbridge was attached which when lowered would enable the assailants to reach the rampart. The lower compartment was filled with miners who were enabled to burrow their way into the heart of the walls, completely secure from any missiles. He at the same time constructed huge rafts, as described by the Persian historian, rising three feet above the level of the water. These were lashed together and projected from the shore on either side till they met in the centre, forming a roadway across the channel, and completely cutting off the fortress from all succour on the side of the sea. When these various works were completed, which with the huge force at his disposal did not take long to accomplish, the unfortunate knights felt that their doom was sealed.

Everything being now ready, Timour gave the signal for the onset, and the ponderous towers moved slowly towards the ramparts. Although a storm of rain poured in incessant torrents throughout the day, nothing checked the ardour of the assault. Sefet states that throughout the siege the rain fell without ceasing, and it seemed as though a new deluge had broken over the land. He also records, with a candour most praiseworthy on the part of an opponent, the extreme bravery of the defence. These are his words—"If the attack was vigorous the defence was not less firm, and no one was permitted a moment of repose. Although the battering rams and other machines dashing against the walls breached them even to their foundations, the defenders remained none the less bravely at their posts, hurling without cessation upon the enemy pots of Greek fire and naphtha, fiery wheels and huge stones."

Timour's precautions had been so well taken that there was no possibility of failure. Whilst the defenders were gallantly struggling to resist the assailants emerging from the central compartments of Timour's machines, those on the lower floor were able to prosecute their labours unrestrained. Ere long huge gaps appeared in the masonry of the ramparts, supported only by wooden props inserted for the purpose. These timbers were well saturated with naphtha, and then on a given signal ignited. As the flames devoured the wood the supports gave way, and a large mass of rampart fell with a crash to the ground. With shouts of exultation the enemy poured through the breach, and overcoming by their numbers every obstacle the defenders could put in their way, they succeeded in planting the banner of Islam over the conquered citadel.

Timour did not on this occasion depart from the practice he invariably pursued after the display of his black flag. A universal massacre of garrison and town speedily followed the termination of the conflict. A few of the inhabitants succeeded in forcing their way to the shore, whence by swimming they reached a vessel then cruising in the offing, but with the exception of these all fell beneath the sword. The Order of St. John had on that day to mourn the loss of every one of those brave brethren to whom it had confided the defence of Smyrna. The heads of the slain when decapitated were, in accordance with Timour's usual custom, raised into a pyramid. On the day following the capture the fleet from Rhodes appeared in sight bearing reinforcements for the besieged. The Tartar caused his artillerists to hurl with their machines some of the heads of the slain at the advancing foe. They thus perceived that they had arrived too late, and were compelled to return to Rhodes, bearing the melancholy intelligence of the loss of Smyrna, and the massacre of its heroic garrison.

CHAPTER IX.

1402—1476.

Erection of the fortress of St. Peter at Budrum—Treaty with the sultan of Egypt—Conclusion of the papal schism and reunion of the Order—Death of de Naillac and succession of Fluvian—Invasion of Cyprus—Death of Fluvian—Election of Lastic—Descent on Rhodes—Reforms in the Order—Fall of Constantinople—Election of James de Milly—Disputes in the fraternity—Succession of Raymond Zacosta—Formation of an eighth *langue*—Erection of Fort Nicholas—Departure of Zacosta for Rome—His death there—Succeeded by Orsini—Fall of Negropont—Preparations for defence at Rhodes—Death of Orsini and nomination of Peter d'Aubusson.

THE success of Timour in the capture of Smyrna led him to contemplate the further prosecution of his ambitious views by an early attack upon Rhodes. He was, at the time, unprovided with a fleet sufficiently numerous for the operation, and his first efforts were therefore directed to the supply of this deficiency. Before, however, he had succeeded in collecting any considerable number of vessels within the harbour of the now utterly ruined town of Smyrna, intelligence reached him of an invasion of the eastern portion of his dominions by the king of India, who had taken advantage of his absence to assail the unprotected frontier. He was consequently compelled to retire from the scene of his recent successes, and to hasten eastward in order to grapple with his new enemy. Most fortunately for the peace of Europe, and more especially for the security of the Order at Rhodes, Timour did not live to return. Before he had succeeded in repelling the invasion and securing his eastern frontier, he died from the effects of the constant debauchery in which he was plunged. It is curious to note how, during these ages, men constantly sprang from obscurity in the East, and for a time threatened to attain almost universal dominion. Nothing,

however, which they founded seemed to survive them, all being due to their own power of generalship and administration. The guiding hand once withdrawn, the empire crumbled to pieces, and remained in a state of disintegration until some new ruler arose with power sufficient to reunite the fragments.

De Naillac seized the earliest opportunity which this suspension of hostilities gave him to replace, as far as possible, the loss sustained by the destruction of Smyrna. The judgment which he displayed in the selection of a new *point d'appui* on the mainland was such that, so far from being weakened by its loss, the Order found itself in a far more commanding position than before. The point selected was a Turkish castle on the coast of Asia Minor, about twelve miles from the island of Lango. This stronghold had been built on the ruins of Halicarnassus, celebrated as the site of the tomb of king Mausolus, and also as the birthplace of Herodotus. Not deeming this place sufficiently secure for his purpose, de Naillac caused a new work to be erected at the end of a peninsula which jutted out into the sea. This he called the Castle of St. Peter Liberated. It may be noted that the present Turkish name for the fortress, viz., Budrum, is derived from Bedros, signifying, like Peter, a rock.

Nothing was spared which the art of fortification could devise to render this stronghold impregnable, and it remains at this day an imperishable record of the skill of the engineer at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It bore on its walls this inscription, which is still to be seen: "*Propter fidem Catholicam tenemus locum istum.*" Its present condition is thus described by Newton, the discoverer of the ruins of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus:—

"On the site of the old Greek acropolis Philibert de Naillac built the stately castle which still stands a specimen of the military architecture of the knights, not less worthy of study than the fortress of Rhodes. The position of this castle is one of great natural strength as compared with the means of attack known in the fifteenth century. It is surrounded on three sides by the sea, while on the land side the rocky nature of the soil would have made mining impossible. The castle is entered from the isthmus by a ramp through the western corner of a glacis of unusual size, which forms the outer defence on the

north side. Within this ramp is a fosse which widens as it approaches the sea, having a breadth of 150 feet in the part where the gateway from the ramp opens into it. This end of the fosse is protected by a casemated battery, to hinder the landing of troops within the glacis. This battery has a roof of solid masonry, gabled externally to prevent the lodgment of shells. The north side is further strengthened by two towers, connected by a curtain wall, and a smaller fosse running parallel to the larger fosse. On the western side, which faces the harbour, the castle is defended by a wide rampart, within which is a deep fosse. It is in the sea face of this rampart that the lions' heads from the Mausoleum are placed.* On the eastern and southern sides the external wall of defence is a curtain wall with a strong tower at the south-east corner. The opposite angle on the south-west is protected by a platform with embrasures for nine guns on the south and eight on the west. The entrance to the castle is through a series of seven gateways, up to the first of which the ramp in the northern glacis leads. After crossing the northern fosse the road passes through three more gateways into the sea rampart of the western fosse, and thence winding through three more gateways, finally enters the interior of the fortress at its south-western angle. The seventh and last of these gateways is protected by the platform already noticed. The object of so winding an approach was, of course, to guard against surprises. The area contained within these external defences is divided into an outer and inner bayle. In the inner bayle, which is the highest ground within the castle, are two lofty square towers, which form the keep. The outer bayle contains the chapel of the knights. The two central towers seem to be the earliest part of the fortress, which was

* The knights seem to have made free use of the material furnished by the ruins of the Mausoleum in building the castle of St. Peter. Twelve slabs from the frieze of that monument were removed from its walls and sent to the British Museum in 1846, as well as the lions here referred to. Newton gives an amusing account of the difficulties he encountered in securing these lions. The Turkish minister of war had directed the commandant to remove them from the walls and send them to Constantinople, hearing that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was endeavouring to obtain a firman giving them to England. They were already on board a caique awaiting a favourable wind to start, when the welcome firman arrived, and they were secured for England.

probably built by instalments, the lines being gradually extended till they embraced the whole of the rocky platform. It was constructed by Henry Schlegelholz, a German knight, who found in the ruins of the Mausoleum an ample supply of building materials. The masonry throughout is in admirable preservation. Since the day when the castle was handed over to the Mussulman conqueror it has undergone very few changes. The long brass guns of the knights still arm the batteries, and their powder lies caked up in the magazines. The Turks change nothing in their fortresses. There is in this castle a magnificent cistern cut in the rock, full of water. A few years ago a soldier fell into it and was drowned. The Turks, instead of troubling themselves to fish the body out, ceased to use the water of the cistern, regarding it as polluted for ever. In the tower at the south-east corner is a room which was probably the refectory of the knights. Here, sitting in the wide bays of the windows, they beguiled the weariness of garrison life by carving their names and escutcheons on the walls. Many hundred valiant soldiers of the Cross, unmentioned in the glorious annals of the Order, have thus been preserved from utter oblivion, for the inscriptions are as fresh as if cut yesterday. This tower was probably erected by Englishmen, as the arms of Edward IV., and of the different branches of the Plantagenet family, together with many other English coats, are sculptured in a row over the door. Scattered about the castle are the arms of its successive captains, ranging from 1437 to 1522, when the garrison surrendered to the Turks. Among these is the name of a well-known English knight, Sir Thomas Sheffield, with the date 1514. The arms of another Englishman, John Kendal, who was Turcopolier 1477—1500, may be seen under the royal arms on the tower at the south-east angle. Here, as at Rhodes, the stern monotony of military masonry is constantly relieved by shields and inscriptions sculptured on white marble and let into the walls. Wherever architectural decoration occurs it is of the same flamboyant character as at Rhodes. In the chapel may still be seen a beautifully carved wood screen, now adapted to Mussulman worship.”*

In addition to the inscription already quoted, there was also

* Newton's "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," vol. ii., page 59.

on the walls one in Latin from the 127th Psalm—"Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." As soon as the fortress was sufficiently advanced towards completion to be tenable de Naillac garrisoned it with a strong body of the Order. Every precaution was taken to insure its security from attack by the hostile neighbours. Recent events had rendered this a matter of comparative facility for a time. The power of Bajazet had been shattered by the battle of Angora, whilst Timour was dead and his army disbanded. No ruler had for the moment arisen in their place strong enough to impede the operations of the knights of Rhodes, and meanwhile the new stronghold was month by month developing in extent. It gradually became a point of refuge for all who sought to escape from Mussulman tyranny, and the unfortunate Christian flying from slavery was sure to find within its hospitable walls a ready welcome and ample protection. As aids in the defence, a race of dogs was kept within the castle. These were so trained, and their natural instinct so developed, that they were rendered capable of performing, with great tact and sagacity, the part of outlying sentinels. By their aid and watchfulness the guard was ever sure of receiving early intimation of the approach of an enemy.*

In the year 1403 de Naillac was enabled to render good service in a mediatorial capacity between the king of Cyprus and the Genoese, a dissension having arisen which if not quelled would have had the most calamitous results for Christianity in

* The extent to which this sagacity on the part of these canine allies was carried led to numerous legends in their honour, for the veracity of which the chroniclers of the times were ever ready to vouch. It was asserted that their sense of smell was so keen that they could invariably detect a Moslem from a Christian, allowing the latter to approach unquestioned, whilst the presence of the former was certain to elicit a prompt alarm. Bosio records a still stranger instance. A Christian captive, escaping from slavery, was so closely pursued that he was unable to reach the fortress. As a temporary measure he sought shelter in a dry well, where owing to the vigilance of his pursuers he was compelled to remain for several days. In this predicament he would have starved had not one of the dogs discovered him and brought him daily a part of his own food. The keeper of the dog seeing that he was losing flesh watched him to ascertain the cause, and thus discovered the fugitive, who was rescued and brought into the castle.—Bosio, vol. ii. lib. iv.

the Levant. The Genoese republic had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town of Famagosta in Cyprus. It was held by a garrison in their name, to the great dissatisfaction of the king, James de Lusignan, and the rest of the inhabitants. An attempt was consequently made by him to expel the intruders, and a regular siege was laid to the town. When the news of this act of hostility reached Genoa, which was then under the protection of France, an expedition was at once despatched, led by the marshal de Bourcicault, for the purpose of repelling the attack. This fleet put into the harbour of Rhodes, where it was received with the most profuse hospitality. It consisted of seven large ships and nine Genoese galleys. Accompanying it was a Venetian squadron, under the command of the admiral Carlo Zeno. The latter was in reality watching the movements of the other fleet, the intentions of which roused the suspicions of the Venetians. It was not to be expected that under such circumstances there could be much cordiality between the commanders. In fact disputes soon arose, and from day to day became so embittered, that at length de Naillac dreaded an open rupture within the very harbour of Rhodes. He succeeded at last in so far smoothing matters that he induced Carlo Zeno to leave the island and proceed to the Morea. This preliminary difficulty being overcome, his next step was directed towards preventing the outbreak of hostilities between the forces of Bourcicault and the Cypriotes. Not only did the knights hold large possessions in that island, but they had always regarded it as a barrier against Saracen attack. Being in close alliance with the king of Cyprus they had been enabled to find shelter in its capacious harbours during their cruises on the Syrian coasts. De Naillac succeeded in persuading Bourcicault to remain quietly at Rhodes whilst he himself undertook a mediating embassy to Cyprus, hoping to induce the king to withdraw from his attempts on Famagosta. James acceded to his suggestions, the siege was raised, and the expeditionary force under Bourcicault rendered no longer necessary.

The French commander was, however, unwilling to return without having struck a blow somewhere. He therefore joined the Grand-Master in a predatory expedition against the principal

Saracenic seaports in Asia Minor. Nothing of any permanent importance was effected, nor indeed was any intended. What they sought was booty, and this they obtained in amply sufficient quantity to pay the costs of the expedition.

On their return to Rhodes they were surprised to find a proposal from the sultan of Egypt, whose territories they had just been ravaging, to enter into an alliance with them. The fears which he entertained of the aggressive policy of his neighbours, the Ottoman Turks, led him to take this step, and de Naillac was sufficiently far-sighted to make the most of his opportunities. The treaty which he concluded with the sultan gave the Christians permission to enclose the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem with a wall. They were to be allowed to maintain six knights of St. John within the city, free from all tribute, who should carry on the hospitaller duties of their profession in favour of the pilgrims who still visited the spot. It was further agreed that Christian slaves might be redeemed either by purchase or exchange with Saracens, and that consulates should be established in Jerusalem and the other principal places in the Holy Land. For the benefits of this favourable treaty Christianity is indebted entirely to the ability of the Grand-Master at Rhodes.

Unfortunately at this time there was but too great need for the exercise of diplomacy on his part. The schism which had for so many years torn the bosom of the Church and introduced the spirit of dissension within his own Order, was still raging furiously; the rival popes, Benedict and Gregory, each claiming jurisdiction. A conclave was assembled at Pisa in 1409 to endeavour to heal the dispute, and its protection was intrusted to de Naillac and his fraternity. He left Rhodes for the purpose of assuming the duties thus imposed on him, and remained in Europe till the year 1420. Alexander V. was elected Pope at this conclave, making a third pretender to the title. At the same time de Naillac was pronounced sole legitimate Grand-Master. In spite of this decree, the priories of England, Scotland, Aragon, Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bohemia refused to recognize his title, and continued to withhold their responsions. At length a new council, held at Constance in 1415, terminated the difficulty by securing the

abdication of Pope John XXIII. and the election of Martin V., the validity of whose nomination was accepted on all sides without dispute. At this conclave also the protection of the electors was intrusted to de Naillac and his knights. It is most probable that it was again greatly by the influence and diplomatic ability of the Grand-Master that this favourable result was reached. The contumacious *langues* all promptly gave in their adhesion, and recognized the venerable Grand-Master as their chief. After having held a chapter-general at Avignon, and another at Ancona, de Naillac returned to Rhodes, after an absence of eleven years. His reappearance there was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm, prayers having been repeatedly offered up in the churches of the island during his protracted absence, beseeching his speedy return.

The last act of his long and useful life was presiding at a chapter-general, which he convoked at Rhodes shortly after his arrival. In this council all the acts which led to the reunion of the Order were ratified, and a general feeling of joy pervaded the assembly that their differences were at length reconciled. To de Naillac this glad scene was one of intense gratification, and served to shed a gleam of comfort over his latest days. His end, indeed, was fast approaching, and in the following year he breathed his last, having swayed the fortunes of his Order for twenty-five years. He died comforted with the feeling that he left his fraternity at union with itself, at peace with its neighbours, and in a most flourishing state of prosperity.

The satisfactory condition into which de Naillac had brought his affairs must be attributed far more to his diplomatic and general political abilities than to his skill in war. Indeed, the martial exploits of the fraternity under his guidance were never productive of much beneficial result. In some cases, such as the battle of Nicopolis and the defence of Smyrna, they were disastrous in the last degree. Still, however strongly the fortune of war might declare itself against him, he was invariably able, by his political sagacity, to restore the equilibrium, and to maintain his fraternity in that proud position it had so long occupied before the face of Europe.

The following inscription was placed on his tomb in the church of St. John at Rhodes:—

“Rhodiorum Deor: Averni Eq. Posuerunt.

“Philiberto De Naillac, S. Nq. H.M.M.M. Quod Imitatione Henrici Schlegmlhoit Equitis Germani Qui Timure Seytharum Rege Asiam Occupante In Continenti Cariæ Se Munire Vallo Contra Barbaros Ausus Fuit Ex Mausolei Ruinis Arcem Et Propugnacula In Halicarnasso Struxit.

“Novam Cond: Urbem Justit-Que Dedit Gentes Frenare Superbas.

“By a decree of the Rhodians the Knights of Auvergne have erected this monument.

“To Philibert de Naillac, Grand-Master of the Holy Militia of Jerusalem. After the design of Henry Schlegmlhoit, knight of the German *langue*, he dared to raise entrenchments, whilst Timour, the king of the Scythians, overran Asia. He built a citadel and fortress in Halicarnassus from the ruins of the Mausoleum.

“He was able by his justice to build a new city and to restrain proud nations.”

The rule of his successor, Antonio Fluvian (or, as the name is sometimes given, La Rivière), although it extended over a period of sixteen years, was marked by but few events of political importance. Dangers, indeed, threatened on every side, but none developed into really active mischief. On the one side was the new emperor, Mourad II., who had recently ascended the throne of his father, Mohammed I., and had so consolidated the Ottoman power as to become a very formidable neighbour; on the other was the Mamelouk sultan of Egypt, whose enmity was at that time even more threatening than that of Mourad.

This prince invaded Cyprus in the year 1423. The Order of St. John rendered every assistance in its power to the king, James de Lusignan, but its efforts were unsuccessful. The combined forces of Rhodes and Cyprus were defeated in a decisive action by the Egyptian sultan, and Lusignan was taken prisoner. In spite of this defeat the knights continued the struggle. Their interest in the island was not, it must be admitted, purely disinterested. One of the richest commanderies in their possession was situated there, and they strained every

nerve to save it from destruction. In this they were ultimately successful, and peace was once more restored. The captive king was ransomed by a payment of 30,000 gold florins, the greater part of which was advanced by the treasury of Rhodes, and the sultan withdrew his forces from the island.

Two chapters-general were held at the convent, one in the year 1428, the other in 1432. At the former the Grand-Master submitted an urgent appeal for funds. He pointed out the cost of the recent struggle in Cyprus, the armaments rendered necessary throughout the Order's possessions by the threatening attitude of the Ottoman emperor on the one side, and the Egyptian sultan on the other; the devastation caused in the French priories by the war with England; the very precarious position of the priories of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland, the former owing to the disorders caused by the Hussites, and the latter to the hostile attitude of the Teutonic knights. He concluded by appealing to all the members for contributions in aid, he himself heading the list with a donation of 12,000 florins. The request was very generally responded to. Each priory was called on to send to Rhodes twenty-five knights and as many servants-at-arms. A large quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions was contributed, and money poured in to the treasury from all quarters.

At the second chapter it was decreed that all novices should be appointed to some commandery within their *langue*, where they were to be maintained and trained in the religious and knightly duties of their profession. Hitherto much scandal had been brought upon the Order by the irregular life led by many of these novices, who, looking upon their profession merely as a distinction flattering to their vanity, totally neglected the duties inculcated by their vows. To check this demoralizing irregularity, the chapter wisely determined to place them under the charge of commanders, who from their age and position would be enabled to enforce a wholesome discipline. Members were also forbidden to establish themselves at the court of Rome. The pernicious example of Heredia had been so frequently followed as to render a restriction of this nature highly necessary. Indeed, for some time past it had become apparent that if the fraternity were to maintain its independence, a rigid

check would have to be imposed upon the encroachments of the court of Rome. The time had passed when the support of the pontiff was necessary for its well-being. It was now a sovereign power, well able to hold its own, and but little prepared quietly to brook interference even from its ecclesiastical superior. From this time forward we shall find that the annals teem with disputes between the knights and the popes of Rome, all owing to autocratic attempts upon the part of the latter sternly resisted by the former.

The last act of Fluvian's life was to rebuild the great hospital of the island and to add to its endowments.* He died on the 26th October, 1437, leaving by his will the sum of 200,000 ducats as a gift to the public treasury. A monument was erected to his memory in the following year by the knights of the *langue* of Spain, which bore the following inscription, partly in Greek and partly in Latin:—

“ANEY XPIMATΩN OYΔEN ENTOPΘEITAI. Tempore Pace Parcemonia Equites Citerioris Hispaniæ Antonio Fluviano Mag: Svo: S. Nq. M. H. Pacis Et Frugalitatis Artibus Ornatissimo Longævo Seni Adhuc Viventi De Coñuni Cõsilio Rhodii Sententia Anno MCCCCXXXVIII. Cum Magno Populi Plausu Erexere.

“Nothing can be done without money. In time of peace economy.

“The Knights of nearer Spain have erected this monument to Antonio Fluvian, Grand-Master of the holy and noble militia of Jerusalem, skilled in the arts of peace and economy, still full of vigour when advanced in age, with the consent of the council of Rhodes, in the year 1438, with the great applause of the people.”

John de Lastie was raised to the magisterial seat vacated by the death of Fluvian. This knight, who was born in Auvergne in 1371, had at an early age taken part in the war with England, having been made prisoner by that power in 1394. In the following year he arrived at Rhodes, where he was professed as a knight. He was appointed commander of Montcalm, and afterwards grand-prior of Auvergne, which post he held at the time of his election. It was the custom in those

* A description of this hospital will be found in chap. xiv., as given by Newton.

days for a Grand-Master, on being elected to, pay the sum of three crowns to every knight to defray the cost of mourning for his defunct predecessor. It is recorded that Lastic had to raise a loan of 12,000 gold florins to meet this charge. Hence it may be seen that the ranks of the fraternity were well filled.

The Ottoman emperor was at this time fully occupied with the war in Hungary and the revolt in Epirus; but the sultan of Egypt, whose hands were free, was evidently meditating hostilities against the knights. Up to this time the Ottoman emperor had generally acted as a check upon the Egyptians, the jealousy raging between the two Moslem powers being even stronger than their animosity against their Christian neighbours. On the present occasion, however, Mourad declined to offer any opposition to the Egyptian enterprise, even if he did not, as is very probable, secretly support it. After vain attempts at negotiation with both sultans, de Lastic perceived that the issue must be decided by arms. He therefore strengthened his position by every possible means, and then quietly awaited the coming of the enemy. At length, in the month of September, 1440, the Egyptian fleet, to the number of eighteen galleys, accompanied by many smaller craft, appeared before Rhodes. The intrepid conduct of the inhabitants prevented the Moslems from attempting an immediate disembarkation. Before they had decided upon their line of conduct the fleet of the Order, led by their grand-marshal, left the harbour and advanced to the attack. The Egyptians declined the action, and under cover of night beat a retreat. The marshal, suspecting their object, pushed rapidly after them, and so completely out-sailed them that when they appeared before the castle of Lango they found him already there awaiting their arrival. Seeing that their design was thus rendered fruitless they proceeded to the mainland, where they took shelter under the guns of a Turkish fort. The marshal, who spurned the thought of returning to Rhodes without having made any attempt on his enemy, dashed at the hostile fleet as it lay at anchor, and a sanguinary engagement ensued without any very decisive result. The Order lost sixty men, which, in their small force, was a serious blow. Their antagonists, on the other hand, lost 700 men, and had several of their galleys seriously injured. Taking these figures in con-

junction with the fact that the Egyptian fleet retired without attempting any further hostile operations, the palm of victory must be awarded to the Order.

The sultan, indignant at the failure of this expedition, lost no time in commencing the fitting out of another on a larger and more formidable scale. De Lastic was, on his side, by no means idle; and when, in the month of August, 1444, the enemy landed a force of 18,000 men, besides cavalry, they found the white cross banner floating proudly on the walls, and every preparation made for their reception. The siege lasted for forty days, and during that time was prosecuted with the utmost energy. Unfortunately, no record has been left of the details of this defence. All that is known is that several assaults were delivered in vain, and that the siege terminated with a sortie on the part of the knights, who inflicted fearful losses on the besiegers, and drove them in panic-flight to their ships.

The efforts which had been made to resist the aggression of the Egyptians had necessitated a large expenditure, whereby not only was the treasury exhausted, but its credit strained to the utmost. To meet this difficulty the amount of responsions payable by each commandery was, by decree of a chapter-general held at Rhodes in 1445, increased for a period of five years, in order that funds might be provided to pay off the liabilities that had been incurred. Several of the commanders, living in indolence and luxury in Europe, were unwilling to contribute even in purse to the maintenance of their flag in Rhodes. They therefore appealed to the Pope against the decree. Nicholas V., who had just ascended the chair of St. Peter, being instructed only on one side of the question, wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to the Grand-Master. De Lastic returned a reply counter-signed by the whole council, in which he maintained his point with much dignity, though the missive was couched in temperate and respectful terms. The Pope was quite satisfied with the reply, and withdrew all support from the recusant commanders. They still continued obstinate, and peremptorily refused payment. The council, in this dilemma, decided on a measure for which there was no precedent in the annals of the institution. They vested in the hands of the Grand-Master dictatorial powers,

resigning in his favour all their own authority. Thus armed, de Lastic made but short work of the recusants. He pursued with the utmost rigour those who persisted in disobedience, and even went the length of stripping them of their habit and expelling them from the Order. At the end of three years he was enabled to resign his extraordinary powers, having enforced complete submission and restored perfect unanimity and obedience throughout the fraternity. Well was it for them that at this crisis they were governed by one in whom they could venture to vest such autocratic powers, and who knew so well how to wield that authority to their advantage.

The failure of the attack on Rhodes in the preceding year had led the sultan of Egypt to abandon for the time further hostile operations, and the chapter-general already alluded to had directed that every effort should be made to secure a permanent peace. The agent in this affair was James Cœur, a French merchant, who became afterwards treasurer to Charles VII. He succeeded in negotiating matters so favourably that he was able to summon an envoy from Rhodes to conclude the treaty. This envoy, on his return from Alexandria, after having signed the terms of peace, brought back with him a number of Christian slaves, whom the sultan had released in honour of the occasion. Among the records is a decree dated on the 8th February, 1446, directing Raymond d'Arpajon, grand-prior of St. Gilles, to repay to James Cœur the expenses he had incurred in the transaction.

It was pointed out at the commencement of this chapter that on the death of Timour his empire fell into a state of disintegration. The four sons of Bajazet took advantage of the difficulties caused by the disputed succession amongst the children of Timour. By degrees they each succeeded in wresting some portion of their late father's empire from the hands of the Tartars. The three elder, after short and disturbed reigns, fell victims to their internecine warfare, and Mahomet I., the youngest, found himself upon the death of the last, whom he himself had murdered, in undisputed possession of his father's territories. After a reign of eight years he was succeeded (1421) by his son Mourad II., under whose sway the Ottoman power became even more extended

than in the days of Bajazet. Had it not been for the patriotism and gallantry of Hunyad and Scanderbeg, who, from their mountain fastnesses, maintained an incessant and often successful warfare against his aggressions, he would have carried his conquests still further. Doubtless, but for them, he would have accomplished the dream of his life by effecting the capture of Constantinople, and thus have completed the overthrow of the last relic of the once proud and powerful Byzantine empire. This, however, he was not fated to accomplish, as he died in the year 1452.

His son Mahomet II., at that time twenty-two years of age, was proclaimed emperor in his place. All the Christian powers of the east of Europe, including the Order of St. John, sent ambassadors to the court of the young prince to congratulate him on his accession. Contrary to the usual custom of Moslem princes, he received these envoys with the utmost courtesy, and promptly renewed all the treaties that had been signed by his father. This complaisance proved to be but dissimulation. Before the year was out he repudiated all his engagements and took steps to carry out his father's designs of conquest. On the 29th May, 1453, Constantinople fell, and the banner of Islam waved over the ramparts of the degenerate city.

The scenes which were enacted upon this occasion, when the last of the Paleologi fell beneath the scimitar of the Ottoman, form a dark page in Eastern history. The speech of Mahomet, "Constantinople first and then Rhodes," was now remembered, and the knights perceived that their turn would shortly come. Still further to accentuate this warning, Mahomet sent an embassy summoning them to become vassals to his throne, and to pay a yearly tribute of 2,000 ducats. The answer of de Lastic was worthy of the man and of his profession. "God grant that I may not leave as vassals and slaves that Order which I found free and glorious. If the sultan desires to conquer Rhodes he must first pass over my corpse and those of all my knights." Thoroughly on his guard by what had taken place, de Lastic lost no time in making all necessary preparations for defence. We find him, therefore, in that same year writing a circular to every European comman-

dery, summoning the members to hasten instantly to the defence of Rhodes. In this document he says: "After weeping over the miserable downfall of the illustrious Constantinople, as we have recorded in previous letters, this is to command you to come hither instantly where the want of your assistance is most urgent, for not a day elapses without our hearing of some new slaughter of Christians by the Grand Turk, and of his inhuman cruelties, not from idle rumour, but from our own confidential emissaries, who record only what they have seen with their own eyes, so that it is a certain fact that the most fearful horrors have been already perpetrated. Wait for no further letters or exhortations from us, but the instant you receive these lines set out at once for Rhodes."

At the same time de Lastic sent the commander, D'Aubusson, to the various courts of Europe to endeavour to procure such aid, either in men or money, as the almost exhausted enthusiasm of the monarchs of Christendom might still induce them to contribute for the defence of their advanced post in the Levant. It was in this embassy that D'Aubusson, whose name was destined eventually to shed such lustre over his Order, displayed the first germs of that ability by which he was afterwards so distinguished. Although he was everywhere met by the most disheartening lukewarmness and chilling neglect, he succeeded, by dint of perseverance, in extorting considerable sums of money from both Charles VII. of France, and Philip of Burgundy. Part of this he expended in the purchase of arms, ammunition, and stores, the remainder he forwarded to Rhodes to be laid out in such manner as the Grand-Master might deem expedient.

Meanwhile the most energetic measures were being taken to increase the strength of the fortifications. Ditches were deepened and widened, ramparts were heightened and strengthened. No point was omitted which, in the opinion of the engineers of the day, could tend to insure the safety of the place. Whilst in the midst of this occupation de Lastic fell sick, and after a short illness died on the 19th of May, 1454. Although, as has been already recorded, the title of Grand-Master was first awarded to Hugh de Revel, and was continued to most of his successors, still Bosio and Sebastian Paoli both assert

that de Lastic was the first head of the fraternity who definitely and officially was recognized as having a claim to that title.

James de Milly, grand-prior of Auvergne, was nominated the thirty-fifth Grand-Master upon the death of de Lastic. The danger of an invasion from the Ottoman emperor being imminent, de Milly, who was at the time of his election resident in his priory, lost no time in reaching Rhodes, where the presence of the supreme head was felt to be indispensable. The storm which had been so long gathering was, however, not yet ready to burst. A powerful coalition of the principal Christian nations interested in the politics of the East had induced Mahomet to postpone for a while his hostile intentions against Rhodes. Fortunately for the knights, the Hungarian campaign of 1456 had been very disastrous to him, and had ended in a serious defeat inflicted upon his army by Hunyad. De Milly followed up this check to the Ottoman arms by ravaging their coasts with his galleys, and utterly ruining the commerce of the infidel. Mahomet, in spite of the check he had received, was not the monarch to submit tamely to these aggressions on the part of men whose destruction he had already vowed. He therefore rapidly equipped a fleet, with which he proposed to carry the war into the enemy's country. He placed 18,000 men on board his galleys, and directed their first operations against the fortress of Lango. The knights who garrisoned the castle were happily able to repel the attack, and succeeded in driving the invaders back to their ships. A similar attempt upon the island of Symia met with no better fate. The news of these successful repulses reached the fraternity at Rhodes, and lulled it into a feeling of security. It was not thought possible that the Turks, having failed upon two unimportant points, would dare to harass their head-quarters. Such was not the view taken by the Turkish leader. Coasting by night along the shores of Rhodes, he effected a landing in the bay of Malona. From thence he succeeded in ravaging a large district of the island, and securing a certain amount of booty, before the knights were in a position to repel his attack. Thence the fleet sailed to Constantinople, laden with its pillage, which, although considerable,

bore but a very slender proportion to the cost incurred in fitting out the expedition.

From the fact that no effort was made on the part of the Rhodian navy to prevent this incursion, or to attack the Turkish fleet, it may be assumed that they were at the time cruising elsewhere. This seems the more probable, because immediately afterwards, the council made a decree that a galley, fully manned and armed, and with forty knights always ready to embark in her, should be held constantly in readiness in the harbour of Rhodes, to oppose any sudden and unforeseen invasion. At the same time another fort was built on the southern extremity of the bay of Malona, to add to the protection already afforded on the north side by the castle of Archangelos.

It had been a leading principle in the diplomacy of the fraternity to maintain, as far as possible, peaceable relations with one of its Moslem neighbours when prosecuting war with the other. They were now dismayed to find that at the time when a fierce attack might at any moment be looked for from Mahomet and the Ottoman army, a cause of quarrel was springing up with the sultan of Egypt, with whom they were most anxious to keep on friendly terms. This dissension arose from a disputed succession to the crown of Cyprus, which John III. had, at his death, left to his daughter Charlotte, widow of John of Portugal, and afterwards married to Louis of Savoy. He had also an illegitimate son called James, whose ambitious spirit led him to endeavour to wrest the throne from his sister Charlotte. Louis of Savoy, however, who was ruling over the island in his wife's name, drove the pretender away, and James thereupon took refuge with the sultan of Egypt. The king of Cyprus had of late years always paid an annual tribute to this potentate, and James, in order to enlist the interests of the sultan on his side, promised to double the amount if he were placed on his sister's throne. Charlotte, on the other hand, threw herself on the protection of the knights of Rhodes, amongst whom the justice of her cause, and, as some say, the beauty of her person, raised for her many warm partisans. An embassy was despatched to the sultan of Egypt on the subject of James's pretensions. That ruler, who was at the moment unwilling

to quarrel with his redoubtable neighbours, would, in all probability, have thrown over the hapless James, but for the fact that Mahomet sent him a message promising to support him in maintaining the cause of the bastard against the knights. A descent was consequently made on Cyprus, and in spite of the most gallant efforts of the Hospitallers, the Egyptians overran and pillaged the whole island. It was in the course of this war that the galleys of Rhodes captured from out of some Venetian vessels a quantity of Saracen merchandise, which, together with its owners, they bore off in triumph. The haughty Queen of the Adriatic, insisting upon the principle that the flag covered the cargo, at once commenced a war of reprisals. This anger on their part was all the greater, that they were at the time on the look-out for a pretext to act against the Order from another cause. The bastard James had married a Venetian lady of high rank called Catherine Cornaro. The republic was, in consequence, desirous of pressing his claims to the crown of Cyprus, and felt much ill-will at the support given by the Hospitallers to the pretensions of Charlotte. These causes combined to make them take active measures, and a fleet under the command of Morosini, appeared off Rhodes with hostile intent. He entered the bay of Halki, and disembarked his forces for the purpose of pillaging the district. A number of the inhabitants had sought shelter in a cave at Amighdali. Morosini caused the entrance to be blocked with a quantity of brushwood, which he set on fire, and suffocated them all. To this day the bones of these unfortunate victims are to be seen within the cave, and the name of Morosini is still held in horror throughout the island. This cruel and vindictive action was repudiated by the Venetians; but their protest did not prevent their immediately ending a second and much larger fleet to the island, insisting upon the restitution of the Egyptians and merchandise which had been taken from the Venetian galleys. The more youthful amongst the knights were in favour of opposing the Venetian demands, being justly indignant at the brutality of Morosini; but de Milly was of a different opinion. He knew that he had already more enemies to contend with than he was able to meet, and he therefore checked the rash suggestion. By a prompt restitution of the disputed prize, he mollified the

incensed republic, and had the gratification of seeing the fleet depart peaceably from his shores. It is probable that he also engaged to abandon the claims of Charlotte. Certain it is that no more serious efforts were made on her behalf, and that her brother James became undisputed king of Cyprus.

At this most inauspicious moment another trouble befell de Milly. A dispute broke out in the midst of the fraternity itself, which at one time threatened to aid materially the enemy, who was compassing its overthrow from without. From the earliest days the French element had always greatly preponderated in its ranks. Of the seven *langues* into which it had been divided, three belonged to that nation; the consequence was that most of the leading dignities fell to the lot of the French knights. The *langues* of Spain, Italy, England, and Germany complained bitterly of this preference. They asserted that in a body composed of the nobility of all Europe, the highest posts should be given, irrespective of nation, to the senior knights. On the other hand, the French argued that as the Order was originally established by them, and the other nations only admitted by adoption, they were fairly entitled to maintain within their own ranks the chief offices of state, and that as one of the most important dignities had been attached to each of the other *langues*, there was no just cause of complaint. The principal source of dissatisfaction arose from the post of grand-marshal, an office which was permanently attached to the knights of Auvergne. This dignity carried with it the power of captain-general over the island of Rhodes; and a direct control over all the other offices of state, and therefore invested its holder with powers second only to those of the Grand-Master himself.

De Milly, with the view of arranging the dispute which was attaining dangerous proportions, summoned a chapter-general, to assemble on the 1st October, 1459. The malcontents laid their case before this council, and a most embittered and virulent debate ensued. The bailiff of Aragon so far forgot himself as to cast down before the Grand-Master an appeal to the Pope, and thereupon to leave the chapter hall. Many knights of the four complaining *langues* followed his example, and the chapter broke up in confusion. De Milly was urged

to take active measures against the culprits, which he wisely refused to do, preferring to cast oil on the troubled waters. In this he was at length successful, and his statesmanlike and far-seeing views prevailed. The consequence was that by degrees the recusants began to perceive the danger and folly of their conduct, and in the end made ample submission to the Grand-Master and chapter.

De Milly died of an attack of gout on the 17th August, 1461. His remains were placed in a sarcophagus, bearing an inscription, with his name, titles, and date of death. Three years afterwards a member of the House of Savoy, who was prince of Antioch, died at Rhodes, and was buried in the same sarcophagus, his body being placed over that of the Grand-Master, and a second inscription added recording the fact. This sarcophagus is now in the museum of Cluny at Paris, and the two inscriptions are legible thereon.

Raymond Zacosta, castellan of Emposta, was elected to the vacant government. The nomination of a Spanish knight to the supreme dignity after the rule of so many successive Frenchmen at a time when the disputes between the nations had been running so high, proves that the majority were opposed to the pretensions of the French *langues*. The first act decreed by the council under their new chief also marks the same feeling, and clearly demonstrates the influence of a Grand-Master in its decisions. This was the subdivision of the *langue* of Aragon, removing from it the kingdom of Portugal, together with the provinces of Castile and Leon, which were formed into an eighth *langue*, to which the dignity of grand-chancellor was thenceforth attached. This compromise appears to have thoroughly healed the smouldering feud. The knights, no longer at discord within themselves, commenced once again to prepare for the attack which was still threatening them.

Raymond availed himself of their restored unanimity to carry out the erection of a fort on a rock which jutted out into the sea, at the extremity of the ancient Greek mole, forming one side of the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes. The importance of this spot had long been recognized, but hitherto the want of means and the pressing demands of other parts of the fortress had prevented steps being taken for its occupation. Now, how-

ever, Philip, duke of Burgundy, having made a gift of 12,000 gold crowns for the strengthening of the defences of the island, the Grand-Master determined to lose no further time in securing this salient point. It received the name of Fort Nicholas, from the fact that a small chapel dedicated to that saint* stood there, and was included in the enceinte of the work. In the eventful sieges to which the course of events will shortly bring the history of the Order, this new stronghold became the centre of the desperate struggles which then took place, and was one of the main causes contributing to the success of the defence. The arms of the duke of Burgundy were in gratitude placed over the principal façade. Newton says of this fort: "At the extremity stands the castle of St. Nicholas, built by the Grand-Master Raymond Zacosta. Within this fort are casemates, magazines, and the remains of a chapel. Above these is a platform, on which are many brass guns of the time of the knights, some of which bear the date 1482 (shortly after the first siege), others 1507, with the arms of France and England. This part of the fort seems much in the state in which the knights left it."

Whilst on this subject it may be well to insert what Newton says of the site of the Colossus: "The mole, at the extremity of which stands the tower of St. Nicholas, has been an Hellenic work. The lowest courses of the original masonry remain in several places undisturbed on the native rock, which has been cut in horizontal beds to receive them. At the end of the mole enormous blocks from the ancient breakwater lie scattered about. Two of these are still in position, one above the other. As the celebrated bronze Colossus was doubtless a conspicuous sea mark, if not actually used as a Pharos, my first impression on seeing these immense blocks was that they were the remains of its pedestal, and that it stood where the fort of St. Nicholas now stands. This opinion, suggested originally to my mind by the aspect of the site itself, is corroborated by the testimony of Caoursin, the Vice-Chancellor of the Order, whose contemporary history of the first siege was printed at Ulm as early as 1496. When describing the building of Fort St. Nicholas, he states that it was placed in "*molis vertice Septentrionem spectante*—

* St. Nicholas was bishop of Myra and patron saint of sailors.

ubi priscis temporibus collosus ille ingens Rhodi (unum de septem miraculis mundi) positus erat." On the other hand, it may be objected that from Pliny's account of the overthrow of the Colossus, we may infer that it fell on the earth, whereas, if thrown down from the extremity of the mole, it could hardly fail to have fallen into the sea. It may, however, have been split open by the earthquake, and afterwards hauled down so as to fall along the mole. The notion that its legs bestrid the entrance to either harbour, as is commonly believed, is not based on any ancient authority."*

Zacosta felt how important it was that the work should be promptly completed, and at the same time knew that the contribution of the duke of Burgundy, liberal though it was, would not nearly suffice for the purpose. He therefore took a step in order to provide funds, which the exigencies of the case seemed to warrant, but which at the time gave great dissatisfaction. It has been already stated that when he was elected to the Grand-Mastership he was holding the post of castellan of Emposta. Under ordinary circumstances he should, upon attaining the higher dignity, have at once resigned the lesser office. This he resolved not to do, but still retaining the castellany in his own hands, to devote its revenues entirely to the completion of the new fort.

Raymond at the same time divided the whole line of defences around the city in such a manner that a specific portion of it should be appropriated to each *langue*, to be maintained and guarded by them, and to receive their name. It is worthy of record that in the emulation and keen competition which such an arrangement naturally elicited, the portion of the line set apart for the *langue* of England, became celebrated for the perfect manner in which it was kept up, and for the beauty of the decorations with which it was embellished.

The siege and capture of Lesbos, which took place in the year 1465, in the defence of which a body of Hospitallers had taken part and lost their lives, became a new warning to the fraternity to maintain its vigilance against its relentless and ever-advancing foe. Zacosta, who was determined not only to do his own duty, but also to compel those under him to be

* Newton's "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," vol. i. page 176.

equally ready in the discharge of theirs, sent a special citation to the various receivers of the Order to press for the payment of all responsions that were due. These officials were becoming weary of the constant demands made on them to facilitate preparations against an attack which was always impending, but which seemed never to take place. They therefore appealed to the Pope against these new requisitions of their chief. Paul II., upon receipt of their complaint, directed that the chapter-general, which had been convoked to meet at Rhodes, should assemble at Rome instead, and that the Grand-Master should appear there in person. Although Zacosta might easily, had he chosen, have pleaded the necessity of his remaining in the convent at that most troublous epoch, he preferred to obey the mandate, being anxious to confront his enemies and calumniators. His success at Rome was so complete, and the explanations which he gave so satisfactory, that his enemies were clothed with shame, and the Pope hastened to make an earnest though tardy reparation for the wrongs which his suspicions had inflicted. Zacosta was laden with honours and distinctions, and enabled to compel the refractory commanders, now no longer supported by papal authority, to remit their just tribute to the treasury.

Whilst still at Rome, Zacosta was seized with pleurisy, which ended in his death on the 21st February, 1467. The Pope decreed that his remains should be honoured with a burial in St. Peter's, and in that cathedral his funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence. His tomb lay on the left side of the chapel of St. Gregory. There it remained until, on the occasion of some repairs, it was transferred to the foot of the confessional of St. Peter. The monumental slab was at the same time placed in the crypt of the church, where it still exists.

The opportunity thus offered to the Pope by the death of a Grand-Master, and the consequent necessity for a new election, within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction, was not thrown away by Paul. He at once convoked the required assembly from amongst such members of the chapter-general as were still in the city, and there, under his dictation, the prior of Rome, John Orsini, was raised to the vacant dignity. In spite, however, of the papal influence, the election was keenly

contested, and the prior of St. Gilles, Raymond Riccard, was defeated by only a single vote, he having obtained eight against the nine recorded in favour of Orsini. Had the election been held anywhere but in Rome there is little doubt that he would have been the new Grand-Master.

The general summons to Rhodes which followed on the elevation of Orsini was responded to with enthusiasm. Large numbers of knights and others interested in the welfare of the convent, flocked thither to greet their new chief, and to assist him in his projects of defence. Foremost amongst these was the commander, D'Aubusson, whose name has been already mentioned. Eminently talented as an engineer, and well read in all the most modern and improved details of the art of fortification, he was felt to be a man to whom, in the approaching crisis, all could look for advice and assistance. He was appointed captain-general and inspector of the island. Under his direction the ditches were enlarged and deepened where practicable, and a wall was built on the sea front of the town, about 600 feet in length and twenty in height. The cost of this work was defrayed out of the private purse of the Grand-Master, in spite of which the wall bears the arms of D'Aubusson, surmounted with the cardinal's hat. It must therefore have been fixed there after the siege, whilst D'Aubusson was Grand-Master.

At this time actual war had not been declared between Mahomet and the Order, but, on the contrary, more than one treacherous and badly kept truce had been concluded. Constant skirmishes were, however, taking place between the rival powers, and it was evident that before long open hostilities must break forth. In the year 1470 the spies who were maintained by the Hospitallers at the Ottoman court, and if report speaks truly, even within the walls of the harem, gave timely notice that a gigantic armament was being prepared, the ultimate destination of which was as yet a secret. Whilst it remained uncertain whether Rhodes or the Venetian island of Negropont was to be the point of attack, an attempt was made by the republic of the Adriatic to enter into a close alliance with the knights. Had this offer been made in good faith, it would, under the circumstances, have been highly advantageous to both

parties, but when the terms came to be discussed, it was plain that the Venetians designed, under cover of an alliance, to render the fraternity entirely subservient to themselves. Their offers were consequently declined; still, when the storm actually burst on Negropont, the knights hastened to despatch to its assistance a squadron, under the command of D'Aubusson and Cardonne. Any benefit which might have accrued from the aid thus sent was rendered futile through the cowardice of the Venetian admiral, Canalis. That officer, at a critical moment, when the combined squadron of which he was the leader might have saved the town, carried off the Venetian fleet, and left the island to fall a prey to the Turkish arms.

The loss of Negropont would undoubtedly have been followed without delay by an attack on Rhodes but for the fact that at this critical juncture the shah of Persia declared war against the Ottoman empire. The shah, who had as good reason to dread that power on its eastern borders as the knights had on the west, entered into a league with the Pope, the kings of Naples and Aragon, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the Order of St. John. By virtue of this treaty he was to be furnished with men and money, and more especially with artillery, to aid him in carrying on hostilities against his formidable neighbour. The result was that for some years Mahomet found himself so much occupied on his eastern frontier that he was compelled for the time to postpone his ambitious projects in the Levant.

During this lull Orsini died in the year 1476, at so great an age that for a long period his rule over the fraternity had been little more than nominal; D'Aubusson, who had been raised to the rank of grand-prior of Auvergne, having been in reality the supreme director of the government. A curious incident preceded the death of Orsini. A few months before that event actually took place he was struck with an attack of syncope or catalepsy which his attendants mistook for death. Every preparation was consequently made for his funeral obsequies, and he would undoubtedly have been buried alive had he not fortunately recovered from the seizure in time to prevent such a catastrophe. His resuscitation lasted but for a short period, and an attack of dropsy carried him off in reality two months afterwards.

During the years of his lieutenancy D'Aubusson had not been idle in adding to the defences of the city of Rhodes. Three new towers were constructed in the enceinte, and a huge chain was placed at the entrance of the harbour by which its ingress might be blocked at will. This chain was coiled in the basement of St. Michael's tower, and the opening is still visible in the ruins through which it was drawn out when in use. After the Turks captured the island they stored it in the vaults of the Hospital. To provide for the large expenditure entailed by these works, the treasury of Rhodes was driven to have recourse to every possible shift. Amongst other measures the council appropriated a quantity of old plate belonging to the cathedral of St. John, which bore the arms of Elyon de Villanova, by whom it had been presented to the church. It was promised that when the crisis was past this plate should be restored, and that in the meantime it should be pledged as security for a loan.

The election of a successor to Orsini was little more than a matter of form. This was not a time when either petty jealousies or local interests could be permitted to interfere in the nomination of a chief, under whose guidance it seemed certain that the knights would be called upon to withstand the powerful attack that had been so long preparing. On the skill and judgment of that leader it would mainly depend whether they would be able to ride out the tempest unscathed, or be forever overwhelmed by its furious onset. There was one name on every tongue. It was that of a man who had already shown himself well worthy of the confidence placed in his powers, so that when the council announced to the expectant fraternity the name of Peter D'Aubusson as its new chief, the decision was greeted with acclamations which showed how fully that selection had met with public approval.

Peter D'Aubusson, grand-prior of Auvergne, was descended from the family of the viscounts de la Marche, the name dating back to the ninth century. The ramifications of this family have included a connection both with the dukes of Normandy and also with the Saxon kings of England, so that, although D'Aubusson was French both by birth and education, there must ever exist a sympathy for his high name and gallant

achievements on this side of the channel. He was born in the year 1423, in the chateau of Monteil-le-Vicomte, his father being Renaud D'Aubusson, and his mother Marguerite de Camborn, a member of a very aristocratic French family. He had served with much distinction in his earlier days in the war between Sigismond and the Ottomans under the leadership of Albert, duke of Austria, at the close of which he spent some time at the court of Hungary. On the death of Sigismond he returned to France, where he was received with much distinction by Charles VII. Whilst there he took part in the war against the English. He particularly distinguished himself at the assault on Montereau Faut-yone, so much so that when, shortly afterwards, Charles VII. made his entry into Paris, he gave D'Aubusson a conspicuous position in the pageant.

After peace had been concluded with England, the young knight perceived that all further chance of distinction in that quarter was at an end. He therefore determined to enrol himself a member of the Order of St. John, and proceeded to Rhodes for the purpose. At that time his uncle was a distinguished knight of the Order, and was commander of Charroux. It has already been shown that the young aspirant was not long in making his name known amongst the fraternity, and in assisting, both with his sword and his powers of diplomacy, to forward its interests. Long before he was raised to the supreme dignity, D'Aubusson had rendered himself indispensable, and the public confidence in him was so unbounded that all were ready to yield him the blindest obedience. His character, even at an early age, had been well understood by Charles VII., who said that he had never seen in so young a man such fiery courage coupled with such wisdom and sagacity.

CHAPTER X.

1476—1480.

Description of Rhodes—The three renegades—Arrival of the Turkish army at Rhodes—First attack on Fort St. Nicholas—Its failure—Breach opened in the Jews' quarter—Attempted assassination of the Grand-Master—Second attack on St. Nicholas and its failure—Second advance on the Jews' quarter—Execution of Maitre Georges—Last assault of the Turks and its repulse—Close of the siege, and embarkation of the Ottoman army.

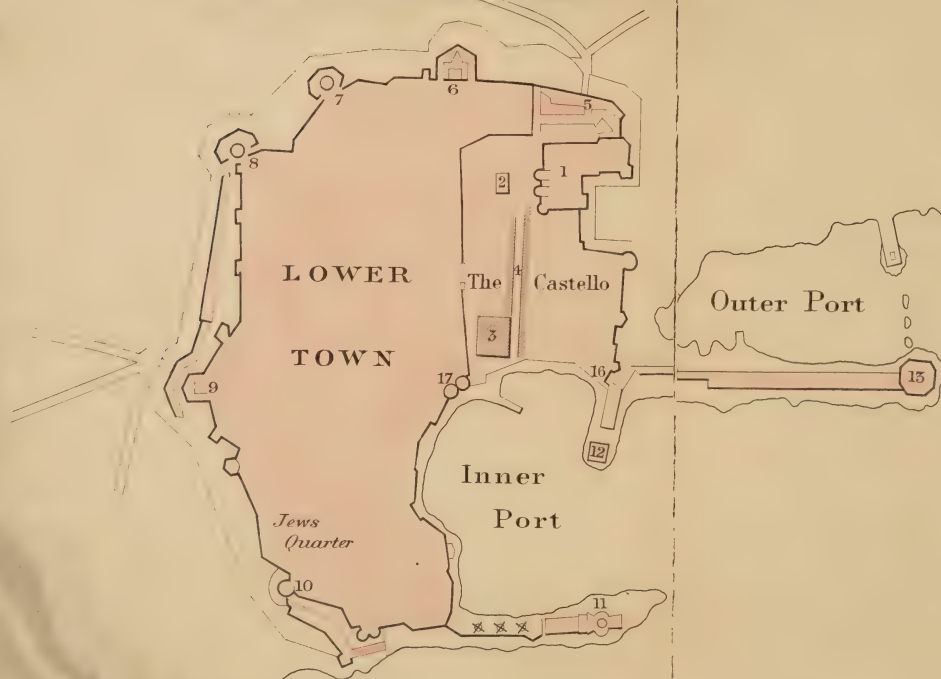
THE city of Rhodes, at the time of the accession of Peter D'Aubusson, was a very different place from what it had been when first torn from the hands of the infidel in the beginning of the fourteenth century. At that period all the grandeur of former ages had been lost, and the half-ruined town presented every appearance of squalor and poverty. Now all this was changed. From the moment when Fulk de Villaret first established his convent there, the knights of St. John had lavished their treasures partly in the construction of works of defence as perfect as the engineering science of those days could devise, and partly in the architectural decoration of their town, replete as it was with natural beauties. The splendid buildings which still exist testify to its grandeur and magnificence in the days of the Order of St. John, and to the enormous expenditure which had been lavished on its defences.

It was situated on the sea-shore at the north-eastern extremity of the island, and embraced within its circuit the two harbours known as the inner and the outer port, the latter sometimes called the port of the galleys. The outer port was formed by a long strip of land running in a direction nearly due north, and jutting out into the sea so as to enclose between it and the shore line an anchorage, very commodious and

sheltered from all but northerly winds. On the rock at the extremity of this neck of land stood the tower of St. Nicholas, the erection of which, by Zacosta, has already been mentioned. This tower, which was the first object that greeted the pilot on nearing the shores of Rhodes, was considered the most important point in the defences of the town, next to the Grand-Master's palace, which was the citadel. Its position, surrounded almost entirely by the sea, rendered it difficult of attack at all times, and from sudden surprise or *coup de main* it was practically quite secure. The inner port was enclosed by two moles, running respectively in a northerly and easterly direction, so as to embrace within their shelter an expanse of water partaking somewhat of the geometric form of a sector. At the extremities of these moles stood the two towers of St. Michael and St. John (the one now called Arab's tower, and the other Windmill tower). These two works, together with that of St. Nicholas, may be said to have constituted the principal strength of the place on its sea front.

It has been a matter of much dispute where the famous Colossus of Rhodes stood. Tradition has generally pointed to the two rocks on which stand the towers of St. Michael and St. John, affirming that the statue was reared with one foot on each of these points, and that vessels entering the harbour were enabled to pass in full sail between its legs. Newton's opinion has already been quoted that the tower of St. Nicholas probably stands on the site of the old statue, and this opinion is shared by most persons best qualified to judge in the matter. If, as is very likely, the statue had been erected as a mark of guidance to vessels approaching the harbour, the rock of St. Nicholas would be the most natural and suitable site. The dimensions of the figure on that spot might well have raised it to the dignity of a wonder of the world without claiming for it a stride of fifty fathoms.

The land defences of the city consisted of a rampart and ditch, the former in some parts doubled by a species of *fausse-braye*. The *terreplein* was 40 feet wide, and the ditch varied in depth from 40 to 60 feet, and in width from 90 to 140 feet. This was sunk in the natural rock, which being a free-stone, easily worked, doubtless supplied the material for all the masonry of



PLAN OF THE
FORTRESS OF RHODES

to illustrate the Sieges of 1480 and 1522.

- 1 Grand Master's Palace.
- 2 Church of St. John.
- 3 Hospital of St. John.
- 4 Street of the Knights.
- 5 Amboise Gate.
- 6 St. George's Gate.
- 7 Spanish Tower.
- 8 St. Mary's Tower.
- 9 St. John's Gate.
- 10 Italian Tower.
- 11 St. John's Tower.
- 12 St. Michael's Tower.
- 13 Fort St. Nicholas.
- 14 Church of St. Anthony.
- 15 St. Stephen's Hill.
- 16 St. Paul's Gate.
- 17 St. Catherine's Gate.

the enceinte, and probably for much of that required for the town itself. Many of the old guns used by the knights in the two sieges about to be recorded still stand *in situ*. Their vents are protected by old cuirasses taken from the armoury. They are, of course, practically useless, and were they to be fired, would certainly prove a greater source of danger to the gunners than to the enemy. The rampart was flanked by numerous square towers at intervals. In addition to these, there were five more important projecting points covered with outworks, which partook somewhat of the character of bastions. Commencing at the south-west or Jews' quarter, there were respectively the towers of Italy, St. John, St. Mary, Spain, and St. George. The line from this latter post ran northward, till it reached the Grand-Master's palace. Thence it turned at right angles eastward up to the foot of the mole of St. Nicholas. The sea-face constituting the inner line of the harbour was also protected by a rampart, but without any ditch. The town thus encircled partook very much of the form of a crescent. An inner line ran due east and west, cutting off the northern horn of this crescent. Within this retrenchment dwelt the aristocracy of Rhodes. Here were the various *auberges* of the *lingues*, the Hospital of the Order, the conventual church of St. John, and the Grand-Master's palace. This latter was enclosed in a further line of retrenchment, and with its gardens and grounds occupied a very large space at the north-west corner of the town, and constituted the citadel of the fortress. Everything which the science of the age could suggest, or the lavish expenditure of money could accomplish, had been done to develop its strength. It was entered by a separate gate, and dominated the whole of its surroundings.

The houses of the lower part were built of stone, and had flat roofs after the custom of most Eastern cities. At frequent intervals the streets, which were very narrow, were crossed overhead by broad arches. This was probably done to facilitate communication between the various points, and also, perhaps, to afford shelter from the fire of the enemy during a siege. Two gates led into the lower town from the land side, called respectively the gates of St. George and St. John. Before the second siege the latter was built up. As is the

case in so many cities, the Jews dwelt in a quarter set apart for them in the south-eastern corner, where they were covered by the ramparts of the *langue* of Italy.

From the time of Zacosta the defence of the line of works had been allotted amongst the different *langues* as follows:—From the foot of the mole of St. Nicholas to the Grand-Master's palace was in charge of France; thence to the gate of St. George was held by Germany; Auvergne was posted between that gate and the Spanish tower; England between the Spanish tower and that of St. Mary, of which they only defended the lower story, the upper part being held by Aragon, as well as the line up to the gate of St. John; from that gate to the tower of Italy was held by Provence, the sea-face closing the circuit being in charge, one half of Italy and the other half of Castile. The palace itself was held by a force composed of members of all the *langues*, it being naturally considered the post of honour.

The amazing fertility and luxuriant vegetation of the island had converted the country outside the walls into one vast garden. Far as the eye could reach there appeared on every side fields, groves, and orchards, clothed in all the brilliancy of summer verdure, whilst from the summit of St. Stephen's Hill, an eminence which overlooked the town a short distance off on the western side, the land stretched away in a gradual descent towards the foot of the ramparts. This slope was broken by hillocks and undulations, which in their pleasing variety gave life and animation to the landscape. Here and there on every side the ground was dotted with chapels, summer-houses, and other rustic buildings, very picturesque in appearance, but, unfortunately, highly detrimental to the defence of the place. D'Aubusson had, it is true, exerted his power with no sparing hand to sweep away the most dangerous of these buildings, and, to a certain extent, with success. Nothing but a stern sense of the urgency of the case, and a blind confidence in his unerring judgment, would have permitted the destruction of so much that was prized by the inhabitants. Still much remained intact to afford cover to an advancing enemy. To quote the quaint language of Merry Dupuis, a member of the Order, who, although not actually present at the siege, arrived in Rhodes almost immediately afterwards, and wrote a history of it from

the statements of the principal actors, "around the city of Rhodes lay the most admirable country in the world for carrying on a siege; for all around the said town were numerous gardens filled with little churches and Greek chapels, with old walls and stones and rocks, behind which cover could always be found against the garrison, to such an extent that if all the artillery in the world had been inside the town, it could do no harm to those that were without, provided they did not approach too close."

There has been much criticism on the defensive arrangements of D'Aubusson because he did not occupy the dominant hill of St. Stephen with an outwork. It must, however, be borne in mind that the use of artillery had been of too recent introduction, and was as yet in too crude a state, for the disadvantages of this point to have been as apparent then as they are now. Moreover, the policy of isolating a portion of the garrison and stationing them where they would, in all probability, have been cut off by the vastly superior forces of the besiegers, seems somewhat doubtful. At all events, it is clear that contemporary criticism did not take this line, since even after the experience of the first siege no attempt was made during the forty-two years which elapsed between that and the second to remedy the supposed defect. We may therefore rest assured, that had this hill presented the disadvantages which to the modern engineer seem so apparent, the keen eye and commanding genius of D'Aubusson would not have neglected its defence. As a matter of fact, the hill never was used by the Turks for battering purposes, but only as a camping ground.

Such were the town and island, which, after being kept for a space of nearly forty years in a state of perturbation and alarm, were destined to witness at length the storm of invasion break over them. Once again did D'Aubusson pen a circular to his grand-priors, urging upon them the immediate transmission of reinforcements and supplies. A copy of this document is still in existence among the papal archives, and there is something very thrilling and exciting in the plain manly language in which his demand is couched. Without any straining after effect, or the slightest attempt

at oratorical display, he appealed with such earnest simplicity to the chivalry still existing in every knightly bosom, that it is not surprising to read that his call was responded to from every priory in Europe. Not only members of the Order, but numbers of others, knights and simple soldiers, crowded to the scene of the coming struggle. Although they were to serve under a banner to which they owed no allegiance, other than in so far as it was the emblem of Christian warfare against the infidel, they came, hoping to win renown for themselves and to aid in the defeat of the common enemy. The gallant heart of D'Aubusson was gladdened at the constant arrival of these welcome additions to his strength, comprising, as they did, some of the noblest names in Europe. Foremost amongst them was his eldest brother, the viscount de Monteul, who, at the head of a considerable body of retainers, volunteered his services at this crisis. He was, by the unanimous voice of the council, elected to the post of captain-general, which he promptly accepted, and in which he did knightly service under the supreme command of his younger brother.

Whilst the knights were thus preparing themselves at all points to meet their enemy, Mahomet, disappointed at perceiving that his designs had been fathomed, determined, if possible, to blind the fraternity to the imminence of its danger. With this idea he directed his son, Djem or Zizim, in conjunction with his nephew, Tehélebi, to submit to the Grand-Master proposals for a peace. In this project the sultan had two objects in view. On the one hand, he hoped to lure the knights into a false sense of security; and on the other he trusted, by the selection of a fitting agent, to combine the services of a spy with those of an envoy. Under his direction the princes chose for the purpose a renegade Greek, who, on the capture of his native island of Eubæa, by the Turks, had embraced Islamism in the hope of bettering his fortunes. This man, whose name was Demetrius Sophiano, possessed all the cunning and aptitude for intrigue which have ever been the characteristics of his race. He had often proved himself a most valuable tool in the hands of his new employer. In matters of diplomacy, however, Mahomet had in

D'Aubusson to deal with a man who was fully his equal in the art, and whose extensive system of espial had rendered him well acquainted with the real motives by which the Ottoman sultan was actuated. Perceiving that a short truce would give time for such reinforcements to arrive as were still lingering on the way, he yielded a ready assent to the proposals of Demetrius, merely taking objection to the question of tribute, as to which he averred that he was not authorized to treat without special reference to the Pope. In order, therefore, to allow time for this reference to be made, he suggested that a temporary truce should be established, during the continuance of which the commerce of both parties should be free from aggression. This proposal was accepted by Mahomet, who flattered himself that he had succeeded in throwing the enemy quite off his guard. He was only undeceived when he discovered that D'Aubusson was taking advantage of the temporary lull to render yet more complete his preparations for defence.

Demetrius was not the only tool that Mahomet found ready to his hand at this crisis. In fact, a man who, like the Ottoman sultan, ruled over an empire to which, through the lust of conquest, fresh additions were constantly being made, must have found frequent occasion for the services of traitors; and as ample remuneration and rapid advancement awaited the successful informer, there were never wanting about his court men who had that to sell which it was his interest to buy. His intention of attacking the island of Rhodes upon the first favourable opportunity had become so widely known, that accurate information as to the defences of the town was understood to be a highly marketable commodity. All persons, therefore, who were in possession of such, hurried, naturally, to Constantinople, in the hope of realizing a good price for the article. Demetrius, during his visits to Rhodes, had made himself as well acquainted with the general outline of the works as his position admitted, and doubtless received ample reward for his vigilance. There were also two other men who at this time came forward to contest with him the palm of rascality, and to share its disgraceful fruits. One of these was Antonio Meligala, a Rhodian, who, having dissipated his patri-

mony in debauchery, sought to restore his ruined fortunes by abandoning Christianity and taking service with the Turk. Some writers assert that he had formerly been a knight of St. John and was stripped of his habit for gross misconduct, but there is no authentic record of the fact. It is very clear that he had resided for a time at Rhodes, and that he carried away with him to Constantinople an accurate plan of the fortress. Whatever reward he may have received for this act of treachery he did not live long to enjoy, as he died of a loathsome disease on board a galley whilst accompanying the Turkish army to the scene of attack.

Another and far more gifted traitor presented himself in the person of Georges Frapant, commonly called Maître Georges. This man was by birth a German, and had been trained as an engineer, in which science he attained great skill. He has been described, by friends and enemies alike, as being endowed with marvellous genius. In fact, the historians of the Order, even whilst heaping the most unmeasured, though well-deserved, abuse upon his unfortunate head, cannot refrain from drawing attention to his brilliant talents. Caoursin calls him a man of the most subtle ingenuity, whilst the honest soldier, Merry Dupuis, after recording of him that he was a most excellent director of artillery, proceeds to dilate on his personal advantages as “a fine fellow, well-formed in all his limbs, and of a lofty stature, with great gifts of language, being both willing and entertaining.” These opinions are endorsed by Bosio, Naberat, and Vertot, subsequent historians whose views were probably formed from what had been written by the above quoted authors.* It is very evident that Maître Georges was no ordinary man, and the admirer of genius must regret the misapplied powers and perverted energies of this gifted renegade.

The plans and projects which this trio of traitors submitted to Mahomet were accompanied by such tempting descriptions of

* Whilst on the subject of historians, it may be well to note that the incidents of the siege about to be recorded are mostly derived from three contemporary writers, viz., the above-named Caoursin and Merry Dupuis, and the Turkish writer Khodgia Effendi. All the later historians have taken their narratives from these three writers.

the unprepared state of the island, the decay of the fortifications, which they asserted were old and crumbling, and the paucity of its garrison, that he at length decided to carry out his long-cherished design. The chief command of the forces destined for the operation was intrusted to a fourth renegade, a Greek of the imperial house of Paleologus, named Messih, who held the rank of Capoudan Pasha. This man had been present at the capture of Constantinople. To save his life he had forsworn his religion and taken service under Mahomet. With his new master he rapidly gained honour and advancement. Like all renegades, he showed the utmost zeal in persecuting those of his former faith, and the knights of Rhodes had in particular been distinguished by his bitterest animosity. The sultan therefore deemed that he would be a very fit agent to accomplish their destruction. This appointment was by no means distasteful to the Capoudan Pasha, as, owing to the seductive and glowing accounts which his fellow-renegades had given of the facilities of the enterprise, he was most anxious to secure the opportunity for distinction, and for raising himself yet higher in his new profession.

Whilst preparations were thus going on at Constantinople, the knights were, on their side, taking every measure to insure the success of their defence. At this critical juncture they were gladdened by a proposal from the sultan of Egypt to enter into an alliance with them. That prince beheld with a jealous eye the impending attack by his powerful eastern neighbour on the fortress of Rhodes. It did not accord with his policy that the island should fall into the hands of one already too mighty for the safety of his own empire. A treaty was speedily concluded, whereby the knights were not only secured from any aggression on the side of Egypt during their struggle with the Turks, but were able to draw large supplies of provisions from their new friends. One measure was still considered necessary to render their security more complete, and that was to remove temporarily from the powers of D'Aubusson those checks and restrictions with which the jealousy of preceding ages had fettered the Grand-Mastership. Now that they were led by one in whom they had such unbounded confidence, and when the crisis required that he should be able to act with a promptitude and

energy unattainable under such a *régime*, they unanimously agreed to free him from its yoke, and to grant him the unlimited authority of a dictator until the troublous hour had passed away. Once before, it will be remembered, the same step had been taken, and then with the happiest results. It was, therefore, with the more readiness that they again resorted to the measure, having already experienced its successful operation. D'Aubusson was at first unwilling to accept the undivided responsibility thus imposed upon him, but his reluctance was speedily overcome, and when the council broke up it was announced to the citizens that from that moment he was their sole and autocratic chief. Never was authority vested in hands more capable of exercising it wisely, and the confidence which D'Aubusson felt in himself he was able at that critical juncture to impart to his friends.

The plans by which Mahomet proposed to carry out his invasion were these. As a preliminary step a fleet was to be equipped under the command of Paleologus, which should make a descent on the island and commit such ravages as would harass and terrify the inhabitants, and in some degree exhaust the strength of the defence before the main struggle commenced. Early in the ensuing spring the bulk of the army was to march across Asia Minor to the port of Phineka, a commodious harbour about forty miles to the eastward of Rhodes. The artillery and heavy stores were to proceed to the same spot from Constantinople by sea. The pasha, after having harried the Christians to the best of his ability, was directed to be at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, when, picking up the force there assembled, he was to make his grand descent upon the point of attack.

In accordance with these instructions, Paleologus sailed with a considerable squadron in the winter of 1479, and at once made a bold dash at the island of Rhodes itself. D'Aubusson had taken every precaution to prevent any disastrous effects from descents of this kind. He had caused a number of fortified posts to be constructed in addition to those already existing, and behind these the inhabitants of the open country were in cases of alarm to seek shelter. The pasha therefore gained but little by his move. His troops effected their landing

unopposed, but found the country deserted, everything carried away, and the inhabitants whom he would have seized as slaves secure from his grasp. Whilst his troops were scattered in disorganized bands engaged in a fruitless search for plunder, a sudden descent was made on them by a body of knights. They were taken completely by surprise, numbers were killed, and the remainder driven back in confusion to their ships.

The pasha, disgusted at this humiliating repulse, sheered off from Rhodes and steered for the island of Telos, where was a fort garrisoned by a body of Hospitallers. This, after a few days' battering, he attempted to carry by storm, but once more met with a bloody repulse. The fort was evidently not to be taken by a *coup de main*, and the Capoudan Pasha, crestfallen and defeated, was fain to retire to Phineka, there to await the arrival of his army. A bad beginning this to so great an enterprise, and an evil omen for its ultimate success.

One morning, towards the latter end of April, in the year 1480, the sentinel posted on the top of St. Stephen's hill, descried the hostile fleet passing within view of the island. The alarm was at once given, and the Grand-Master, with his principal officers, assembled on the spot to watch its onward progress. The eventful hour was not yet come, and the fleet, which was bearing the artillery and other stores from Constantinople, made for Phineka, the pre-arranged port of rendezvous. Having there been joined by the remainder of the force, the army was embarked, and the expedition, which numbered 70,000 men (some accounts say 100,000) with 160 large vessels, exclusive of small craft, arrived within sight of Rhodes on the 23rd of May, 1480. The warnings which had been given on so many previous occasions had enabled the knights to make every preparation for this critical moment. The inhabitants had all taken refuge within the town, whither their property had also been conveyed. Nothing capable of removal was left to become the spoil of the invaders; even the unripe corn was cut and carried away. An attempt was made to impede the landing, without producing much effect, the magnitude of his force and the numerical strength of his fleet enabling the pasha to effect a disembark-

ation without difficulty in the bay of Trianda, on the north-west side of the island.

He encamped his forces on the slope of St. Stephen's hill, and pitched his own tent on the summit,* and on the following day despatched a herald to summon the town to surrender. He knew well that the demand would be rejected with scorn by the knights, but he had worded his message craftily, with the hope of seducing the Greek inhabitants, to whom he promised a general amnesty and an increase of privileges under the Turks. His cunning design was frustrated by the staunch courage of the Rhodians, who preferred staking their all on the fortunes of the Order, to accepting the tempting but dangerous offers of Paleologus. When it is remembered that the population of Rhodes mostly professed the Greek faith, it is somewhat surprising that they should have remained so loyal to the sway of a Roman Catholic body. Either the differences and jealousies between the rival creeds must in those days have been less embittered than of late, or the fraternity must have learnt a lesson in religious toleration very unusual to the professors of their faith. There are facts which show that both these causes must have operated to produce such laudable results. As a proof that the differences between the two religions were then by no means so marked as at present, may be mentioned the fact that a miraculous picture of the Virgin, held in the highest esteem by the knights, was during the siege lodged in a Greek chapel, where it received the joint adoration of both sects. This painting had been brought from Acre by the knights on their expulsion from that city. After their arrival in Rhodes it had been deposited in a chapel, built for the purpose on an eminence about a mile to the west of the town. This hill was called Mount Philermo, and the image bore the name of Our Lady of Philermo. When the approach of the Turks rendered this chapel no longer a place of security, the picture was brought within the fortress, nor was any objection made to its being lodged in a Greek chapel. No surer

* This hill has been called Sir Sidney Smith's hill, and a house at its top still bears his name. It was here that he took up his abode in 1802, in order that he might keep a vigilant look-out for the French fleet during the expedition to Egypt.

token could have been given of the unanimity and good fellowship which at that time existed between the professors of the two creeds.

As soon as the Turks had established themselves in their camp, they began to push forward reconnoissances in front of the walls. It suited neither the policy of D'Aubusson nor the temper of his troops to permit these approaches to be continued unchecked. A sortie was consequently made with a chosen body of cavalry, led by the viscount de Monteul in person, in which, after a slight combat—little more indeed than a skirmish—the Turks were driven back to their camp. In this affair Demetrius Sophiano, another of the three traitors who had hoped to reap such a golden harvest from the results of their villainy, met his death. His horse having been killed, he was unable to disengage himself from the fallen animal, and the advancing squadrons of the enemy, charging over his prostrate body, trampled him to death in the *mêlée*. The knights in this struggle lost one of their own number, a member of the *langue* of Auvergne, named Murat, who, having pushed too far in front in the ardour of the moment, was surrounded by spahis. He was speedily put to death, and his head borne away in triumph on a spear.

Meanwhile the pasha had been in close consultation with Maître Georges as to the point he should select for the attack. That worthy, whose keen eye instantly grasped the importance of the post of St. Nicholas, suggested that the whole weight of the besieging force should be thrown against that fort. To this Paleologus, who had every confidence in the opinion of the German, readily assented. A battery was at once commenced within the gardens of the church of St. Anthony, a convenient spot whence the powerful battering train which had been brought from Constantinople might vomit its ponderous missiles against the rampart of St. Nicholas, from a distance of about 300 yards. The knights, on their side, anxious to impede the construction of so dangerous a work, opened fire on the rising battery from some guns which they placed on a platform on the north side of the Grand-Master's palace, from which spot they were able to enfilade it. In spite of all obstructions, and in the face of a large loss in men, the work continued to advance,

gabions, timber, and other appliances being brought into use to expedite its completion. At length, all being ready, three of the pasha's great basilisks were seen to peep portentously through the embrasures. These basilisks, of which sixteen had been brought from the arsenal of Constantinople, had been cast under the direction of that most useful of men Maître Georges. They were of such stupendous dimensions, that their very appearance might well spread dismay amongst the ranks of the garrison. They were eighteen feet in length, and were designed to carry projectiles of from eight to nine palms in diameter.* In those early days of artillery the calibre of the guns was very large and the projectiles generally of stone. Only a little powder was used, the range was therefore extremely limited. Artillerists trusted more to the weight of the missile than to the impetus with which it was projected for the desired effect to be produced. It must certainly have been by no means a reassuring incident to the defenders of Fort St. Nicholas to be battered incessantly with such gigantic artillery. The result speedily manifested itself. Although the walls had been well built and were very solid, they were not capable of withstanding for any time the huge projectiles which Maître Georges had caused to be hurled against them, and ere long, a gaping breach on the west face marked the successful practice of the gunners.

Whilst this battering was proceeding, another incident had taken place which materially affected the fortunes of the wily German. In pursuance of a plan laid down between himself and Paleologus, the dauntless scoundrel—for with all his crimes it is impossible to deny him the virtue of the most daring courage—presented himself before the walls one morning and besought admission into the town as a deserter from the Turkish camp. Taken before D'Aubusson, Maître Georges had a plausible tale ready to account for his appearance. Entirely ignoring for the moment the awkward fact of his apostasy to

* Some doubt exists as to what the palm here referred to really was. It could not have been the Italian palm, which was $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Possibly the old Roman palm was intended, of which four went to the *pes*, or foot of 11.62 inches. In this case the palm would have been 2.9 inches, and the calibre of the basilisks from 23 to 26 inches. The English palm is 3 inches.

Islamism, he averred with the most captivating ingenuousness, that although he had been for many years in the service of the sultan, his conscience would not permit him to assist further in the designs of that monarch against the fraternity. Finding himself unable in any other manner to escape from the distasteful and painful service, he had resolved to take the hazardous step of deserting into the fortress. D'Aubusson had had too many dealings with rascals as wily and plausible as Maître Georges to give a ready credence to this tale of remorse. He knew too well that the day was past when men made such sacrifices for their religion. He also knew what a fearful risk Maître Georges would be running if he were really a deserter in the event of the capture of the town, and of his falling once more into the hands of his former employers. This was a risk which he gravely doubted Maître Georges' newly-awakened zeal for the Christian faith would prompt him to run. The probabilities seemed to him, therefore, that the pretended deserter was acting in collusion with the foe without. Treachery, however, if treachery there were, was, under the circumstances, to be best encountered by dissimulation. The Grand-Master determined that he would glean what information he could from the German, without trusting him in any way that might be made available for the use of the pasha. Maître Georges was welcomed as cordially as though no suspicions had been aroused; but he soon discovered that there were those in his train whose sole duty appeared to be to watch his every movement and to mark his every word. One or two abortive attempts to search out the weak points in the defence soon taught him that any further effort in that direction would inevitably lead to destruction. In fact, D'Aubusson completely foiled his designs, and if he did not prove of much use to the defenders, he was at all events prevented in any way assisting the besiegers.

On cross-examination as to the force under the command of the pasha, he dilated with the most alarming unctiousness on its magnitude and perfect equipment. Their artillery, he said, was of gigantic calibre, such as had never before been brought into the field, and on this point he certainly was able to speak with some authority, having founded the cannon himself. The army

was numerous, well disciplined, and amply supplied with stores and provisions of every kind, and was, moreover, animated with the most fanatical zeal to overthrow this great bulwark of Christianity. Cheering intelligence that, to be brought by a deserter into a besieged town. The question naturally arose, how came so long-headed a man voluntarily to place himself in a position of such imminent danger? To this, Maître Georges, with sanctimonious earnestness, pleaded the pangs of an awakened conscience with such apparent conviction that many were led to believe him sincere.

Meanwhile the battery in St. Anthony's garden had been doing its duty. The confused mass of rubbish daily increasing at the foot of St. Nicholas' tower, and the gaping breach in its walls, rapidly enlarging in dimensions, showed D'Aubusson that unless speedy precautions were taken, the post would be lost. He therefore concentrated on the spot as large a reinforcement as could be contained within the enceinte of the work. At the same time he prepared every obstacle his ingenuity could devise to impede the operation of an assault. Taking advantage of the mass of ruined masonry which had been dislodged by the pasha's basilisks, he with it cast up a new defence across the mole. Small batteries were established wherever they could sweep the approaches to the breach, and in the shallow water of the harbour itself he sank numerous planks, studded with sharp-pointed nails, to impede the enemy were they to attempt wading across. Having thus done everything which his foresight could suggest, he calmly awaited the onset.

On the morning of the 9th June, as soon as day broke, the alarm was given, and a large fleet of the enemy's lighter craft, laden with soldiers, was seen bearing down in a compact mass on the devoted fort. They were landed—some on the mole, some on the rocks, and the rest plunged overboard into the shallow water. With loud shouts they rushed at the breach, and endeavoured to carry the work by a *coup de main*. Conspicuous on the summit stood D'Aubusson, arrayed in all the panoply of his rank, and around him was gathered the flower of that chivalry from which the Turk had so often before been compelled to recoil. Anxiously was the struggle watched by both friend and foe on the mainland. The battlements overlooking the harbour were

crowded with citizens, eager to mark the progress of the fray; whilst on the brow of St. Stephen's hill stood Paleologus himself, filled with the keen excitement natural in one to whom success would be everything, and failure perdition. Amid the clouds of smoke and dust but little was to be seen. Ever and anon, as a passing gust of wind raised the dark veil for a moment, might be distinguished that noble band, thinned in numbers and faint with toil, but still standing unsubdued, and in proud defiance, on their shattered bulwarks, whilst the ruins were covered with the corpses of those who had fallen in the struggle. That same glimpse would also show the Moslem, undaunted by the opposition he was encountering, still swarming up the blood-stained pathway, striving by the sheer weight of numbers to surmount the obstacle which had already proved fatal to so many of his comrades.

Throughout this eventful day, D'Aubusson retained his post with the defenders of the fort. Utterly regardless of his own life he was to be found wherever the fray was thickest, or support most needed. His exposure of himself was, indeed, so reckless as to call forth the earnest remonstrances of his friends. On one occasion, having been struck on the head by a large fragment of stone which destroyed his helmet, he coolly selected another from the head of a fallen soldier; and when remonstrated with by the commander, Fabricius Caretto (who was the governor of the fort), he replied, with a smile, "If I am killed there will be more cause of hope for you than of fear for me." It is supposed that he desired in this speech to indicate his opinion that that knight would be his fittest successor in case of his own death. At last, whilst the fate of the day seemed still to hang uncertain in the balance, the garrison brought some fireships to bear upon the galleys of the enemy. The attempt was successful; several caught fire, and the remainder, to avoid a similar fate, were compelled promptly to retire. At the same moment the defenders of St. Nicholas made a vigorous and united dash at the breach; the ladders were overturned, and such of the enemy as had made good their footing on the summit were once more hurled headlong to its foot. The flanking batteries were all this time pouring a destructive fire on the confused and disordered mass which stood huddled at its base. Many of the leaders had fallen, their

fleet had abandoned them, and they themselves were being mowed down by the deadly fire from the ramparts. Is it surprising that under such an accumulation of obstacles they should at length give way? The mass of slain with which the breach was covered bore ample testimony to the obstinacy and determination of the assault, but the resistance of the defenders had proved too powerful for them, and at length they sought safety in flight. The terror of the fireships had been so great that but few of their boats were left to carry off the discomfited survivors. Many were drowned in the attempt to cross over to the mainland, and the remainder were borne away crestfallen and humiliated from the scene of action.

The feelings of the pasha, as from the summit of St. Stephen's hill he witnessed the untoward conclusion of the fray, were far from enviable. His troops had been taught to consider themselves invincible, and the foe had not hitherto been found who could withstand the shock of their onset. They trusted that as it had been with the turbaned warrior of the East, so would it also prove with their Christian antagonists; but they now learnt their error at a grievous cost to themselves. That crumbling breach which, if guarded by a Moslem garrison, would have offered but a slender resistance, had, when crowned by the warriors of the Cross, rendered futile their boldest efforts, and hurled them back discomfited to their camp. Seven hundred corpses lay stretched upon the mole and breach. The pasha obtained a short truce to enable him to remove and bury them. A long trench was dug near the garden of St. Anthony, along the western shore of the port, in which they were all deposited. This trench, according to Biliotti, has recently been discovered, and the bones still found there removed into the adjoining cemetery of Mourad-Reis.

Paleologus was not the man to despair at a first failure; he was therefore speedily at work devising a new attack in another quarter. Conceiving that the knights were probably exhausting their utmost resources in the defence of St. Nicholas, he determined to break ground on a fresh point, where he might find a less obstinate resistance. Whilst D'Aubusson was returning thanks for the glorious success

of the preceding day, by a triumphal procession to the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Philermó, the pasha was moving his heavy battering train to the southern side of the city. The Jews' quarter was selected as the new object of attack. The ramparts at this point were of extreme thickness, but were also of great age, and therefore but ill suited to resist any very severe battering. Wishing to distract the garrison, he did not confine his efforts to a single place, but at the same time opened fire on the tower of St. Mary on the one side, and on that of Italy on the other. He also commenced a general bombardment. From the huge mortars which formed part of his siege train, he hurled into the town gigantic fragments of rock and other destructive missiles, trusting thereby so to annoy the inhabitants that they would be unable to protract the defence with energy. Light balls and other combustible ingredients were also made use of, in the hope of causing a conflagration. Against all these dangers D'Aubusson's ready genius was able to find a remedy. He created a temporary shelter for such of the inhabitants as were not required for the defence by the erection of large sheds with sloping sides, built against the interior of the ramparts, on such sites as were best protected from the fire of the besiegers. Others found shelter in the vaults of the churches and similar places of security, so that the pasha gained but little by his vast expenditure of ammunition. True it is, as Merry Dupuis records, that one shot struck the roof of the Grand-Master's palace, and descending through the floor into the cellar, destroyed a hogshead of wine. The waste of the good liquor seems to have impressed the simple-minded Dupuis more than the damage to the building; but if the casualties were confined to such losses as these, the pasha might as well have economized his powder. The danger of fire in a city built almost entirely of stone was not great, but even that was guarded against. A band was organized whose sole duty it was to watch the flaming projectiles in their descent, and quench them immediately. The roar of this bombardment was so loud that it could be heard in the island of Lango on the one side, and in that of Chateau Roux on the other.

The state of the rampart in front of the Jews' quarter soon

became such as to render prompt measures necessary for the security of that point. D'Aubusson therefore commenced the construction of a retrenchment. For this purpose he levelled the houses in rear of the breach, sank a deep ditch in a semi-circular direction, and behind this new obstacle built a brick wall supported by an earthen rampart and of sufficient thickness and solidity to resist the battering power of the enemy. The work was pushed forward with almost incredible rapidity. The Grand-Master himself set the example, not only by giving directions on the spot, but even by taking his turn at the manual labour. Whilst thus employed he handled the pick and shovel with the same vigour which he imparted to every duty that he undertook. The effect of this good example was soon seen. Not only did the knights and upper classes amongst the Rhodians assist vigorously in the work, but also the women and children; nay, even the secluded inmates of the religious houses joined in the universal enthusiasm, and performed the tasks of ordinary workmen. The result shewed itself in the rapid elevation of a new barrier, which the pasha on completing the demolition of the Jews' rampart, found encircling its rear, rendering futile all the efforts he had made and the vast quantities of ammunition he had expended.

Up to this time Paleologus had pushed his advances towards the capture of the place in an open and legitimate manner. Now, however, finding himself foiled by the determined bravery of the besieged, he fell back on a weapon common enough in the warfare of the East, but repugnant to every feeling of true chivalry. Considering justly enough that the resistance he was encountering was greatly due to the personal energy of D'Aubusson, he bethought himself of putting an end to that incentive by the dagger of the assassin. He trusted by this means to remove the principal obstacle to his success, and to carry out this nefarious project he employed two deserters, the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian, who had joined his army since the commencement of the siege. Whilst he was developing his infamous scheme with these wretches a despatch arrived from Constantinople, brought by Ali pasha, in which he was informed that the sultan himself was about to proceed to the scene of war, with a reinforcement of 100,000 men and a

new park of artillery. It is more than probable that this intelligence was completely false, still it attained its object in raising the enthusiasm of the besiegers. The two deserters, in furtherance of their project, presented themselves at one of the gates of the city, with a plausible tale of having been captured during a sortie, and of having just succeeded in making their escape. This story met with ready credence, and they were welcomed back into the town with the warmest congratulations. Their first step was to spread the intelligence of the expected arrival of the sultan with overwhelming reinforcements, a piece of news which, according to their intention, created the utmost dismay amongst the defenders.

Certain knights of the Italian and Spanish *langues* carried their terror so far as to form a plot for the purpose of compelling the Grand-Master to surrender before the arrival of Mahomet. With this view they secured the co-operation of one of his secretaries, an Italian, named Filelfo, who undertook to be their mouthpiece. D'Aubusson, upon hearing from his secretary what was passing, summoned the malcontents into his presence. With cutting sarcasm he informed them that since they were in such terror of the Moslem sultan they had his permission to leave the town, and that he himself would secure their safe departure. "But," added he, "if you remain with us speak no more of surrender, and rest assured that if you continue your cabals you shall meet with the fate you so justly merit." This combination of raillery and sternness had the desired effect, the recusants threw themselves at his feet and implored him to give them an early opportunity of effacing the memory of their cowardice in the blood of the infidel. Filelfo soon discovered that his master's confidence had been withdrawn from him owing to his participation in the affair, and he was much distressed in consequence. The Albanian deserter, who had some acquaintance with him, imagined that he was probably now in a mood when he might be rendered subservient to their scheme. Gradually and cautiously he endeavoured to excite and stimulate the Italian's resentment at the neglect he was suffering. Finding, as he thought, that he was succeeding in his object he at length unfolded the entire plot, making the most brilliant offers to Filelfo, in guarantee for which he shewed

him letters from the pasha. The secretary, who was warmly attached to D'Aubusson, and who felt that his present disgrace had been richly deserved, pretended to fall in with the views of the deserters. This was merely to enable him to discover everything, having succeeded in which he at once revealed the whole conspiracy to his master. The immediate arrest of the would-be assassins followed the disclosure, and after trial they were both sentenced to death. The excitement of the populace upon learning this intended treachery was such that they rushed upon the criminals and, forestalling the just sentence of the law, tore them in pieces in the fury of the moment.

Foiled in his cowardly attempt at a cold-blooded assassination, Paleologus had once more recourse to open warfare. Disheartened at the ill-success of his efforts against the Jews' quarter he returned to his original point of attack, the tower of St. Nicholas. To facilitate the approach of his assaulting columns he constructed a large floating bridge, which was to stretch from the point in front of the church of St. Anthony to the rocks at the base of the fort, and wide enough to admit of six men advancing abreast. Under cover of the darkness a Turk succeeded in fixing an anchor at the extremity of the mole beneath the surface, to the ring of which he secured a rope, intending by its means to warp the bridge across the water. This operation, however, had not been carried out as secretly as the Turk imagined. An English sailor, called Roger Gervase (or more probably Jervis), saw what was being done. Watching for the departure of the Turk, he as soon as the coast was clear detached the rope, removed the anchor, and carried it in triumph to the Grand-Master. D'Aubusson was so pleased with the promptitude and decision of the gallant tar as he stood dripping but radiant before him, with his ponderous trophy still in his grasp, that he rewarded him with a present of 200 gold crowns.

The Turks having completed the construction of their bridge made arrangements for an immediate assault. The former attack, the failure of which still rankled in their bosoms, had been undertaken in broad daylight; they determined, therefore, on this occasion to try the effect of a night surprise.

The 19th of June was selected for the attempt, and at about midnight the various detachments were set in motion. It had been ordered that whilst the bridge was being hauled into its position a large body of troops, shipped for the purpose on board some of their smaller craft, should approach the mole, and make a sudden dash at the battered tower. They thought that perhaps in the darkness of the night they might take the garrison unawares. The incident of the anchor, however, forewarned D'Aubusson that the moment of assault was close at hand. Every step that prudence could suggest, or engineering skill could devise, had been taken to meet the impending shock. Through the darkness of the night there were keen eyes peering in silent watchfulness on the crest of the breach, whose vigilance it was vain for the Turk to attempt eluding. The first strain upon the rope with which the pasha had hoped to warp his bridge across shewed that his device had been discovered, and the besiegers were consequently brought to a standstill at their very earliest step. Unwilling to waste all the preparations he had made, Paleologus decided, in spite of this failure, to proceed with his attack. He therefore ordered the head of the bridge to be towed to its destination, and whilst this operation was being carried out with laborious slowness he gave the signal for the advance of the troops embarked in the boats. Their approach was at once discovered by the garrison, the alarm was quickly given, and a desperate fire was opened on them from all sides. Secrecy being at an end, the boats dashed forward, and on reaching the rocks the troops they carried rushed at the breach.

The struggle was carried on by both parties with equal obstinacy and determination, but in the darkness of the night little could be distinguished of the desperate combat which was raging round the devoted tower. The scene was lit up by the constant flashes of the artillery, which poured its destructive fire upon the crowded masses of the besieger's battalions, whilst the lurid glare shed around by the Greek fire which was poured on the assailants, added yet another terror to the picture. Amid the roar of the guns, the clashing of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the cries of the wounded, the strife continued with unabated violence, presenting a spectacle to those who were looking on, at once awful in its grandeur and terrible in its

excitement. As though to add to the horrors of the scene, the fireships of the besieged were once more let loose on the enemy's fleet, towards which they drifted in a column of flame, bearing panic and confusion in their course. The early light of a summer's dawn broke upon this scene of strife before success had declared itself for either side. Guided, however, by the gradually increasing light, D'Aubusson's gunners were able to direct their fire with greater precision, and speedily destroyed the bridge, which had been most useful in enabling the Turkish supports to be brought up. They also succeeded in sinking four of the galleys which, in spite of the fireships, continued to hover around the point of assault, whilst others bore testimony to their contact with their flaming antagonists by the sheets of fire in which they were enveloped.

Throughout the night the principal leader of the Turkish forces had been a young prince named Ibrahim, closely related to the sultan, with whom he was a great favourite. The daring and hardihood displayed by this youthful warrior had done much to keep up the vigour of the assailants, and although he had received several wounds he still maintained his post in the front of the attack. At this critical juncture, when his followers were beginning to quail beneath the deadly fire poured upon them, he was killed by a shot. This loss decided the fortunes of the day; the breach was abandoned, and the sea was once more covered with drowning men, the routed relics of the pasha's force who found a watery grave the only alternative to the avenging swords of the knights.

The loss of the Turks upon this occasion was between 2,000 and 3,000, amongst whom were some of the best officers in their army. The impression made upon the survivors by this second failure was so dispiriting as to render the pasha's hopes of ultimate success highly problematical. He was himself so dismayed by the untoward events of the night that he confined himself to his tent for three days, refusing to see any one. D'Aubusson availed himself of this respite to clear the mole of the mass of slain with which it was crowded. Rare pillage was there for his troops amidst that heap of Moslems, whose costly apparel, jewels, and ornaments of gold and silver, were a lordly recompense to the hardy warriors who had stood their ground so well.

After three days' seclusion Paleologus recovered his equanimity, and roused to a pitch of fury at the losses his army had sustained, he decided upon a still more vigorous prosecution of the siege. Returning once again to the southern side of the city, and abandoning in disgust all further attempts upon the tower of St. Nicholas, he commenced the construction of a battery on the edge of the counterscarp opposite the retrenchment in the Jews' quarter. Here was an opportunity for the disgraced knights of Italy and Spain to recover their fair fame. By means of a postern they entered the ditch in the dead of night, and thence silently ascended the counterscarp with ladders and rushed impetuously into the as yet unfinished battery. The Turks, taken completely by surprise, offered little or no resistance; the struggle, which was rather a massacre than a fight, lasted only for a few minutes, and the victorious assailants remained masters of the battery. The gabions and other woodwork were set on fire, the battery completely destroyed, and the gallant little band returned triumphantly into the town, bearing upon their lances' points the heads of their slain antagonists. This brilliant episode deservedly restored the actors in it to the good graces of D'Aubusson, who felt that from men capable of such dashing exploits he need have no further fear on the score of pusillanimity.

The pasha was taught by this incident that in conducting an attack against such vigorous and experienced foes as the defenders of Rhodes, he could not with impunity neglect any of the orthodox precautions of advance, tedious though they might be. Opening his approaches, therefore, on a more methodical and scientific system, he gradually regained the point from which he had been so rudely ejected. He drove galleries underground through the counterscarp, and from these he poured *débris* into the ditch, so as gradually to fill up the greater part of it, and form a road across to the rampart.

The resources of D'Aubusson were taxed to the uttermost to devise means for resisting this new and most threatening method of approach. In the dilemma he bethought him of Maître Georges. Mysterious billets had more than once been shot into the town on arrows, warning the knights to beware of the German. Opinions were divided as to the object of these missives, some regarding them as dictated by irritation at the

deserter's having abandoned the cause of the invader, and as being intended in consequence to sow discord between him and the inhabitants. Others, among whom was D'Aubusson, looked upon them as a deep-laid piece of cunning on the part of the pasha, that this apparent display of animosity might cause him to be looked on with greater favour.

Whatever was his private opinion, D'Aubusson determined on the present occasion to avail himself, if possible, of the engineering skill of Maître Georges. He was unsuccessful in eliciting anything. The German was very reticent and desponding, his suggestions were few, and those manifestly useless. He recommended, indeed, the construction of a battery on a site selected by himself, but this proved such an egregious failure that general irritation was aroused against him. His obvious reluctance to aid the defence strengthened the suspicions which were afloat, and rendered a fresh scrutiny into his conduct advisable. Summoned before the council, he prevaricated, hesitated, and eventually contradicted himself in so many important particulars that he was subjected to torture. Under this pressure a confession was extorted from him that he had entered the town with the traitorous intent of rendering assistance to the pasha. Although a certain cloud of mystery does undoubtedly hang over the conduct of Maître Georges—a confession extracted by the application of torture not being a very convincing proof—still, there was that in his general history and previous conduct which renders it more than probable that he really was the guilty wretch he confessed himself to be. On the following day he was hung in the public square, in sight of an applauding multitude, and so, by an act of righteous retribution, he died in the very city the destruction of which he had plotted. Thus perished the last of the trio of renegades by whom Mahomet had been invited to carry out his sinister designs against the Order of St. John. The pasha had throughout trusted much to the crafty partisan he had introduced into the town. Great was his disappointment, therefore, when he learnt the fate of his friend, of which fact D'Aubusson took care that he should speedily be made acquainted.

The hanging of the traitor could be no protection against

the cannon which was thundering at the ramparts, or the assault which was threatening at the breach. To harass the enemy behind their trenches D'Aubusson constructed a large wooden catapult, which threw huge pieces of rock into the covered ways and batteries. These fragments were so heavy that they crushed in the temporary blindages which the Turks had arranged for shelter, and as Dupuis has recorded, "some Turk or other always remained dead under the weight." This weapon was facetiously termed the tribute, the rocks which it hurled, and which so seriously incommoded the besiegers, being the only tribute the knights were prepared to offer to the sultan.

Whilst this effective machine was working its will upon the assailants, the defenders were carrying on a little subterranean strategy on their own side. Driving galleries beneath the breach, they made openings into the ditch, through which they gradually conveyed away much of the stone with which it was being filled. This material they banked up against their retrenchment, thus greatly adding to its solidity. The work was carried on so briskly under cover of the night, that the amount of the filling which the Turks had with immense labour deposited in the ditch began to shrink perceptibly. For some days they were puzzled to account for this strange phenomenon; after a time, however, the robbery became so palpable that the pasha divined what was going on. He foresaw, therefore, that unless he took measures to deliver a speedy assault the road by which he hoped to cross into the town would be carried away *en masse*.

Prior to making his great attempt, which recent experience had taught him must, even if successful, cost him the lives of many of his bravest troops, he thought it advisable to try and secure a capitulation. A parley was demanded in his name, to which the Grand-Master readily consented, not with any idea of surrender, but merely that he might gain further time for the strengthening of his retrenchments. The following day was appointed for the interview, and at the hour named the Turkish envoy, Soliman Bey, made his appearance on the counterscarp, at a point directly opposite the breach. D'Aubusson had appointed Anthony Gaultier, the castellan of

Rhodes, to be his representative on the occasion, and as the breadth of the ditch separated the negotiators, the conference was audible to every one. It was opened by the Turk, who, after having paid a just tribute to the gallantry of the defence, urged upon the knights the propriety of an immediate surrender. "You have," said he, "done all that lay within the power of mortal men to avert the catastrophe now impending over you; you have immortalized your names by a defence unparalleled in history, but do not carry that resistance too far; let not the madness of despair prompt you to protract your efforts after they have become manifestly hopeless. The breach in your wall is gaping wide and invites our attacking columns; forty thousand of the best troops in the empire are eagerly awaiting the moment which is to give you over into their power; do not by your prolonged obstinacy bring down upon your city the calamities inevitably incident to an assault. Yield yourselves to the clemency of our sovereign; become his allies and your lives shall be spared, your property protected, and you yourselves permitted to retain the government of the island in the strict bonds of friendship with us. If you refuse this offer your lives will be forfeited, your wives and daughters dishonoured, and your children sold into slavery, your city will be utterly destroyed, and the memory of it swept from the face of the earth. Such is the inevitable fate of those who persist in opposing the mighty Mahomet. Choose, therefore, whether you will be his friends or his victims."

To this speech, so well calculated to excite both the hopes and the fears of the population, Gaultier responded in terms of proud disdain. He assured the envoy that he was mistaken in supposing the town incapable of further resistance; it was true the ramparts were breached, but retrenchments had been constructed behind the ruins, before which the assailants should meet the same fate that had befallen those who had twice vainly attempted the capture of St. Nicholas. As regarded the offers of capitulation, the treachery of the Turkish army in moments of triumph had been too frequently displayed to enable the besieged to place any reliance on their pledges. As to the alleged desire of Mahomet to be a friend and ally to the Order, he was employing a most unusual method to attain that object. If he were

really desirous of entering into an alliance with them, let him draw off his forces from the hostile attitude in which they stood on the shores of Rhodes, and then let them negotiate a treaty on terms of equality. If, on the other hand, they were resolved to take possession of the island, let them make their boasted assault without further parleying; they would find the garrison ready to receive them, trusting in the power of God to defend the right.

This bold reply taught Paleologus that he had nothing to gain by negotiation. The audacity of the challenge with which it concluded aroused feelings of the most lively indignation and animosity throughout his army. The Christians had invited an attack, the place should therefore be carried at all hazards, regardless of cost. In order to stimulate his soldiers he promised them the entire booty of the town, and the success of the assault became so assured that sacks were made with which to carry off the anticipated pillage. Stakes were prepared and sharpened on which the knights were to be impaled, and each soldier carried at his waist a bundle of cords with which to secure his prisoners. Everything being thus prepared, the signal for the onset was awaited with the utmost impatience. Before taking this step, the pasha opened a tremendous fire from every gun which could be brought to bear on the breach and adjacent ramparts. This bombardment was continued without intermission throughout the day and night preceding that on which the assault was to take place, and its effect was so destructive that the defenders found it impossible to remain upon the rampart. During the night the troops who were to commence the attack were silently moved into their positions, the roar of artillery continuing with unabated virulence. The garrison, having been withdrawn from the rampart, were not aware of what was taking place; no extra precautions, therefore, were taken to resist the impending storm.

About an hour after sunrise, on the morning of the 27th July, the signal was given by the firing of a mortar. The attempt was made upon several points of the enceinte at the same moment, but the main efforts were concentrated upon the breach in the Jews' quarter, the others being merely feints to distract the defence. The severity of the fire which the pasha had kept up so

unremittingly for the preceding twenty-four hours had had the effect which he designed. Quailing beneath the pitiless storm of iron and stone, all who were on the ramparts had been gradually driven to seek shelter. When, therefore, the assailants rushed through the breach they found no opponents to resist their onset. In a few minutes, and before the alarm had been given in the town, the standard of the Moslem was waving on the crest of the parapet, and the Turks were pouring in a countless throng through the defenceless gap.

This was indeed a critical moment for the fortunes of the Order. Hitherto they had maintained the defence with marvellous success. Though many a hard-fought struggle had chequered the history of the preceding two months, though there had been moments when the obstinacy and determination of the attack had made the fate of the city quiver in the balance, still the dauntless front of the indomitable defenders had successfully withstood the tempest. Now, alas! in an ill-fated moment, those defenders were no longer at their post in the hour of need; those ramparts which had hitherto been protected from the tread of the Moslem were now swarming with their hosts, and the banner of Islam was waving triumphantly over the already half-conquered fortress. In this disastrous conjuncture a helpless panic seemed to have overtaken every one. Men ran to and fro in their dismay, scarce knowing where to bend their steps or how to resist the storm which had thus burst on them. A few moments more of this perilous confusion and all must have been lost. Providentially D'Aubusson, ever watchful and ever at hand, rushed promptly to the scene of contest. His presence instantly reanimated his followers, and restored order and decision where but a moment before all had quailed with dismay. With the speed of lightning he dashed at the rampart; its summit could only be reached from within by ladders, and the first to ascend, sword in hand, was the Grand-Master himself.

Now might be seen the unusual spectacle of the besieged converted into assailants, and endeavouring to recover by escalate the rampart which had been secured by the enemy. Twice did D'Aubusson attempt the ascent and twice was he hurled from the ladder, each time severely wounded. Once again did

he renew the effort. His knights, he felt, must recover the lost ground or all was over; better to die on the breach than to survive the loss of his stronghold. The third time he succeeded in mounting the wall, where, being speedily joined by numerous comrades, the fight became more equal. The mere numbers of the Turks acted prejudicially to them; they were so crowded on the narrow rampart that they were unable to act with vigour. Swaying to and fro before the fierce attack of the knights, they were gradually driven backward with resistless force over the breach.

The pasha was not prepared tamely to surrender the advantage he had secured. A body of veteran janissaries was despatched to support the yielding assailants, and once more to secure possession of the breach. D'Aubusson, in his gallant array, was easily recognizable in the throng, and Paleologus, who knew that he was the life and soul of the defence, told off a certain number of chosen men, who were to forego all meaner prey, and to devote themselves to a combined attack upon the hero so conspicuous at the head of his heroic band. Dashing upon the defenders with an impetus which had so often before led to victory, and clearing for themselves a passage through the mass of combatants, they succeeded in reaching the spot where D'Aubusson stood. Hemmed in though he was by these new foes, he yielded not a step, but maintained the unequal combat with undaunted energy. His desperate situation was soon seen by his brothers-in-arms, and a rush made to the rescue. The janissaries were driven back in confusion, and D'Aubusson extricated from his most perilous position. Unfortunately, however, before this aid arrived he had received three new and most grievous wounds.

Ere he was borne from the field he had the consolation of seeing the enemy driven over the blood-stained breach, and his victorious knights pursuing them at the edge of the sword. This, in fact, was the turning point of the struggle. The panic once established spread amongst the infidels with a rapidity which their disorganized and overcrowded condition rendered fatal. Flying from the avenging wrath of their pursuers, they found all egress blocked by the tumultuous masses assembled on the spot. In this perilous

predicament friend fared as ill as foe, and the most eager of the fugitives hewed for themselves a pathway to safety by the indiscriminate slaughter of their fellow-soldiers. Numbers who were unable thus to escape were hurled from the ramparts into the town, a fall of twenty feet, where they were instantly massacred by the infuriated inhabitants. Meanwhile a deadly fire had been kept up from every available point upon the dense crowd congregated on the breach, and as at that short distance every shot told, the slaughter became terrific. The struggle had now degenerated into a massacre. Chased by their excited and victorious enemy, they were mown down without the slightest attempt at resistance. Safety was not to be found even within the limits of their own camp. They were driven from thence in headlong confusion; the great banner of Paleologus, which was planted in front of his pavilion, falling into the hands of the victors.

The demoralization of the besieging army was now complete. After a succession of repulses, in each of which the slaughter of his troops had been terrific, Paleologus had concentrated all his power on one last effort. His plans had succeeded beyond his expectation; the besieged had been taken by surprise; the rampart had been gained without a struggle, and yet the golden opportunity had been lost. His battalions had recoiled from the onset of the defenders, and a comparative handful of Christians had driven back the flower of his army. In spite of numbers, the effort had proved a complete failure; the ditches were choked with the bodies of the slain, and the panic-stricken survivors were flying from the scene. It was felt on both sides that the victory was decisive, and that the siege was at an end.

Rhodes was saved. The troops of the pasha were embarking in tumultuous haste on board their galleys. The liberated townspeople were celebrating with enthusiastic joy the triumph of the defence. Meanwhile, Peter D'Aubusson, the saviour of his city and the hero of his age, lay in his magisterial palace unconscious of his well-earned triumph, prostrated by five different wounds, one of which the physicians had pronounced mortal.

CHAPTER XI.

1480—1503.

Restoration of the fortifications of Rhodes and recovery of the Grand-Master—Preparations by Mahomet for a new siege—His death, and the disputed succession to his empire—Defeat of Djem and his flight to Rhodes—Departure for France—His residence there—His removal to Rome and death—Last days of Peter D'Aubusson—His death and interment—History of the relic of the hand of St. John the Baptist.

THE embarkation of the pasha and his discomfited army was witnessed by the worn-out garrison of Rhodes with feelings of the most lively satisfaction. The inhabitants, after having been cooped up in the town for two months, were naturally overjoyed at finding themselves once more free to return to the homes from which they had been driven by the approach of the enemy. This satisfaction was somewhat damped by the dreary aspect which the surrounding district presented. The devastations committed by the Ottoman army had created a scene of desolation amongst the once happy homes of the Rhodian peasantry most distressing for them to contemplate. The danger from which they had just escaped had, however, been so imminent that their joy at the happy termination of the siege soon overpowered all feelings of grief at the destruction of their property.

Vast numbers of dead had been left strewn upon the plain by the retreating Moslems, and the first step necessary for the health of the island was to remove these ghastly relics of the late warfare. The corpses were gathered together in huge piles and burnt; the labour of burying them, owing to their number, being too heavy for the inhabitants to undertake. Dupuis records that on this occasion the women of

Rhodes indulged in a little pardonable jocosity. Whilst witnessing the process of broiling to which the corpses were being subjected, they observed that the Turks were like the "beccafichi," or ortolans, and derived their plumpness from the quantity of figs they had devoured. The general joy was much increased when it became known that the Grand-Master, whose wounds had originally been pronounced mortal, was likely to recover; and when, after the lapse of a few weeks, he had so far advanced towards convalescence as to be present in person at the laying of the first stone of a church to celebrate the defence, their satisfaction was complete. This church was built at the extreme eastern horn of the crescent formed by the town, and was therefore nearly due north of, and not far from, the Jews' quarter. It was dedicated to Notre Dame de la Victoire, and still exists.

It is curious to observe the different reasons assigned by the historians on both sides for the unlooked-for result of this extraordinary siege. The Turkish writer Khodgia, who has given a very detailed and vivid account of it, coloured, naturally, by a strong partiality for his own nation, asserts that the sole cause of their failure was the avarice of Paleologus. He states that the pasha, after having excited the cupidity of his troops by promising to abandon the town to indiscriminate pillage, recalled that promise at the last moment, when they had established themselves on the Jews' rampart, and proclaimed that the wealth of the city was to be reserved for the use of the sultan. From this moment, says Khodgia, the energy of the assailants declined visibly. Feeling themselves cheated of their promised prey at the very moment when its acquisition seemed secure, they were no longer in a frame of mind to withstand firmly the impetuous onset made by D'Aubusson and his knights. To this cause he attributes the panic, and consequent failure of the enterprise. Turkish historians have never scrupled to invent reasons for the non-success of their armies, and a little consideration will show the improbability of this story. It had been the invariable practice of Ottoman emperors and of their pashas to give over to pillage all towns taken by assault, as indeed has been the recognized custom of war amongst even Christian nations.

It seems very unlikely that Paleologus, who was a man of naturally grand ideas, and who had used every device to make himself master of the town, should suddenly have taken a step so alien to his character and so menacing to his schemes.

The Christian historians, on their side, are equally at a loss to account for their success by the ordinary accidents of war. They therefore, as was common in those times and in their religion, sought to account for the happy issue of the struggle by the agency of a miraculous interposition. They record that at the most critical moment, when the Grand-Master was surrounded and well-nigh overcome by his assailants, there appeared in the heavens a cross of refulgent gold, by the side of which stood a beautiful woman clothed in dazzling white garments, a lance in her hand and a buckler on her arm; she was accompanied by a man clothed in goat skins, and followed by a band of heavenly warriors armed with flaming swords. They assert that this vision was seen not by the Christians but by the Turks, several of whom had been captured on the occasion of the last assault, and they base the statement on the narrative of these prisoners, who added that the panic caused by the extraordinary vision had been so great that many Moslems fell dead without a wound. Such a vision as this may well have terrified the barbarous hosts by whom it is supposed to have been witnessed, and as in matters religious, a ready credence was obtained in those times for the most marvellous tales, the statement was at once accepted. It soon became established as an acknowledged fact, that the safety of Rhodes was due to the personal and visible interposition of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Order, supported by a chosen band of the celestial host.

To modern readers neither of these explanations seems satisfactory. It was to D'Aubusson, and to him alone, that must be attributed the success, not only of that day but also of the whole defence from the hour when the atabal of the infidel first sounded on the shores of Rhodes. His was the master spirit that had guided every effort; his was the eagle eye that had ever comprehended at a glance the exigencies

of the situation in the most critical moments; his was the fertile brain whence issued those schemes and devices by which the designs of the enemy were frustrated and their insidious plots checkmated. He had throughout been the life and soul of the garrison. At one moment directing the construction of some new defence, at another wielding his sword in the thickest of the fight; now providing for the security of the feeble and defenceless inhabitants, whose safety was committed to his charge; and then again terrifying and overawing the wavering and disaffected; to each and every one he was the guide and support. Well was it for all that not until he had struck the death-blow of the army which was besieging them had he himself succumbed to the weapon of the enemy.

Ferdinand, king of Naples, had despatched two galleys, freighted with succours, which arrived before the island at the very time when the pasha was embarking his forces. Paleologus perceived that if he could only capture these galleys the disgrace of his failure would not seem so complete. He therefore opened fire on them with some pieces of artillery which had not yet been shipped, and succeeded in dismasting one of them. The wind being contrary, they were unable to enter the harbour, and were forced to anchor outside, in which situation they were assailed by some of the ships of the Turkish squadron. These galleys had on board a number of knights of the Spanish and Italian *langues* who headed the defence, which was successfully made, to prevent their capture by boarding. No doubt the attack was made without much heartiness. The Turks were thoroughly weary of the struggle, and desired nothing more than to be permitted to retire from the island unmolested. The result was that Paleologus failed even in this his latest attempt to achieve something to cover his main disaster, and he moreover lost the services of his general of the galleys, who was killed at the head of the force.

With the exception of Ferdinand, no potentate had raised a hand to give any help to the beleaguered city. Now, however, when D'Aubusson had, with the aid of his gallant fraternity, hurled the discomfited Moslem with disgrace from his shores, a shout of exultation rang throughout Europe. The imminence

of the danger once past, people began to realize its extent. Had the Ottoman emperor succeeded in planting his standard on the ramparts of Rhodes, the way to Italy would have been open to his advance, and his threat that it should wave over the Capitol at Rome might probably have been carried into effect. The energetic and successful resistance of D'Aubusson had thwarted that project, and Rome, rescued from her peril, was loud in her expressions of gratitude towards her deliverer, to whom she gave the high sounding title of "Buckler of Christianity."

His first care, upon recovery from his wounds, was to restore the fortifications, which the constant battering had reduced to a state of complete ruin. He also distributed rewards and promotions to the knights who had so bravely supported him in the struggle. In one instance a justly merited degradation was inflicted. James Hetting (or Keating), the grand-prior of Ireland, had not only refused to join the ranks of his fraternity at Rhodes at the hour of its peril, but had even neglected to forward the amount of responsions for which his priory was liable. D'Aubusson, therefore, now that he had leisure to deal with the question, deprived him of his office; and Marmaduke Lumley, an English knight, who had been desperately wounded in the siege, was nominated in his place. To the inhabitants of the island generally he gave free access to the public granaries, in consideration of the losses they had sustained by the ravages of the enemy. He also exempted them from all taxation for several years.

Until this time the people of Rhodes had been looked upon by the knights as an inferior race. Now that they had shown themselves not only staunch and faithful to their rulers, but also brave and devoted, even during the most trying and critical moments, a feeling sprang up that they should be treated on terms somewhat more of equality. The first Rhodian nominated to a post of any importance in the government of the island was William Caoursin, who, although not a knight, was appointed vice-chancellor, and ambassador of the Order at the papal court. This dignitary has left to the world two documents, written in the most pompous and pedantic Latin, but which, nevertheless, form a very valuable and important addition to the history of his time. One is an account of the siege, collected from official

sources, although, as he himself says, "The public acts were not recorded during the siege, but after the victory was gained its history was compiled by William Caoursin, vice-chancellor of the Order, which account has been divulged by the press all over the world, previous to which nothing had been recorded." The other document is a history of the events which took place during the years immediately subsequent, including the romantic episode of the unfortunate prince Djem, or Zizim, of whom there will be occasion to speak shortly.*

The Grand-Master himself also wrote a brief account of the siege, which he forwarded for the information of the emperor of Germany. This document, in its perspicuity, conciseness, and modesty will bear a favourable comparison with almost any despatch of later days.† It is much to be regretted that no record has been kept of the strength of the garrison during the siege, or of the names or even the number of the killed. The archives only record those who held official positions, a very small number out of the total who were present. The list framed from this data consists of ninety-two French commanders, thirty-five Spanish and Portuguese, thirty-five Italians, eight German, and five English, together with eighteen chaplains and servants-at-arms of the various *langues* holding the same dignity. Subsequent researches have raised the English list to fourteen, and even that number is supposed to fall far short of the reality. The names thus rescued from oblivion are as follow:—

John Vaquelin, commander of Carbouch, killed.

Marmaduke Lumley, dangerously wounded, made prior of Ireland, vice James Hetting deposed.

Thomas Bem, bailiff of the Eagle, killed.

Henry Haler, commander of Badsfort, killed.

Thomas Ploniton, killed.

Adam Tedbond, killed.

* These treatises are illustrated by a series of woodcuts, thirty in number, some explanatory of the siege itself, and the others of the adventures of Prince Djem. They are dated in 1496, and are excellent specimens of the woodcutting of the time. The author has selected the one which gives the best idea of the city of Rhodes, of which a fac-simile is here given.

† *Vide* Appendix No. 7.



Impressum vlme p iohannē Reger Anno dñi 7ē. Mccce xevj. Die. xxiij. Octob

FACSIMILE OF ONE OF THE WOODCUTS IN CAOURSIN'S "OBSIDIO RHODIE," SHIEWING THE FORM OF THE TOWN.

Henry Batasbi, killed.

Henry Anulai or D'Avalos, killed.

John Kendall, Turcopolier.

Thomas Docray, afterwards grand-prior of England.

Leonard de Tybertis.

Walter Viselberg.

John Rucht.

John Besoell, or Boswell.*

The losses of the Turks have been very variously stated, the most probable estimate being about 9,000 killed and 30,000 wounded. The great bulk of this fearful list of casualties occurred after the last repulse, when in their flight from the breach to the camp they were mown down by thousands without offering the slightest resistance. Paleologus pasha, after his humiliating discomfiture, could expect but a very unwelcome reception from his disappointed master. Indeed, in the first transport of his rage, the sultan ordered him to be bowstrung, together with several of the other principal leaders of the army. This stern decree was eventually mitigated into banishment in Gallipoli, where he remained in disgrace until the death of the emperor.

Mahomet consoled himself for the unfortunate issue of the enterprise with the idea that his own presence was necessary in order to insure the success of his arms. He immediately commenced preparations for the assembly of another and much larger army, with which he proposed to renew in person his attack upon the island. The news of the mighty equipment he was organizing for this purpose filled the minds of the fraternity with dismay. The ramparts behind which the knights had made so stubborn a resistance were in ruins, their treasury was exhausted, and their ranks thinned to a lamentable extent. They felt, therefore, that a new siege, if pressed upon them before they had time to recruit themselves, must end fatally to their cause.

At this critical juncture, as though to add to the calamities of

* It may here be noted that as all the records of the fraternity are in foreign languages—either French, Italian, or Latin—the spelling of the English names is very obscure, and often misleading.

their situation, Rhodes was visited by a succession of the most terrific earthquakes, accompanied by an inundation of the sea or tidal wave. The result of this convulsion of nature was the overthrow of several of the principal buildings in the town and of large portions of the ramparts, which had already been shaken and rendered insecure by the battering they had undergone. Many of the inhabitants called to mind the popular tradition, that the island had originally sprung suddenly from the sea during one of the volcanic upheavals so common in the Levant, and they began to fear that these earthquakes were but the precursors of an equally sudden disappearance. Such a complication of disasters might surely have dismayed the stoutest heart; it required all the fortitude which even the heroic D'Aubusson could summon to his aid to bear him through the dreadful crisis.

Desperate as the situation seemed to be, and hopeless as was the prospect of a successful resistance to the gigantic force which Mahomet was preparing, the Grand-Master nevertheless continued to press forward such restorations as his limited means and the shortness of time permitted. Had the sultan lived to carry his project into execution, he would have been met as boldly and resisted as firmly as his lieutenant was in the previous year. That such resistance could have been for the second time successful was, under the circumstances, hopeless, but he would have entered a city in ruins only over the lifeless body of the last of its defenders. Providentially for the knights, this sad catastrophe was averted. In his march across Asia Minor at the head of his forces Mahomet was taken suddenly ill of a colic, and died in the village of Nicomedia, on the 3rd of May, 1481. Great as had been his successes, and numerous his conquests, the haughty emperor scorned to enumerate their catalogue upon his tomb. Looking rather to the grand conceptions which were teeming within his ambitious brain than to the acquisitions he had actually made, he directed the following simple epitaph to be placed over his grave, "My intention was to have captured Rhodes and to have subjugated Italy."

The death of the sultan was hailed with joy throughout Europe, and nowhere more so or with greater reason than at

Rhodes. A sense of relief pervaded every bosom. Now that their potent and implacable enemy was no more, they felt that the crisis of their danger had passed away. From that moment, therefore, they prosecuted their labours of restoration with an energy much stimulated by the auspicious occurrence. Public thanksgivings were offered up in the conventual church for the death of the most formidable foe against whom the Order of St. John had ever been called on to combat. It was on that occasion recorded, with feelings of very natural exultation, that in spite of all his power and all his efforts this conqueror of so many provinces had never, during the whole course of his reign, succeeded in wresting one single island or even fort from the possession of the Hospitallers.

Mahomet's sudden death brought with it the result so common in newly-organized empires, a disputed succession. He had originally been the father of three sons, Mustapha, Bajazet, and Djem, Zaim, or Zizim, for by all three of these names has the youngest been called. His eldest son, Mustapha, had been strangled for having violated the wife of his favourite minister, Achmet pasha, thus leaving Bajazet and Djem to dispute the empire between them. Bajazet, the elder of the two, had been born prior to his father's elevation to the imperial dignity. He was of quiet and sedate demeanour, mild in character, and gentle in disposition. For him the excitement of the camp and the tumult of war had no charms. Although sufficiently ambitious to be desirous of ascending his father's throne, which he justly considered his birthright, his was not the mind to have contemplated any further extension of empire. Djem, on the contrary, young, ardent and ambitious, bred in a camp and delighting in war, sought to usurp his father's sceptre, more that he might make it the instrument for further conquests than for the quiet enjoyment of its actual dignities. Although a Mahometan he was by no means bigoted, and having during his youth been thrown in contact with the knights of Rhodes whilst arranging a truce on behalf of his father, he had conceived a warm admiration for the fraternity, and more especially for its Grand-Master, D'Aubusson. As he was born after Mahomet's assumption of the imperial

crown he considered himself the legitimate heir, as being *porphyrogenitus*, or born in the purple. He was consequently prepared to dispute the succession with his elder brother. The career of this unfortunate prince is so interwoven with the later years of D'Aubusson's rule that it will be necessary to enter into some detail concerning him, the more so since his fate has cast a most undeserved slur upon the fair fame of that Grand-Master.

The rivalry which had sprung up between the brothers caused a division amongst the magnates of the empire at Constantinople, where the relative claims of the two princes were warmly contested. Neither of the candidates was in the city at the time, but Bajazet's faction succeeded in overruling the pretensions of the partisans of Djem, and crowned one of the sons of the former, a child named Coracut, as *locum tenens* for his absent father. Bajazet, who, immediately upon hearing of the death of Mahomet had hurried to the scene of action, speedily arrived at Constantinople, where he assumed in person the imperial dignity, and his claim was peaceably admitted by the inhabitants.

The news of this event reached Djem whilst he was journeying from the seat of his government in Asia Minor towards Constantinople. Hastily collecting such troops as favoured his cause, he pushed forward to the town of Broussa, trusting by the force of arms to overthrow the government of his brother. Unfortunately for him the principal supporter of Bajazet's claims was the renowned chieftain Achmet pasha, a man whose successful career and brilliant achievements had made him the idol of the army. He had during the lifetime of Mahomet captured the city of Otranto, where he placed a garrison capable, as he considered, of holding the place against all opponents. The Neapolitans, terrified at this advanced post of Islamism so near to Rome, were engaged in its siege at the time of the emperor's death. Achmet was pushing forward to relieve the town with an army of 25,000 men, when the defenders, dismayed at the death of their sultan and ignorant of the approach of the pasha, surrendered to the duke of Calabria. Achmet was consequently compelled to retrace his steps and return to Constantinople. When he arrived the cabals of the rival

factions were at their height. The weight of his influence, backed by a force of 25,000 men, thrown into the scale in favour of Bajazet, at once determined the result.

When the new sultan heard that his brother had raised the standard of revolt at Broussa he despatched Achmet with a strong force to oppose him. The first conflict terminated in favour of Djem, and he thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed as the new Ottoman ruler. On this, Bajazet arousing himself to meet the exigencies of the case, advanced in person against him. His forces being far superior both in numbers and discipline, completely overthrew Djem's army, and the young prince himself was compelled to seek safety in flight. Accompanied by a very slender escort, he extricated himself from the field of battle and made good his escape into Egypt. There he was received with every demonstration of respect and hospitality. Encouraged by these friendly sentiments, he used his utmost exertions to induce the sultan Kaitbai to embrace his cause. In this he was unsuccessful, the sultan not being willing to assist him in any other capacity than as a mediator with his brother.

Whilst fruitless negotiations were being carried on, Djem received an offer from Kasim Bey, the chief of Caramania, who had been despoiled of much territory by Mahomet, to assist him in securing the Ottoman throne provided that Djem would on his side pledge himself to restore to the Bey the captured provinces. The prince eagerly accepted these terms, and joining Kasim Bey, again strove to make headway against his brother. Achmet, however, advanced a second time against him, and the new levies melted away at the approach of the Ottoman army, Djem himself taking refuge amongst the mountain passes of the district. Feeling his cause hopeless in his own country, he despatched an embassy to Rhodes seeking to place himself under the protection of the fraternity, and demanding for that purpose a safe conduct from the Grand-Master. The propriety of acceding to this request was warmly debated in council at Rhodes, but the permission was eventually granted, and a safe conduct despatched to Djem by the hands of the grand-prior of Castile, Don Alvares de Zuniga. This envoy met the prince at Corycus, on the borders of Cilicia,

and having given him the required guarantee, they returned together to Rhodes.*

Every preparation had there been made to receive the illustrious fugitive with due respect and honour. A bridge, eighteen feet in length, covered with rich tapestry, was thrown out into the harbour opposite St. Catherine's gate, to enable him to land from his vessel on horseback. Upon the mole he met the Grand-Master mounted on his charger, accompanied by the bailiffs and other leading knights. Escorted by this chief in person he proceeded through the town to the *auberge* of the *langue* of France, which had been prepared for his reception. The streets through which he passed were decorated with banners, flowers, and myrtle. Ladies in their gayest attire appeared in the balconies overlooking his route, and their beauty drew from the gallant Ottoman the observation that "it was with great justice that the Rhodians were considered the loveliest women in Asia." The personal appearance of Djem was not prepossessing, if we may judge by the description of him given by Matthew Bosso, who was an eye-witness. He says he was a little over middle height, thickly built, broad shouldered, with very protuberant stomach, long and powerful arms, large head, his eyes squinting, the nose aquiline and much bent, his thick lips hidden by a large moustache, his general appearance giving the effect of barbarity and ferocity.

However unattractive his personal appearance may have been, it was a great triumph for the knights that within so short a time after their destruction had been decreed by the powerful sultan, they should be receiving his son as a helpless wanderer and a pensioner on their bounty. They were, however, far too chivalric to allow a trace of such feelings to appear in their behaviour towards the young prince. Djem found himself treated with the same deferential hospitality as though he had been a powerful monarch instead of a destitute fugitive. Every

* The story recounted by all the older historians of the Order of the letter which Djem wrote on this occasion to his brother is quite apocryphal. It is by them stated that he attached the letter to an arrow, which he shot into the midst of the spahis who were in pursuit of him. In this document he is supposed to have reproached his brother in such touching terms as to draw tears from that prince. No mention is made of such a missive by any of the Oriental historians of the period.

effort was made to render his stay agreeable to him. Tourneys, hunting parties, spectacles, and feasts followed one another in rapid succession; nothing was omitted which could serve to distract him from the gloomy thoughts natural to his position.

It was in vain, however, that they strove to divert his mind from the danger with which he felt he was surrounded even in the hospitable city of Rhodes. From the fraternity he knew well he had nothing to fear. Indeed, on the first day of his arrival the custom in European courts was carried out, of having every dish tasted before it was set on his table. He, as an Eastern, was not acquainted with the regulation, and was scandalized at the suspicion which the act implied; so much so that he insisted on partaking only of such dishes as had not been previously tasted. Still he felt that in spite of all the precautions D'Aubusson might take, he was surrounded by a population many of whom would not scruple at any act of treachery against his person. He was well aware that his brother Bajazet was only too ready to make use of any such tool as might present itself for the purpose, and that playing as he did for so magnificent a stake he would not grudge ample recompense to any one who could remove the fugitive from his path. Filled with dread of some such result, Djem suggested to the Grand-Master that he might receive permission to retire to France, putting forward the reasons which had led him to prefer the request.

D'Aubusson could not but recognize the justice of the plea; indeed he was himself tormented with a constant dread lest some calamity should befall the prince whilst under his protection. At the same time the proposed change of residence was a matter of so great moment that he did not feel justified in giving his permission without the sanction of the council. Here a very warm debate arose on the question. Those who regarded the presence of Djem merely in the light of a political weapon to be turned to the best advantage, strongly urged his retention in the island. They argued that as long as he remained within their power Bajazet would be kept in such a state of dread and uneasiness that he would never dare to undertake any operation to their prejudice, so that in their hands the young prince would prove a most valuable ally. Those, on the

other hand, who were more disinterested, and who felt that the interests of their Order could never be permanently benefited by a breach of faith, were equally urgent that he should be permitted to follow his own inclinations. The danger which he hourly ran from the attempts of an assassin whilst at Rhodes was so imminent, and at the same time so difficult to guard against, that they thought it most important he should be removed as soon as possible from the chance of such a contingency. This argument was warmly supported by D'Aubusson, and ultimately prevailed in the council. Sanction was given to Djem to retire to France, and a suitable escort was appointed, under the command of two knights of high rank to act as a guard to himself and his retinue in the new home of his adoption.

At this juncture ambassadors from Constantinople, despatched by Achmet pasha on behalf of Bajazet, arrived at Rhodes with pacific overtures, and with a request that plenipotentiaries might be sent by the Grand-Master to arrange with the sultan the terms of a durable peace. There can be no doubt that the presence of Djem at Rhodes had much disquieted his brother. Bajazet felt that unless he could secure a treaty of peace with the fraternity he would be constantly liable to the risk of the rival claim which, supported by its arms, the prince might be tempted again to put forward. This embassy, so contrary to Mussulman pride, proved to Djem that his brother would leave no means untried to secure himself against aggression; he became, therefore, more than ever anxious to quit a spot in which he was surrounded by so many dangers.

On the 1st of September, 1482, he embarked with his retinue and escort on board one of the largest galleys in the fleet of the Order, and set sail for France. Before leaving, he placed in the hands of the Grand-Master three documents, the contents of which form an ample refutation to the calumnious assertion that Djem was sent to France as a prisoner in furtherance of the political views of the fraternity. In the first paper he gave full authority to the Grand-Master to treat with his brother in his behalf, and to secure for him such appanage as could be extorted from the Ottoman emperor. During his residence at Rhodes the expense of his entertainment had

fallen entirely on the public treasury. His residence in France would also become chargeable to the same source, unless an allowance suited to his dignity could be obtained from his brother. The second document was a declaration, drawn up by himself, that his departure from the island and retirement to France were steps taken at his own express desire. The third contained the terms of a treaty of alliance between himself and the knights, which was to take effect should he ever ascend the Ottoman throne. By this he bound himself to pay them an annual contribution of 150,000 gold crowns, to throw open the ports of his empire to their trade, and to release annually 300 Christian slaves, who were to be transferred to Rhodes.

The scene between Djem and D'Aubusson at the moment of parting was touching in the extreme. Casting aside for the moment the proud reserve with which he had hitherto veiled his feelings, he fell at D'Aubusson's feet in a paroxysm of grief, and bathed them with tears. The Grand-Master was not proof against this ebullition of tenderness and sorrow on the part of the young prince. Whether his keen and politic eye could trace in the dim future some foreshadowing of the miserable fate to which the unfortunate Djem was doomed, or whether his emotion arose merely from a feeling of sympathy with the distress of his guest, certain it is, as an eye-witness has recorded, that D'Aubusson—the calm, fearless, intrepid D'Aubusson—wept upon his neck tears of paternal affection. Was this the parting between a prisoner and his jailor? Was this a scene likely to have been enacted had Djem been leaving Rhodes on a compulsory journey to France, and had D'Aubusson been the traitor who was driving him to that step with a view of making for himself political capital with Bajazet? The whole scene has been depicted with such minuteness and detail by Caoursin as to leave no rational doubt on the mind of the unprejudiced reader as to the terms upon which the Ottoman prince and the Grand-Master bade their last adieu to one another.

The departure of Djem in no way affected the treaty of peace which was being arranged between Bajazet and the fraternity. D'Aubusson succeeded in securing for his *protégé* a revenue of 35,000 gold ducats (about £15,000 of English money). Bajazet further covenanted to pay the knights an

annual sum of 10,000 ducats in compensation for the extraordinary expenses which they had incurred during the war with his father. Upon these terms, so highly favourable for the fraternity, peace was concluded. It has been alleged, as a reproach to D'Aubusson, that the allowance nominally made to Djem was in reality paid to the Order as an annual bribe for his safe custody. This was, however, not the case. The whole amount was regularly remitted to Djem, and expended by him partly in the maintenance of his household and partly in support of the envoys whom he was continually despatching to the various courts of Europe. Indeed, that the amount paid was not sufficient to meet his expenditure is clear from the fact that in the chapter-general held at Rhodes on the 10th September, 1489, it was decreed that D'Aubusson should be repaid out of the treasury the sum of 50,749 gold crowns which he had advanced to Djem over and above the annual income allowed him by his brother. There is but little doubt that the yearly payment of 10,000 ducats to the Order, although nominally supposed to be a repayment of expenses caused by Mahomet's warlike operations, was in reality a tribute to prevent any hostile action being taken in support of Djem.

The young prince's first intention on landing in France was to proceed at once to the court of the French king, and endeavour to enlist the sympathies of that monarch in his behalf. Charles VIII. was at the time about to undertake an expedition to Naples, and therefore felt very indisposed to embroil himself unnecessarily with the Ottoman sultan. The envoys whom Djem had despatched to him were received with the most studied coldness, a personal interview with the young prince was declined, and the king contented himself with vague offers of assistance, coupled with the impossible condition that Djem should embrace the Christian religion. Disheartened at the ill-success of his envoys the prince proceeded to the commandery of Bourgneuf, situated on the confines of Poitou and La Marche, the official residence of the grand-prior of Auvergne. Here he endeavoured to while away the time in such rural sports and amusements as the locality afforded.

He was, however, a personage of too much importance to the political interests of Europe to remain even there undisturbed.

All the princes of Christendom gradually began to covet the possession of one whose name would prove such a powerful auxiliary in a war against the Turks. Plots were therefore set on foot in various quarters to withdraw him from the protection of the knights of St. John. At the same time designs of a baser nature were skilfully concocted, at the instigation of Bajazet, to deprive the young prince of his life. Vigilant indeed was the watch which his escort were compelled to maintain to protect their charge from the attempts both of friend and foe; and this precaution has been distorted into an accusation that Djem was all the time a prisoner. That he was carefully guarded is no doubt a fact; but that this was against his own wishes is at variance with all trustworthy contemporary evidence. In a letter which he wrote to the Grand-Master from Rome on the 27th October, 1494, when he was no longer under the control of the fraternity, and when he could have had no object in disguising his sentiments towards it, he thus expresses himself on the subject of the protection afforded to him whilst at Bourgneuf:—"Most kindly and faithfully have I been served by the said knights, without being able to testify my gratitude in the slightest degree by remunerating them in the manner which I should most ardently have desired. With the warmest and most affectionate cordiality I beg of your very reverend lordship kindly to look upon them all as persons peculiarly commended to you by your love for me. I will think every favour and benefit which you bestow upon them as conferred, through your condescension, on myself personally."

During Djem's residence at Rhodes the Grand-Master had written a letter to the Pope, in which he defined very clearly the conditions under which the Order had consented to grant its protection to the prince. The safe conduct stipulated for by him was *Tutus aditus exitusque*, a safe entry into Rhodes, and an equally safe departure therefrom. D'Aubusson proceeds to say:—"We have brilliant expectations, and are determined to do all that is in our power. If we succeed, well and good; but if not, we must consult the interests of our island, taking care to preserve our public faith, since this must be kept inviolably even towards our deadliest enemy, whatever

may be his unbelief." This was the line of conduct pursued by the fraternity throughout the trying period of Djem's residence in Europe. He had been promised safe entry into, and departure from Rhodes, and this pledge had been redeemed. He left Rhodes voluntarily, and the risk incurred by the measure fell on his own responsibility. The knights, scorning to adhere to the bare letter of their guarantee, had continued their protection to the hapless prince for many years, without which it is not too much to say that he would soon have fallen a victim to either the open or secret attacks of his enemies. That this duty was performed in a manner honourable to themselves and beneficial to the prince is proved by the letter already quoted, which was written after his abandonment of the Order's protection, and his removal to the papal court.

That event took place in the year 1488. The Pope had long been very urgent that Djem should be transferred into his own hands, inasmuch as he was organizing an expedition against Bajazet. He was aware of the support which the presence of the prince would afford him, and so tempted him to exchange the protection of the knights for his own by the offer of placing him on the Ottoman throne. D'Aubusson knew that it would have been safer for Djem to remain the guest of the fraternity; still he felt it was impossible for him to thwart the wishes of his ecclesiastical superior, when supported by the urgent desire of Djem himself. The transfer was effected with great splendour in the month of March, 1488, the king of France being a consenting party. It has been adduced as a proof of dishonourable dealing on the part of the Order, that the possession of the person of Djem was purchased by the Pope at the expense of numerous important concessions. Such concessions were undoubtedly made, but they appear to have been the result of the Pope's gratitude to the fraternity for compliance with his wishes, tardy and reluctant though that consent had been. Moreover, a glance at the benefits conferred will show that they were only such as the knights had a right to claim as an act of justice, and not as a favour, being merely the abandonment of pretensions which had been usurped by the pontiff's predecessors. He now pledged himself never again to interfere in the

nomination to commanderies, even when vacated in his own dominions. He also merged the two effete Orders of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus into that of St. John. How far this union could be considered a boon to the latter is not very apparent, inasmuch as both in wealth and public estimation it was immeasurably superior to the two fraternities now incorporated with it.

It has also been stated that a cardinal's hat was conferred on D'Aubusson as a mark of personal favour on the occasion. The fact is, that D'Aubusson was made a cardinal in 1485, three years before Djem was transferred to the court of Rome. That appointment was moreover an honour of a very questionable kind. The position which the Grand-Master enjoyed as the head of the Order of St. John and supreme ruler at Rhodes was not in any way enhanced by the acquisition of the red hat. It would, indeed, have been better for his reputation could the historian have recorded that he had rejected the bauble. The real reason for his investiture was that the Pope had need of his great diplomatic talents in dealing with the nations of the East. The cardinal's hat was coupled with the title of papal legate, a post which insured for the service of Innocent one of the most efficient agents possible for the delicate task of intercourse with the Turkish court.

Before the Pope had matured any of those projects for the reconquest of the East which were teeming within his ambitious brain he died, and his place was filled by the infamous Alexander VI. During his sway the position of the unfortunate Djem was very different from what it had been in the lifetime of Innocent. The knights who had been permitted to reside with him at the papal court were summarily dismissed, and he was confined as a close prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The last vestige of control over the fate of the miserable prince was thus taken away from the fraternity, and it can in no way be held responsible for what followed. Alexander, feeling himself secure in the possession of his prize, at once opened up communications with Bajazet, who made an offer either to continue to the Pope the payment of the allowance hitherto made to Djem

on condition of his keeping the prince in close confinement, or else to pay down the sum of 300,000 crowns if he would once for all make away with his prisoner.

Alexander's notoriety as a poisoner was already spread over Europe; Bajazet, therefore, did not hesitate to propose in plain terms to the head of the Christian church the cold-blooded murder of a defenceless refugee. The Pope would rather have retained Djem alive and a prisoner, preferring the annual payment to the sum offered for the murder; but the option did not long remain open. The steps which Alexander had taken caused the most lively indignation not only to D'Aubusson, who was powerless to interfere in the matter, but also to the king of France, who was in a very different position. It had never entered into his calculations that the Pope should retain the Turkish prince a close prisoner merely for his own pecuniary benefit. Advancing, therefore, at the head of a considerable force which he had assembled for the purpose of an attack on the kingdom of Naples, he appeared at the gates of Rome before Alexander had been able to make any preparations to resist him.

The iniquities of the Pope's career had become a public scandal, and everywhere his deposition was ardently desired; at this moment those wishes seemed certain to be gratified, and his doom appeared inevitable. Alexander, however, was a very expert politician. By means of lavish bribes he bought over the most trusted advisers of the young king, and a treaty was concluded which secured him in his pontificate. One of the clauses of this treaty bound him to surrender Djem into the hands of Charles. Vainly did he resist the insertion of this condition, but the king was inexorable. The presence of the Turkish prince was necessary for the prosecution of his enterprise, and provided he carried that point he cared but little for the other iniquities of which Alexander had been guilty. The annual stipend paid by Bajazet was now clearly lost to the Pope for ever. The time had therefore arrived to earn the 300,000 crowns for the murder of Djem. The age in which Borgia lived was notorious for the perfection to which the art of poisoning had been brought, and that pontiff had earned for himself

the reputation of being a most skilful adept in the practice. In the present case his talents were brought to bear with his usual cunning upon the person of the unfortunate prisoner. Djem, at the moment when he was handed over to Charles, bore within his frame the venom which was slowly but surely compassing his end. So skilfully had the potion been administered, that it was not until the king had arrived with his *protégé* at Terracina that the crisis developed itself. Every finger at once pointed to the murderer, nor has any serious attempt ever been made to refute the charge.

A sad fate, indeed, was that for which the unfortunate prince had been reserved. After a sojourn of thirteen years in strange lands, far away from his native country, and at the very moment when his prospects appeared to brighten, he was smitten by the hand of the secret poisoner, from whose fell grasp he had just been torn. In subsequent years we find his son Amurath, who had been left in Egypt as an infant, residing at Rhodes under the protection of the fraternity, and receiving from its treasury a pension of 36,000 florins a year. This young prince had abandoned the faith of his father and become a Christian, for which reason he was held in great esteem by the Order.

The miserable end of Djem caused the most poignant anguish to D'Aubusson, to whom he had endeared himself through many years of kindly feeling and affectionate correspondence. The disgrace which this foul murder had cast upon Christianity affected the Grand-Master deeply, and his utter inability to avenge the dastardly act added weight to his grief. Age, too, had been creeping upon him, and was rendering him less able to bear up against his sorrow. It is from this time that we may date the commencement of that decline which ere long brought the noble old man to his grave. Throughout the remaining years of his life his position was one much to be envied. Universally admitted to be the greatest soldier and first statesman of his age, he bore a part in the politics of Europe far more influential than his rank would have apparently warranted. When Alexander, anxious to remove the stigma cast upon him by the murder of Djem, had organized

a league against the Turks, composed of all the leading powers of Europe, D'Aubusson was unanimously selected for the chief command of the combined forces. The league, it is true, effected nothing; the numerous conflicting interests of its members, the inertness of some and the obstinacy of others, all combined to render barren an enterprise which might have had the most vital consequences for Europe. Doubtless, had it been persevered in, it would at least have saved the island of Rhodes from the sad fate which was impending. Still, the nomination of D'Aubusson as its chief marks the high estimation in which he was held; nor can its futile termination be in any way attributed to him. Indeed, before accepting the command, he had foretold, with that keen sagacity for which he was famed, that it would prove utterly useless.

In the year 1499 an envoy was sent to Rhodes from Henry VII., king of England, with a very flattering letter to the Grand-Master, accompanied by a present of horses of a breed much prized for their pure blood and extreme docility. They were stated in the letter to have been reared in the island of Ireland, and to have been called Eburî. The king at the same time sent several pieces of artillery for the defence of Rhodes, which he requested might be given into the charge of the English knights, to be placed on that part of the fortress which was in their guardianship.

In these later years no less than five chapters-general had been convoked, in which many enactments highly beneficial to the discipline of the convent were passed. Reforms of the most searching kind were introduced, and the island was weeded of numerous unworthy characters from amidst the Greek population with which it had previously swarmed. The only drawback to the peaceful end which D'Aubusson felt approaching arose from the conduct of the Pope, who, heedless of the pledge of his predecessor, bestowed on members of his own family all the more important offices of the Order as they fell vacant. Remonstrances were utterly disregarded, and D'Aubusson was powerless for any more effectual action. In the midst of the acrimonious correspondence engendered by these illegal acts, he breathed his last on the 30th June, 1503, at the ripe age of eighty years.

His loss was keenly felt by the members of the fraternity, nor was he less regretted by the inhabitants of Rhodes generally, to whom he had endeared himself by the undeviating justice of his rule and the liberal policy he invariably maintained towards them. He had held the baton of Grand-Master for a period of twenty-seven years, and this lengthened rule was marked by the magnanimity, piety, and heroic deeds with which it was adorned. Beloved by his Order; revered by all the princes of Europe; respected and dreaded by the enemies whom he had either worsted in the field or baffled in the council chamber; munificent in his public acts, as the numerous buildings, foundations, and other charities which he established amply prove; affable and gracious in his demeanour towards those with whom he was brought in contact; he was a man who had no enemies save those whose misdeeds had merited his chastisement, or in whose jaundiced eyes the mere existence of such virtues was in itself an offence.

The day of his funeral was one of general mourning. His body lay in state in the council hall, beneath a canopy covered with cloth of gold. It was dressed in the robes of his office, with gloves of silk and shoes of golden cloth. On his breast lay a crucifix of gold; at his right hand were the emblems of his cardinal's rank; on the left were his armour, lance, and sword, the latter the same he had used on the occasion of the last Turkish assault on the Jews' quarter, and which was still covered with the Moslem blood in which it had been bathed on that memorable day. Around the body stood seven knights dressed in deep mourning, one of whom bore his cardinal's hat, another his legate's cross, a third the standard of the league of which he had been appointed generalissimo, whilst the others carried banners on which were emblazoned the arms of his family,* quartered with those of the Order.

When the hour of interment arrived, the whole population followed their late prince to the tomb. First in the procession came the religious fraternities of Rhodes, next the Greek patriarch with his clergy, then the Latin clerics of the convent followed by 200 of the principal citizens of Rhodes,

* It is somewhat curious that his arms bore an eight-pointed cross, in form not unlike that of the Order, but blazoned gules on a field or.

dressed in black and carrying lighted torches; after these the knights bearing his banners, which they now trailed upon the ground; then came the bier with the corpse, borne on the shoulders of grand-crosses, none others being allowed that privilege. Immediately following the body came the members of the Order generally, whose extended files completed the melancholy procession. As the revered remains were lowered into their last resting place, the baton of his office and the gold spurs of his knighthood were broken over the grave by the officers appointed for that purpose. After a long look at all that now remained of one who had gained the love of so many hearts, and achieved so much for the welfare of his brethren, the grave was slowly and sadly closed, and the touching ceremonial brought to an end. He was gone out of their sight, and another would shortly occupy the place he had so worthily filled, but his memory was to remain green and unfading. Wherever the annals of the Order are recorded there will ever be found, high amongst those who even in that fraternity of chivalry and renown had raised themselves above their fellows, the name of Peter D'Aubusson.

It was during his rule that the relic so highly prized by the knights was first brought to Rhodes. After D'Aubusson had succeeded in arranging the treaty with Bajazet, that monarch, anxious to testify his gratitude, presented the Grand-Master with the right hand of St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into the possession of his father at the capture of Constantinople. This relic, which was enclosed in a magnificent casket of Cyprus wood lined with crimson velvet and richly studded with precious stones, was addressed to D'Aubusson in the following terms:—"Bajazet, king of Asia and emperor of emperors, to the very wise and illustrious Grand-Master of Rhodes, Peter D'Aubusson, most generous prince and father of a very glorious empire."

Few of the relics which during the middle ages were scattered throughout Europe can have their authenticity traced with such minuteness of detail as the one thus presented to the Grand-Master. Its history runs as follows:—The body of St. John the Baptist had been buried in the town of Sebasta

after his execution by Herod. St. Luke the Evangelist is stated to have been very desirous of removing the holy corpse. Joining with some of the other disciples of St. John, they together opened the grave under cover of night, but dreading the risk of discovery should they attempt the removal of the whole body, they severed the right hand, which they considered the most sacred portion, as having been employed in the baptism of our Lord. St. Luke carried the hand to Antioch, and when he left that city to preach the gospel in Bithynia, he placed the precious relic in charge of the church he had established there. The hand remained at Antioch until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, as a devout catholic, was extremely desirous of transferring it to the city of Constantinople. Any open attempt on his part would have been in vain, for the people of Antioch prized their treasure highly, and guarded it most carefully. Constantine, in his religious zeal, had no delicate scruples as to the means he employed for the attainment of his purpose. He bribed a deacon of the church of Antioch to steal the hand and to bring it to Constantinople, where as soon as it arrived it was placed in the church of St. John. It remained there until the capture of the city by Mahomet, when, owing to the value of its casket, it was placed in the imperial treasury, whence it was withdrawn by Bajazet for presentation to D'Aubusson.

The following account has been given by an old chronicler of the ceremony of translation of this precious relic to the cathedral of St. John :—" On the 25th May, 1484, the anniversary of the disembarkation of the Turks at Rhodes, the clergy, the monks, and the people started in procession from the church of St. John to the chapel of the palace, where the Grand-Master awaited them with the dignitaries of the Order. D'Aubusson presented the precious hand to the prior of the church, and from there they marched in solemn procession to the square, where a platform had been erected covered with a daïs, in the form of a throne or altar, upon which the holy relic was deposited, enclosed in a casket of ivory enriched with precious stones and placed under glass, through which the hand of the saint was visible. An Augustine monk delivered a sermon on the occasion, after which the prior of the church took the

hand and elevated it for the adoration of the people. It was then carried with the same ceremony to the church of St. John, where, after it had been kissed by the Grand-Master, the knights, and others, the prior deposited it on the grand altar, chanting psalms to the accompaniment of musical instruments."

CHAPTER XII.

1503—1521.

Election of D'Amboise—Futile descent of Camalis—Capture of Turkish galleys and of the "Queen of the Seas"—Defeat of the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Ajaccio—Election and death of Blanchefort—Accession of Carretto—Usurpation of Selim—Conquest of Egypt by the sultan—Death of Selim and accession of Solyman—Death of Carretto—Description of Rhodes in 1521, and at present.

THE death of D'Aubusson was speedily followed by that of the Pope, to the inexpressible relief of the whole Christian world, the scandalous iniquities which had disgraced his pontificate having excited the abhorrence of every one. Nowhere was the event hailed with greater joy than at Rhodes. The Pope had in his grasping rapacity seized upon all the appointments and emoluments in the possession of the fraternity as they successively became vacant, and either bestowed them on members of his own family or openly sold them to the highest bidder. Remonstrances had proved utterly unavailing, and nothing seemed left to the Order but either tamely to submit to this wanton infraction of all their rights and privileges, or else to cast off their allegiance to the pontiff, who, vile though his personal character might be, was nevertheless recognized as the head of the church and their own immediate ecclesiastical superior. Happily the death of Alexander obviated the necessity for such an alternative, and the knights were permitted to continue their maritime warfare against the Moslem under their new chief without further hindrance from the court of Rome.*

* The date quoted in the last chapter for the death of D'Aubusson as having taken place in 1503 is that given by all the older historians of the Order, but it has lately been disputed. Colonel Rottiers, who has carefully

This Grand-Master was Almeric D'Amboise, grand-prior of France. He was the younger brother of George D'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, cardinal legate of the Holy See, and prime minister to the French monarch. At the time of his nomination Almeric was at the court, where in his position of grand-prior he was an honoured adviser of the king. Indeed, so much were his services appreciated that on his departure to assume the reins of government at Rhodes, Charles presented him with the sword which his ancestor St. Louis had carried at Damietta, together with a piece of the true cross. The nine years during which his sway extended were marked by a series of naval combats, in which the Order reaped much distinction. The death of Djem having freed Bajazet from all necessity to remain on good terms with the fraternity, he at once entered into a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, the object of which was the attack of Rhodes and the annihilation of the naval supremacy of the knights in the Levant. In pursuance of this treaty, he despatched a celebrated Turkish corsair named Kémal, or Camalis, with a powerful fleet to ravage the islands of the religion. This expedition proved a complete failure. Driven successively from Rhodes, Symia, Telos, Nisyrus, and Lango, he at length directed his efforts against Leros, an

studied the remains of the knights in Rhodes, places it at 1505, and his opinion is shared by Biliotti. The argument upon which this change of date is based is as follows:—The tower of St. Paul, in which stands one of the gateways leading into the town of Rhodes from the harbour, was unquestionably built by D'Aubusson, and bears a Latin inscription stating that fact. Over the gateway in this tower is a shield bearing the arms of D'Aubusson, and by its side another with those of Pope Julius II. As this latter is surmounted by the keys and tiara, it is clear that it was not fixed there until after its bearer had become Pope. That event did not take place until the year 1504, and it is argued that some time must have elapsed after his elevation to the Papacy before he could have done anything in favour of the Order sufficient to merit the distinction of having his arms coupled with those of D'Aubusson over the gateway of St. Paul. They therefore fix 1505 as the earliest date when D'Aubusson's death could have taken place. This argument seems very weak when brought against the general agreement of all the older historians in fixing the earlier date. The gate, though undoubtedly built by D'Aubusson, might not have been completed at the time of his death, or the armorial bearings might have been a subsequent insertion. I cannot accept the argument as sufficient by itself to warrant an alteration in the year.

insignificant post which had been but feebly fortified and slenderly garrisoned. At the moment of attack there was but one knight in the fort, a youth named Paul Simeonis, a member of the Italian *langue*, by birth a Piedmontese. His gallantry and presence of mind saved even this petty station from the aggression of the Turk. Dressing up all the inhabitants of the place, women as well as men, in the robes of knights of St. John, with red surcoat and white cross, he caused them to line the ramparts in every direction. The corsair, perceiving, as he thought, a large body of the fraternity awaiting his attack, was under the impression that a strong reinforcement had been thrown into the place. He therefore declined the attempt, and returned to Constantinople without a single trophy to mark the prowess of his arms.

The knights shortly after obtained several other advantages over the enemy. Upon one occasion a Turkish fleet of seven vessels, well-armed and fully equipped, having been despatched to the attack of Lango, fell into their hands by a stratagem. Two of these vessels had been sent in advance by the commander of the expedition for the purpose of reconnoitring the island, and had approached so near as to be discovered by the inhabitants. There were at the time only two galleys in the harbour, but these were at once sent out with instructions to intercept the advancing enemy, if possible. They succeeded in creeping out of the harbour unperceived, and contrived to cut off the retreat of the Turks so effectually that these were compelled to run their vessels ashore and seek refuge within the woods of the island. The knights promptly floated their new acquisitions, and having embarked a sufficient crew from amongst the ranks of the garrison, they set sail to the encounter of the remainder of the Turkish fleet, followed at some distance by their own two galleys. The Turks, perceiving their vessels returning, and having no suspicion of what had occurred, advanced to meet them in perfect security and confidence. Great was their dismay when the first broadside from their insidious opponents revealed the calamity that had befallen them. Ere they had well recovered from their surprise, and prepared for a hostile encounter, the two Rhodian galleys were descried bearing

rapidly down upon the scene of strife. With this reinforcement the victory was speedily accomplished, and the remaining five ships carried in triumph into port. The crews, including those who had already landed in the island, were sold into slavery.

This advantage was followed shortly afterwards by another, involving the capture of a carrack which trafficked annually between the ports of Egypt and the north coast of Africa. This vessel, which was called the *Mograbine*, or "Queen of the Seas," was of so great a size that it was said six men could scarcely embrace her mainmast. She had no less than seven decks, and carried 100 guns, with a crew of 1,000 men. Gastineau, commander of Limoges, undertook to attempt the capture of this leviathan, freighted as she was with an enormous quantity of costly merchandise. Having succeeded in running his galley close alongside of the carrack under cover of a parley, he suddenly opened a murderous discharge upon her crowded decks. The effect was tremendous, the captain of the carrack being amongst the killed. Whilst the Turks were in a state of panic at this unlooked-for assault, and without a leader, Gastineau, followed by his crew, dashed on board and secured the prize, which he carried safely into Rhodes. The proceeds of this capture were very large. Not only did the rich merchandise afford an ample plunder, but the ransoms which the sultan of Egypt was compelled to pay for the release of the captured merchants brought a most welcome addition to the funds of the treasury.

Three years later a still more important advantage attested the naval superiority of the knights of Rhodes. The sultan of Egypt had, with the sanction of the Ottoman emperor, despatched into the gulf of Ajaccio a colony of shipbuilders under the protection of a fleet of twenty-five vessels, commissioned to construct ships to be employed against the galleys of Rhodes. The Grand-Master at once fitted out an expedition against this colony. The conduct of the enterprise was confided to a Portuguese knight called Andrew d'Amaral, whose name subsequently attained a melancholy notoriety during the second siege of Rhodes. Associated in the command with him was another knight named Villiers de L'Isle Adam, who was destined to achieve a very different

reputation during the same struggle. The attack upon the Egyptian colony and its protecting ships was eventually completely successful, although the issue of the day hung for a long time in the balance. The fleet was utterly destroyed, many of the vessels being sunk, and the remainder captured, whilst their crews and the shipbuilders who were seized on land were brought as slaves into the harbour of Rhodes.

It was during the rule of D'Amboise that the gate which bears his name was completed. Newton thus speaks of this structure: "The castello is entered from the west by a noble gateway commenced by the Grand-Master D'Aubusson after a great earthquake, and finished by his successor D'Amboise, from whom this gate takes its name. Over the door within an ogee frame is a slab of white marble, on which is sculptured in relief an angel holding the escutcheon of D'Amboise, with the inscription *Amboyse MDXII.*"

The completion of this gateway must have been the last important act in the career of the Grand-Master, as he died on the 8th November, 1512, at the age of seventy-eight years, much honoured and regretted.

Guy de Blanchefort, nephew of Peter D'Aubusson, and grand-prior of Auvergne, became the forty-first Grand-Master, a post for which he was highly qualified, and to which his numerous important services had justly entitled him. It was to his care that Djem had been intrusted during the lengthened residence of that prince in France. He had subsequently been nominated to the office of lieutenant to the Grand-Master, in which position he had rendered much important assistance both to D'Aubusson and to D'Amboise. The high reputation which his talents had gained for him raised a general expectation that his tenure of office would be a distinguished one. He was not, however, fated to realize these flattering aspirations, his career having been cut short by death within a few months of his accession.

He was at the time of his nomination residing in his grand-priory, and the Turks took advantage of the absence of a Grand-Master from Rhodes to develop a plot amongst some of the Greek inhabitants and Turkish slaves. They had made preparations by which, on a given signal, one of the gates of

the town should be seized, and handed over to a Turkish force to be secretly landed on the island. Fortunately the plot was discovered, but owing to the determination of those who were arrested not to betray their accomplices, very few were brought to justice. The news of this attempt made Blanchefort hurry his departure from France, although he was at the time in a very feeble state of health. As the voyage progressed his illness became more and more pronounced, and when off the coast of Sicily he was so evidently in a dying state that the knights who accompanied him urged him to land there. The heroism of Blanchefort supported him in this trying hour. At all times ready to maintain the interests of the Order, even at the risk of his own life, he was now prepared to forego the comfort of spending his last moments on shore, fearing that by so doing he might cause an injury to the fraternity of which he was the chief. He felt that were he to die so close to the court of Rome the Pope would be sure to avail himself of that event to secure the nomination of a creature of his own, without reference to the council at Rhodes. He persisted, therefore, in holding on his course, and when he felt his last hour approaching, he directed that the swiftest galley in the fleet which accompanied him should be held in readiness to push on for Rhodes the instant that life had become extinct, so that the earliest intelligence of the event might be received there.

His decease occurred off the island of Zante, and in accordance with the instructions he had given, the sad intelligence was at once sent on to Rhodes, where it became known on the night of the 13th of October, 1513. The knights immediately assembled for the election of a new chief, and we find it recorded that upon this occasion there were present in the island the following numbers:—Of the *langue* of France, 100; Provence, 90; Auvergne, 84; Castile and Portugal, 88; Aragon, 66; Italy, 60; England, 38, and Germany, 5, making a total of 531 knights, without counting chaplains or serving brothers. Fabricius Carretto, the conventual bailiff of the *langue* of Italy, and consequently grand-admiral of the Order, a knight who had greatly distinguished himself in the late siege of Rhodes by his defence of Fort St. Nicholas, was nominated to the vacant office.

Very important changes had of late years been taking place in the East, which threatened the island of Rhodes with a renewed attack from the Ottoman power. The emperor Bajazet was the father of three sons, of whom the two elder partook greatly of his own inert and peaceable disposition. The youngest, whose name was Selim, inherited all the ambition and warlike aspirations of those ancestors who had raised the Turkish empire to its existing state of grandeur. Being as politic as he was warlike, Selim, the sole dream of whose life was to ascend the throne to which by birth he had no claim, exerted all his powers to ingratiate himself with the janissaries of his father's army. In this attempt he succeeded so well that with their aid he contrived to depose his aged parent. He followed up this step by murdering him, as well as his two elder brothers, and the youthful parricide, having thus cleared the way, mounted the throne without fear of rivalry.

The accession of this fierce and warlike prince caused the utmost dismay amongst the neighbouring nations. With just reason they dreaded that before long they would become the victims of the same aggressive policy which had seated him on the throne of his father. In this fear the knights of Rhodes warmly participated, and they consequently at once cemented a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia and the sultan of Egypt. The storm burst, in the first instance, over the latter kingdom, and despite the efforts of the allies carried everything before it. The power of Selim, assisted by the treachery of the two Mamelouk governors, to whom had been confided the defence of the frontier, enabled him in the course of four years to overrun the whole of that country, and to add it to his own dominions. The traitorous Mamelouk chiefs were invested, one with the government of Egypt, the other with that of Syria, and the conquest being thus completed, Selim turned his attention towards Rhodes, for the reduction of which he commenced immediate and formidable preparations. Whilst thus occupied he died suddenly of malignant cancer, and so afforded another respite to the fraternity, of which the members were not slow in availing themselves for the still further protection of their island.

His only son, Solyman, ascended the throne precisely at the

same time that Charles V. was crowned emperor of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle, and he was destined, during the course of his long reign, to become the most illustrious of that race of conquerors from whom he sprang, and to earn for himself the title of Solyman the Magnificent.

He had not long enjoyed his sovereignty when he was compelled to advance against the newly-appointed governor of Syria. Gazelles, the Mamelouk traitor, who had been placed over the province by Selim, conceived that as that redoubtable chieftain was dead, the opportunity was favourable for a revolt against his youthful successor, and for his own establishment in independent power. In aid of this project he besought the alliance of Carretto, who, overjoyed at the prospect of a dissension which might divert the menacing attitude of the Ottoman emperor, assisted him with both men and *matériel*. The power of Solyman proved too great for Gazelles to withstand; in the very first engagement which ensued his forces were routed, and he himself killed on the field of battle.

This was the closing political incident in the life of Fabricius Carretto, and he breathed his last in the month of January, 1521. His tomb was placed beneath one of the windows in the nave of the church of St. John. It is thus described by Newton:—"In the pavement of the nave are the remains of the tomb of the Grand-Master Fabricio del Carretto. His effigy, which must have been sculptured in low relief on a flat slab, has been destroyed, but the border still remains (1853) with an inscription at the foot recording his name, titles, and services, with the date 1520* (this should be 1521). At the head of the slab was his escutcheon. Carretto was the last Grand-Master buried at Rhodes."

The knights had now been resident in the island for a period of upwards of 200 years, and the hour was close at hand when they were to be driven from its shores. It seems, therefore, a suitable time to enter into some detailed description of its state in this the last year of their dominion. A general account of the town and fortifications has already been given as they stood at

* The actual inscription ran thus:—"R. et Ill. D. F. Fabricius De Carretto Magnus Rhodi Magister Urbis Instaurator et ad Publicam Utilitatem per Septennium Rector Hic Jacet Anno MDXXI."

the time of the first siege. Since then many additions and developments had been carried out. The English archæologist Newton, and the French writer Biliotti, a native of Rhodes, have both given graphic descriptions of the present state of the city and island, the latter writer in very considerable detail. The bulk of what follows is gathered from these sources. Newton thus portrays the Castello, that part of the town which, forming the upper horn of the crescent made by the line of ramparts, was the residence of the knights. After describing the entrance by the Amboise gate already quoted, he continues as follows:—"A drawbridge connects this gateway with a stone bridge which here spans the fosse with three arches. Passing through this gate, a vaulted passage leads through the counterscarp over a second and third fosse, which defend the palace of the Grand-Master on the west. After crossing the third fosse the road enters the Castello between the church of St. John and the palace of the Grand-Master, opposite to the upper end of the street of the knights. This street, which runs east and west, divides the Castello into two nearly equal parts. On the south is the church of St. John the Baptist, which seems to have been enlarged and altered by successive Grand-Masters, and was probably founded by Foulkes de Villaret on the first establishment of the knights at Rhodes. The outside has no architectural feature. Its plan is a regular basilica, containing a nave and two aisles with a clock tower, the upper part of which was destroyed in the siege (the second siege is here alluded to). The interior dimensions are 150 feet in length by 52 feet in breadth. The columns dividing the aisles from the nave are chiefly of granite, and are probably taken from several ancient buildings. The roof is of wood; the beams and ceiling blue, spangled with gold stars."

This church replaced a Byzantine chapel, which, in its turn, had been raised on the ruins of an ancient Greek temple. The simplicity of the exterior was in striking contrast with the richness of the interior fittings. Numerous valuable pictures, gold and silver ornaments of all kinds, and rich ecclesiastical vestments were to be found therein. There were fifteen of these pictures, gorgeously framed and each adorned with the cross of the Order in solid gold, statues of the twelve apostles in silver

gilt, a lamb in gold, statues of the Virgin Mary and of St. John the Baptist also in gold, a golden chalice valued at 320 crowns, superb missals and rich reliquaries, chief amongst which was the magnificent ivory casket containing the hand of St. John. The windows were filled with stained glass, adorned with the escutcheons of the most celebrated knights; in many cases, probably, the arms were those of the donors of the windows. This church was, unfortunately, completely destroyed at the end of the year 1856 by an explosion of powder stored in the vaults beneath the building. This powder is supposed to have been left there by the knights at the close of the siege in 1522, and it is asserted that its existence was unknown to the Turkish authorities until the explosion took place. It seems somewhat doubtful whether gunpowder would retain its explosive qualities for a period of 334 years, the more so as in those early days it was probably of a rough and inferior manufacture. Be this as it may, an explosion did undoubtedly take place on the date named. The descriptions, therefore, of the building given to us by Newton and Biliotti are all the more interesting and valuable.

The clock tower referred to by the former was, in reality, a campanile, quite distinct from the church. It was used as a military observatory in both sieges. It will be seen further on that it was on this account subjected to such heavy fire in the siege of 1522, that it was nearly destroyed. It bore the escutcheons of several Grand-Masters who had at different times restored and adorned it.

Newton continues his description with the following account of the present condition of the Grand-Master's palace:—"Opposite the church of St. John is the entrance to the palace of the Grand-Master, through a gateway flanked by two towers facing the south. On entering under this gateway we come to an open space covered with cisterns, in which the Turks keep stores of grain.* In front is a confused mass of numerous buildings, of which the plan can no longer be made out. On the left are

* These cisterns are probably the same in character as the fosses used in Malta for a similar purpose, which are excavations in the soft stone rock and cemented. Their shape is usually the frustrum of a cone. They contain about fifty quarters of wheat.

strong square towers defending the citadel on the west. On the right a staircase leads to an open gallery communicating with many small rooms. In these the garrison probably dwelt. On the north the palace is defended by a tower overlooking a broad and lofty platform, which is raised by solid masonry out of the depth of the fosse. It was from artillery planted on this platform that the Turks suffered so much during the first siege in their attack on Fort St. Nicholas, from the church of St. Antonio, now a small mosque near the Lazaretto. Returning from the Grand-Master's palace, we look down the long and narrow street, which is well known to travellers by the name of Strada dei Cavalieri, or street of the knights. In no European city, perhaps, can be found a street so little changed since the fifteenth century. No Vandal hand has disturbed the perfect repose and keeping of the scene by demolition or repairs; the very pavement has a mediæval look, as if it had known no thoroughfare since its broad marbles were trodden by Christian warriors three centuries ago. No sound of near or distant traffic breaks in on the congenial stillness. We might almost suppose the houses to be without inhabitants were it not for the rude Turkish jalousies which project on either side, flinging long slanting shadows across the richly-sculptured façades, and lending mystery to a solitude only disturbed when from the gloom of some deep archway a veiled form glides by with averted face, scared at the unwelcome presence of the Frank traveller."

Starting from St. John's Church, the street of the knights slopes towards the church of St. Catherine, and contains throughout a long series of most interesting monumental records. The first object to meet the view is the ruin of the arcades which originally supported the great chapter hall. This building had been gradually falling into decay, and was completely destroyed by the explosion before referred to, but there was enough left prior to that event to give a very good idea of the grandeur and elegance of the original structure. On the foundation can be traced an old Greek inscription, showing that it had been erected on the ruins of a temple to Jupiter Sotirus. The first of the *auberges* or inns of the various *langues* was that of Spain, which occupies an angle in the street. This building was covered with armorial

escutcheons, most of which have been lately removed by a Turkish officer, supposed to have been an aide-de-camp of the sultan, and by him taken to Constantinople. Immediately beyond the *auberge*, a narrow staircase leads to a stone pulpit, from which the decrees of the council were promulgated. Most probably it was from this pulpit that the Greek archbishop called the inhabitants to arms during the siege of 1522, when the Turkish forces were driven from the bastions which they had carried.

Towards the middle of the street, the most striking object is the *auberge* of France, which is a very highly ornamented structure. Over the principal entrance are escutcheons bearing on one side the arms of the Order, and on the other those of the Grand-Master Amboise. On the first floor are the arms of France side by side with those of D'Aubusson. Over the former is the motto *Montjoie Sainct Denis*, and over the latter the cardinal's hat. Beneath these escutcheons runs the legend *Voluntas Dei Est*, 1495. The arms of L'Isle Adam appear twice, dated 1511, whilst he was grand-prior of France. The arms of the celebrated engineer, Peter Clouet, whose talents had been so much in request at Rhodes, also appear in two separate places. The cornices, window-labels, and architraves are most elaborately ornate. The coping is battlemented, the line being broken by corbelled turrets, and by gargoyles in the form of fantastic dragons.

A little farther on, hidden at the end of a gloomy court, stood a sombre-looking building, bearing the quotation from the 74th Psalm, *Exurge Domine judica causam tuam*. This was the court of justice of the convent. It has recently been destroyed by fire.

The *auberges* of Italy and England stood, the one by the side of the church of St. Catherine, the other opposite the Hospital. The *auberge* of Italy bore the arms of the Grand-Master Carretto, with the date 1519, but they have been removed by some unknown despoiler. The English *auberge* was also adorned with the arms of the kingdom and with those of several distinguished knights of the *langue*. These have all been removed of late years.

Newton describes the decorations of the *auberges* thus:—

“The style of architecture throughout the street is an interesting modification of the modern Gothic. The escutcheons are generally set in a richly-sculptured ogee arch. Most of the windows are square-headed, with labels and upright mullions, while the pointed arch is constantly employed in the doorways. In the rich and fantastic ornaments we recognize the Flamboyant style so generally prevalent in Europe in the fifteenth century, but these ornaments are but sparingly introduced, so as not to disturb the noble simplicity of the general design. In all the edifices built by the knights at Rhodes we see the same tendency to temper the stern and naked ruggedness of military masonry, as far as possible, with rich ornaments, such as we generally find associated with ecclesiastical architecture. No fitter symbol could have been adopted than this mixed style, to express the character of an Order at once military and religious. The last building on the south side of the street is the hospital of the knights. This is a large square edifice, with a very simple external façade. The entrance is under a kind of vestibule facing the east. The original doors, which were of Cyprus wood, richly carved, were given to the prince de Joinville on the occasion of his visit to Rhodes. On either side are large vaults, now used as warehouses. The inside is a quadrangle, supported on vaults, above which are open arcades, formed of round arches resting on pillars. Adjoining the arcades are four long rooms, corresponding with the four sides of the quadrangle. These saloons and the open galleries are covered with a roof of Cyprus wood, in very fine condition. The four rooms were evidently for the sick, and the open galleries for the convalescent to walk in. In one of the vaulted magazines in the basement the chain which served to close the entrance to the harbour was formerly kept, and was seen by Ross in his visit in 1843. He describes it as 750 feet in length, each link being $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot long. Since his visit it has been removed to Constantinople. The hospital was commenced by Villeneuve, and completed by the Grand-Master Fluvian, and seems to have been well planned for its purpose.”

Such were the leading features of the Castello, so far as they can be judged from what still exists. We will now

take a general survey of the town, considered as a fortress. First in importance was the fort of St. Nicholas, built, as has already been mentioned, by Raymond Zacosta. This work was so placed as to command both the inner and outer ports. The exterior trace is polygonal; a drawbridge leads under a low archway into the interior, where two ramps give access to the platform. Beneath this are the magazines, stores, tanks, &c., all arched. In the middle of the platform rises a round tower, two stories in height, on the summit of which is another platform, which, like the lower one, was armed with artillery. The tower and fort were seriously injured by Paleologus pasha, in the siege of 1480, and still more by the earthquakes in 1481. They were subsequently restored, and were in perfect repair before the siege of 1522 took place. There are still guns mounted in this work, some bearing the date of 1482, and others of 1507, as also the arms of the various *langues*. The fort was connected with the north-eastern corner of the Castello by a mole and covered way leading to the gate of St. Paul. Next in importance was the tower of St. Michael, built by the Grand-Master de Naillac, which has already been described. This tower is now in ruins, only the foundations and a portion of the arcade by which it was joined to the gate of St. Paul are left. The tower of St. John, on the opposite side of the inner port, was not a strong work, being merely a battery, not capable of much defence, but well swept by the guns of the other works. These two last-named towers were connected with the enceinte by long moles, which were themselves armed with guns, and made into covered ways. The ports were thus well protected, and the defences sufficient to render an attack by water impracticable.

Starting from the gateway of St. Paul, the enceinte took a semi-circular sweep. From that point to the Grand-Master's palace was the post of Auvergne, in a tower of which is still to be found a small magazine of powder. After passing the ramparts of the palace itself, the line sweeps southward, forming the post of Germany, in which stands the gateway of Amboise already described. This post reached as far as the gate of St. George, where that of France began. The gate of St.

George was walled up by the knights between the first and second sieges. The post of France terminated at the Spanish tower, from whence the line was occupied by the *langue* of Spain as far as the tower of St. Mary. The English post was from the tower of St. Mary to that of St. John. In this line still appears a memorial to the English knight, Thomas Newport, with his escutcheon enclosed in a wreath, beneath which is the inscription "Hic Jacet F. Thomas Newport Podatus Aglie Miles Qi Obiit, 1502, xxii. Die Mesis, Septembris Cuius Anima Requiescat in Pace. Amen, 1502." Below the inscription is a death's head and crossbones. This monument is somewhat important, as it clearly shows that there were about this time two dignitaries of the English *langue* bearing those names. It has been always imagined that there was but one, who being Turcopolier was transferred to the bailiwick of Aquila in the year 1502, and was drowned in 1522, off the coast of Spain whilst *en route* for Rhodes. It is quite clear that no such transfer took place, but that the Turcopolier Thomas Newport died in 1502, whilst in the same year another Thomas Newport was appointed bailiff of Aquila, who was drowned as aforesaid.*

By the side of St. John's tower is the gateway of that name, forming the principal entrance into the town from the south. It was through this gate that the emperor Solyman made his triumphal entry after the capture of the fortress in 1522. A tablet in the entrance bears a Turkish inscription recording this fact. Over the gateway is a bas-relief of St. John the Baptist above the arms of the Order, by the side of which are the arms of D'Aubusson, who appears to have delighted in affixing his escutcheon at every available point. It must be admitted that this was an act of pardonable vanity on the part of a Grand-Master who had done so much in the way of additions and restorations to the fortifications. From St. John's gate to the tower of Italy was the post of Provence, and from the latter point the post of Italy extended, making two bends until it reached the gate of St. Catherine.

This gateway has two entrances—one into the Castello, the other into the lower town. It is flanked by two large towers

* See List of Turcopoliers and Bailiffs of Aquila, in Appendix No. 11.

containing on each floor spacious halls which are now inaccessible, the stairs leading to them being destroyed. On the outside of the gate are the arms of the Order, and also those of Peter Clouet, the engineer, above which is a bas-relief of St. Catherine with the wheel and knife, St. Peter with the keys, and St. John with the lamb. The latter has been much defaced. These figures are protected by a canopy. There is the following inscription on the gate:—"Reverendus D. F. Petrus Daubussonis Rhodi Magnus Magister Hanc Portam et Turres Condidit Magisterii Anno Primo." From the gate of St. Catherine to that of St. Paul was the post of Castile.

Such was the city of Rhodes at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and it is strange how little injury has been done to the decorations by the Turks, who have been its inhabitants for upwards of 300 years. The escutcheons have nowhere been wilfully damaged; even the crosses have been left intact. The only wanton destruction of which they appear to have been guilty has been in the bas-reliefs and tombs of the Grand-Masters and other dignitaries. Most of these have either disappeared, or have been so defaced as to be quite undecipherable.

Next to the fortress of Rhodes the most important post in the island was the castle of Lindos, where it will be remembered that Fulk de Villaret retired when he set at defiance the decrees of the council. Biliotti thus describes it:—"The fort built by the knights stands on the same site as the old acropolis, in a position almost impregnable. It is in truth an eagles' nest perched upon the summit of a crag. A steep path leads to the fort, thence a wide flight of steps leads to the outer enceinte and enters by a gate opening on to a platform of 120 paces in length by 80 in breadth. This platform is surrounded by a thick battlemented wall. After surmounting long flights of steps and numerous galleries, perpetually intercepted with machicolated gateways, we reach one leading to the second platform, the site of the old temple of Minerva. This temple had been succeeded by a Greek acropolis, so that the eye can now dwell on three different epochs of structure. The residence of the present governor and some small houses for the garrison are the work of the architects of the Order. The materials of the older

buildings have been largely used in their construction, and in many places precious fragments of old marbles occupy the position of humble masonry. The original palace of the Order at present only exists in shell, and it would be very difficult to trace its internal construction. The ceilings have fallen in, the pavements are torn up, the partition walls thrown down; but patches of fresco still remain, from which can be guessed some of the subjects which adorned the walls. The chisel contributed as well as the brush to the severe type of ornamentation which accords faithfully with the ideas of those times. Mouldings of a sober elegance surrounded the escutcheons of the Order and of D'Amboise which are still existing. Over the mantelpiece of a fireplace, of which the ample dimensions mark the great dining hall, may be seen the fleur de lys of France."

Connected with the palace are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. John. This building consisted of three naves terminating with an apse, the length eighty feet and the width fifty feet. The population of Lindos in the time of the knights amounted to 2,500 souls, which number is now reduced to 650.

The village of Castellòs, on the western side of the island, took its name from the fortress erected there by the knights as a look-out station. It is now in a state of ruin; still, enough remains to trace its construction. The castle is square; on one side it is flanked with two round and on the opposite angle by one square tower. On the wall at the eastern side are the arms of D'Amboise and of Carretto side by side. The angle between the east and south has been cut away for flanking purposes, and on the plane thus formed stand the arms of Carretto alone. Those of the Order on two escutcheons appear on an internal wall. The work was on two levels, and from the upper tower a view was obtained over a wide extent of sea. It was so constructed as to be capable of a lengthened defence, and was quite secure against a *coup de main*.

The village of Cremasti is so called from having been the summer residence of the Grand-Masters, the corruption of the Turkish name from *Grand-Maistrìe* being evident. The palace was erected by Carretto, whose arms appear in several directions. It was square in form and not intended to resist any serious attack. In addition to these posts there

were many forts of a minor character placed in advantageous positions all over the island. These were garrisoned by a few soldiers only, and trusted for their defence principally to the peasants, who flocked thither for shelter upon the alarm being given of an enemy's approach.

The chapel of Our Lady of Philermo was undoubtedly the most important and interesting building left by the fraternity outside the city of Rhodes. It was built to contain a picture of the Virgin Mary, which they held in especial reverence, and supposed to have been from the brush of the evangelist St. Luke. In an arched crypt about twenty feet long and eight wide are the remains of a large number of frescoes, the work of a member of the Order who had been a pupil of Cimabue. Two represented the Annunciation and the angel appearing to Joseph. Separated from these by mosaics came others in which were Elyon de Villanova, Fulk de Villaret, Roger de Pins, and Antonio Fluvian, all kneeling on cushions fully armed and accoutred, supported by St. Michael, St. Catherine, the Virgin Mary, and an apostle. They are gazing at a representation at the end of the crypt of Our Saviour seated on a throne showing his five wounds, having on his right hand St. Peter and St. Paul, and on his left the Blessed Virgin, who is laying her hand on the head of a kneeling knight, and by her side St. Mary Magdalene. Under this picture are two others of St. Michael and St. George, each in the act of overcoming his adversary, and between them the cross of the Order.*

Other frescoes have as subjects—Our Lady with the seven swords; our Saviour on the cross, with the Virgin Mary and St. John (over this picture are two knights of St. John in prayer); the Passion is represented in seven pictures; the agony in the garden; the taking of our Lord by torchlight; the scene in the prætorium; the scourging; the crowning with

* The presence of this cross, which is eight-pointed and precisely similar to that known as the Maltese Cross, and a corresponding one on the shoulder of the knight referred to in the fresco as kneeling, with the hand of the Virgin Mary on his head, sets at rest a question which Biliotti has mooted, whether the Order bore the eight-pointed cross, as now known, whilst they were at Rhodes. He asserts that nowhere in the armorial bearings and other remains at Rhodes could he find that cross. He has quite overlooked these frescoes.

thorns; St. Veronica and the handkerchief; and lastly, the crucifixion. To the east of this crypt stood the church itself, of which only the ruins of a portion remain, but from these it may be seen that the building was grand and important, being probably richly sculptured and ornamented. It consisted of two long naves separated by a row of fluted columns whose capitals carried the vaulted roof, which was groined. Behind the nave, and connected with it by a small door, are the remains of the sacristy, also divided in two. From traces still to be seen it may be gathered that the building was constructed so as to serve for purposes of defence.

During the two centuries in which the knights were settled in Rhodes, the manufacture of faience was much encouraged. This pottery is still greatly sought after, and is known as Lindos ware. It partakes somewhat of the character of Majolica. It is supposed that it was introduced into the island by Persian prisoners, who were employed at this work instead of being chained to the oar of a galley. One of these dishes of Lindos ware bears the inscription in Persian, "O God, how long shall we remain in this land of exile?" which seems to corroborate the supposition. Cotton stuffs, embroidered in silk, were also a staple trade of the island. The cotton and silk were both produced there, and the embroidered material in the form of curtains, cushions, and other furniture was much prized. It was supposed that the silk-worms were fed on brilliantly-coloured flowers, thereby imparting to the silk natural dyes, which resisted the fading influences of light.

It is impossible now to trace the principles of government adopted towards the native population. It can only be surmised that since no tradition remains of dislike to the memory of the knights, their rule was probably fairly lenient. It must, of course, be assumed that, living as they did in a condition of constant warfare, the island was more or less in a permanent state of siege. Still the people apparently flourished under a government which, if rigid, was at all events tolerably just. In the absence of any more direct testimony, we may argue favourably from the fact of the extraordinary fidelity of the

peasantry during the two long and perilous sieges, when their privations and sufferings were very great. The enormous increase in the population of the island during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may also be taken in proof of the beneficence of the government. The tradition remains of one admirable regulation made by the fraternity. A certain portion of the grain harvest was taken from each farmer, and stored in the granaries of the fortress. Should a siege take place, this amount of grain sufficed to feed the population who flocked into the town. Should the year pass without such misfortune, it was returned intact to the owner, and a corresponding portion of the new crop taken in its stead. The farmer, therefore, under ordinary circumstances, might consider that he merely stored a portion of his harvest in the public granaries for a twelvemonth, at the expiration of which time he received it back uninjured. By this simple means the fortress was kept permanently provisioned. There can be no question of the religious tolerance of the knights. Living as they did in the midst of a population mostly professing the Greek faith, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have kept the inhabitants loyal, had they not in every way remained on good terms with the Greek priesthood. It is one of the few cases in which members of the Roman and Greek faith were cooped up within such narrow limits, and yet maintained such great friendship.

The Order coined its own money from the earliest time of its settlement in Rhodes. It is impossible now to compile a complete list of the various coins thus issued. Enough, however, remain to illustrate the subject. The silver coins consisted of crowns, ducats, and florins. The earlier ones carried on one side a cross, on the other a kneeling knight. Later on they bore the arms of the Grand-Master. Thus we find coins of Elyon de Villanova representing him kneeling before a cross; on the other side a "*fleur de lisce*" cross. On one side the legend *Fr. Elion De Vilanova M.R.*, on the other *Ospital S. Ion Ieros: Rodi*. Coins struck by D'Amboise bore on the one side the arms of that Grand-Master with the legend *F. Emericus Damboise Magn. Mag. R.*, and on the other the lamb of St. John, with the words *Agn. Dei Qui*

Tollis Pecca Mun Mise No. Those issued by L'Isle Adam bore his head with the words *F. Phus De Lile-Adam, M. Hosplis Hieri M.*; on the reverse his arms, with the motto *Da Mihi Virtutem Contra Hostes Tuos.*

The measures of length, capacity, and weight were probably the same as were at the time used throughout the Levant, and these were Greek.

Such was the state of the island of Rhodes during the last years of the Order's sway. From that time its decadence has been steady and continued. Its natural beauties still remain, but all that depended on the energy of man has gradually fallen into decay. Rhodes has partaken of the blight which seems to fall on everything subjected to Ottoman rule, and lives on now in the memory of the past.

CHAPTER XIII.

The career of a knight as a novice, professed knight, commander, and bailiff—The auberges—The chaplains—The chapter-general—The councils of the Order—The question of slavery.

FROM the period when the Order of St. John was first divided into *langués*, and the leading dignities in the gift of the fraternity were apportioned to those *langués*, no confusion or intermixture was ever permitted between them. A postulant for admission preferred his request either at the *chef-lieu* in the convent to the head of the *langue* of which he was a native, or at one of the grand-priories in his own country. If he sought admission into the ranks of the knights of justice, the necessary proofs of nobility were required from him, which proofs varied in the different *langués*, and have been already described. When it had been satisfactorily ascertained that his descent was sufficiently aristocratic to entitle him to admission, he was, if old enough, admitted at once as a novice. After the expiration of a year spent in probation he was duly received into the body of the Order as a professed knight.

The age at which a postulant was accepted as a novice was sixteen. He was thus enabled to be a professed knight at seventeen, but he was not required to begin his residence at the convent until he was twenty years of age, and in many cases he received a dispensation postponing still later the necessity for that step. The pages of the Grand-Master were, however, entitled to the exceptional privilege of admission when only twelve years old, and their service in that capacity counted towards the term of residence which every knight was bound to complete at the convent before he was qualified for nomination to a commandery. In times later on than those of which we are now writing, knights were received "in minority" even in

their cradles, a far larger amount of entrance money, termed "passage," being in such cases paid. This was, however, a modern innovation on the established rule, and only introduced to raise additional funds for the assistance of the treasury.

A knight having become professed, was bound to proceed to the *chef-lieu*, as soon as he had reached the age of twenty years, and to reside there for a certain term. During this time he performed such military and naval duties as were required of him. Each complete year of this service constituted what was called a "caravan," and the number required for qualification as a commander was three. In later years that number was raised to four. In addition to these three years of what may be termed active service he was bound to reside for two more years at the convent before he could be made a commander, so that the earliest age at which he could attain to that office was twenty-five. Before a knight could be elected a bailiff, either conventual or capitular, he must have been professed for fifteen years, of which ten had to be in residence at the convent. It was very rarely, however, that these dignities were conferred on a knight until he had attained far riper years than were laid down for his qualification. During his residence he was attached to the *auberge* of his *langue*, where he lived at the table furnished by the conventual bailiff, as will be more fully detailed presently. After he had completed his term of service he was eligible for promotion to a commandery, and sooner or later received that appointment. The principle recognized in these nominations was a system of seniority modified by selection. No doubt in those days, as at present, interest carried great weight, and the young aspirant whose advancement was looked after by influential friends received the coveted appointment to a commandery somewhat sooner than his more friendless *confrère*. This promotion transferred him back again to his native province, where he resided upon the estate intrusted to his charge. He there fell under the direct supervision of the grand-prior within whose district his commandery was situated. In many cases, however, knights who were qualified to become commanders received appointments at the *chef-lieu*, either in the Grand-Master's household or in some other official capacity, which necessitated a continued residence

in the island, and which was considered as an equivalent. After having presided over one of the inferior commanderies for a period of five years the holder was eligible for translation to a post of superior value, provided he had administered that originally entrusted to his charge with due prudence and care. He thus continued rising in dignity and emoluments until he had attained such seniority as rendered him qualified for the office of conventual bailiff, upon nomination to which he was called upon to resign his commandery and return to the convent to assume the duties of his new station.

The conventual bailiffs were, as has been said, eight in number, and ranked in precedence immediately next to the Grand-Master. Their duties are thus defined in the statutes:—"In order that the Grand-Master may be enabled to watch over the governance of our Order with greater prudence and moderation our predecessors have appointed as assistants in his senate men of worth and good repute, who shall each be invested with a separate office. For this purpose have been established the several councillors of our Order, such as the grand-commander, the marshal, the hospitaller, the admiral, the grand-conservator, the Turcopolier, the grand-bailiff, and the grand-chancellor, who are all called conventual bailiffs, because each is *thé president of his langue*."

These dignitaries each resided in the palace or *auberge* appropriated to his *langue*, which were large and stately edifices erected for that purpose out of the public funds. The treasury issued an allowance to every bailiff for the expenses of his office, and it also granted a fixed daily ration for every person entitled to a seat at the tables which he was obliged to maintain for their use in the *auberge*. Every member of the *langue* resident at the convent, whether knight, chaplain, or serving brother, had this right, excepting only a commander, who, being a knight, held a benefice of £200 a-year, or a chaplain or serving brother holding one of £100. In such cases they were considered provided for, and therefore excluded from the table of their *auberge*.

The allowance issued by the treasury was by no means sufficient to cover the expense of these tables; a large proportion fell consequently upon the private resources of the bailiffs.

Burdensome as this charge undoubtedly was, the post of conventual bailiff was nevertheless eagerly sought after. Not only did it confer upon its holder a very high position, second only to that of the Grand-Master himself, but it was also, invariably, and as a matter of right, the stepping-stone to the most lucrative dignities in the gift of the *langue*. If either of its grand-priories or bailiwicks fell vacant the conventual bailiff had the option of claiming the post; or if he preferred waiting for one of greater value he might retain his position and allow the vacant nomination to pass to those junior to himself, until one fell in of sufficient value to meet his expectations. Not unfrequently the selection of a Grand-Master was made from amongst the conventual bailiffs, who, by being present at the *chef-lieu* at the time of the election, had many advantages in the way of canvassing, and otherwise making themselves popular and acceptable to the electors.

The amount of the allowance given to the bailiffs to support their tables whilst the Order was at Rhodes is not recorded. It may, however, be assumed to have been not very different from that which was fixed for them a few years later, when they were settled in Malta. It then consisted of sixty gold crowns a month in money, and the ration in kind was, for each person, one rotolo* of fresh meat, either beef, mutton, or kid, or two-thirds of that amount of salt meat; and on fast days, in lieu of the above, a due portion of fish, or four eggs, together with six loaves of bread and a quartuccio* of wine. Members were entitled to three meals a day, viz., breakfast, dinner, and supper. They were permitted to absent themselves from dinner three times a week, and in such case to draw an allowance in its stead. Should they be absent from either the breakfast or supper meal no compensation was given. The bailiff was supposed to provide for his guests only simple meals, such as the above-quoted rations would have afforded, but it rarely happened that he restricted himself within those limits. The sumptuousness and prodigality of the tables actually maintained depended on his disposition and private means. If he were a generous and wealthy man, and anxious to gain popularity,

* The rotolo weighed $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb. avoirdupois, and the quartuccio was about three pints.

he knew that the surest way to attain this end was by a liberal entertainment of those who were dependent on him for their daily sustenance. A spirit of rivalry was thus engendered between the various *langues*, and he who could obtain a reputation for maintaining his *auberge* on the most open handed scale generally found his account in the popularity which he thereby gained. It is somewhat difficult to estimate the numbers accommodated in each *auberge*. It varied much, not only in the several *langues*, but also in the same *langue* according to circumstances. It may, however, fairly be assumed to have usually lain between 100 and 150. Amongst the regulations laid down in the statutes for the maintenance of order at the *auberges* was one prohibiting the introduction of dogs, under the plea that they consumed too much food. Another strictly forbade the members, under severe penalties, from striking the servants. These latter were most probably slaves captured during their numerous cruises. Doubtless the post of servant at an *auberge* was a far less repulsive lot than that of a galley-slave chained to an oar, and was consequently sought after by such captives as were of gentle birth. Hence, probably, the stringency of the regulation as to their treatment.

The title of "pilier" was given to the conventual bailiffs, symbolical of their being pillars of the Order, and it was by this name that they were designated in all official records. They were bound to reside at the convent as long as they held the post, and were compelled to make their first appearance there within a period of two years from the date of their election. Failing in this, the Grand-Master in council was entitled to proceed to a fresh election, annulling that which had been thus rendered useless. Three out of the eight were permitted to obtain leave of absence at the same time. This was granted by the Grand-Master in council upon good cause being shown, but could not be demanded as a right. Five were bound under all circumstances to be present, and those who had obtained leave were called on to nominate lieutenants to act for them during their absence, and to supply their places at the council.

The nominations to all commanderies were made by the Grand-Master in council, the principle of seniority, as has been

already said, being usually adhered to. There were, however, the following exceptions:—In every grand-priory there was one commandery, the revenues of which belonged to the Grand-Master, and the nomination to this rested exclusively with himself. He had also the privilege of nominating to a vacancy in every priory once in each five years. This privilege was also held by the grand-prior. The exercise of the patronage was fixed in the following manner. The first commandery which fell vacant during the quinquennial period was in the gift of the Grand-Master, the second in that of the council, the third in that of the grand-prior, and all succeeding vacancies till the close of the period in that of the council. Should there not be three vacancies during the five years, the grand-prior lost his patronage; but this rarely happened, as translations and promotions were of very frequent occurrence, and the commanderies grouped in each grand-priory numerous. A commander appointed to a bailiwick or grand-priory at once surrendered his office to take possession of the new dignity, unless he were the holder of a magisterial commandery. This he was permitted to retain in connection with his new appointment.

The chaplains of the Order of St. John were received without any of those restrictions as to birth placed on the admission of the first class, or knights of justice. It was sufficient to prove that they were of respectable origin, and that their parents had been united in lawful wedlock. They were accepted at the age of sixteen years as clerks, and were ordained as sub-deacons two years afterwards. They could not attain to the rank of deacon until they had reached the age of two-and-twenty, or to that of chaplain earlier than twenty-five. They were then available for all the religious offices of the convent. They performed divine service in the conventual church of St. John, or were attached either to the household of the Grand-Master, the *auberge* of their *langue*, or to the Hospital; or else they performed their caravans on board the galleys to which they were posted during a cruise. It was from this class that the prior of the church of St. John and the archbishop of Rhodes (or later on the bishop of Malta) were selected, the former by the Grand-Master in council, the latter by the Pope.

With regard to the election of the prior of the church, the statutes are thus drawn up:—"The more closely a dignity approaches to spiritual matters, with the more care and consideration should the selection of its holder be made. Bearing this in mind, we decree that whenever the priory of our church becomes vacant, the Grand-Master and the ordinary council shall assemble and proceed to a new election with calm and serious deliberation. Having with this object carefully examined into the manners, life, doctrine, and qualifications of our chaplains in every *langue*, they shall elect and nominate as prior a chaplain of upright life and of approved conduct, learned and well-versed in the practice of things ecclesiastical. It is essential that after this election he should reside continuously at the convent, and if on account of any urgent necessity he should ever be sent therefrom, the Grand-Master and ordinary council must fix a definite period for his return."

In addition to the conventual chaplains thus appointed, the Order received into the second or ecclesiastical division of its fraternity another class termed priests of obedience, who were not called upon to reside at the *chef-lieu*, but performed the duties of their office in the various continental grand-priories and commanderies. These priests received the emoluments of their several benefices like other clergy, and where such revenues were too small for their due and honourable maintenance, they were entitled to a further provision from the local treasury. They were ineligible for either of the great offices which were appropriated to the conventual chaplains, and they were never appointed to the position of commander, as the latter were. They were usually natives of the province in which they performed their duties, and to the *langue* of which they were attached. After the Order had become settled in the island of Malta, its conventual chaplains were mainly recruited from the inhabitants of that island, and the posts of bishop and prior, both of which ranked with the conventual bailiffs, were constantly held by Maltese. This, however, was not the case at Rhodes. There the natives, belonging almost all to the Greek Church, were unable to enter the ranks of the fraternity, and although there was much toleration and even cordiality between the members

of the two churches, the Order was compelled to seek elsewhere for Roman Catholic priests to fill the ranks of its conventual chaplains.

It has already been mentioned that all legislative powers were exclusively vested in the chapter-general, whilst the executive functions were intrusted to the Grand-Master in council. It will be well now to enter into some detail as to the composition both of the chapter and of the different classes of council. The chapter-general, the great parliament of the Order, was, during the earlier years of its existence, held regularly every five years, and in cases of emergency was often convened even between those periods. Gradually a longer time was allowed to elapse. The interval between them extended first to ten years, and later on still longer, until they were eventually almost entirely discontinued, one only having been held throughout the eighteenth century.

Many reasons may be alleged for the abandonment of this ancient council. The great expense attending its convocation; the extreme inconvenience and detriment to the interests of the community necessarily arising from the calling away of so many of its provincial chiefs from the seats of their respective governments; the turbulence which often characterized the sessions; and the difficulty which the Grand-Master invariably experienced in carrying out his views and policy in an assembly where his influence predominated but slightly; all of these were causes to check their frequent convocation. In the absence of a chapter-general the Grand-Master conducted the government with the aid and intervention of a council only, and in this assembly he was enabled to exercise a far greater influence, and to obtain a more complete subservience to his wishes than he could ever expect from the chapter.

The summoning of a chapter-general lay entirely with the Grand-Master or Pope. We have adduced reasons to show why the former should, as far as possible, neglect to assemble them. Similar views, to a great extent, actuated the pontiff, since, in the absence of a chapter-general, all legislative powers were vested in himself in the same way as the executive were in the Grand-Master and council. The court of Rome has

never been backward in assuming such powers to their fullest extent whenever it has been in a position so to do.

The following is a list of the dignitaries who held a seat in the chapter-general in the order of their precedence. The Grand-Master, either in person or by a lieutenant nominated by himself, presided. The others were as follows:—

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| 1. The Archbishop of Rhodes. | 29. The Grand-Prior of Ireland. |
| 2. The Prior of the Church. | 30. The Grand-Prior of Bohemia. |
| 3. The Bailiff of Provence. | 31. The Grand-Prior of Hungary. |
| 4. The Bailiff of Auvergne. | 32. The Bailiff of St. Euphemia. |
| 5. The Bailiff of France. | 33. The Grand-Prior of Catalonia. |
| 6. The Bailiff of Italy. | 34. The Bailiff of Negropont. |
| 7. The Bailiff of Aragon (Spain). | 35. The Bailiff of the Morea. |
| 8. The Bailiff of England. | 36. The Bailiff of Venusia. |
| 9. The Bailiff of Germany. | 37. The Bailiff of St. Stephen. |
| 10. The Bailiff of Castile (Portugal). | 38. The Bailiff of Majorca. |
| 11. The Grand-Prior of St. Gilles. | 39. The Bailiff of St. John of
Naples. |
| 12. The Grand-Prior of Auvergne. | 40. The Bailiff of Lyons. |
| 13. The Grand-Prior of France. | 41. The Bailiff of Manosque. |
| 14. The Grand-Prior of Aquitaine. | 42. The Bailiff of Brandenburg. |
| 15. The Grand-Prior of Champagne. | 43. The Bailiff of Caspa. |
| 16. The Grand-Prior of Toulouse. | 44. The Bailiff of Lora. |
| 17. The Grand-Prior of Rome. | 45. The Bailiff of the Eagle. |
| 18. The Grand-Prior of Lombardy. | 46. The Bailiff of Lango. |
| 19. The Grand-Prior of Venice. | 47. The Bailiff of St. Sepulchre. |
| 20. The Grand-Prior of Pisa. | 48. The Bailiff of Cremona. |
| 21. The Grand-Prior of Burletta. | 49. The Grand-Treasurer. |
| 22. The Grand-Prior of England. | 50. The Bailiff of Neuvillas. |
| 23. The Grand-Prior of Capua. | 51. The Bailiff of Acre. |
| 24. The Castellan of Emposta. | 52. The Bailiff of La Rocella. |
| 25. The Grand-Prior of Portugal. | 53. The Bailiff of Armenia. |
| 26. The Grand-Prior of Messina. | 54. The Bailiff of Carlostad. |
| 27. The Grand-Prior of Navarre. | 55. The Bailiff of St. Sebastian. |
| 28. The Grand-Prior of Germany. | |

Such of the above as were not able to attend in person were bound to send thither proxies to act in their stead. All commanders had seats in the chapter below the above dignitaries, and in order of seniority. The time and place of meeting were fixed by the Grand-Master, and after having been approved by the Pope, were duly notified to the various members whose rank entitled them to a seat in the council. The first step taken after divine service had been performed was the nomination of a committee of three commanders of different *langues* to verify the

proxies and to guarantee their validity. That ceremony having been gone through, every one took his place in accordance with the foregoing list, and the chapter-general was declared duly open. In token of homage to its sovereign authority, each member tendered as tribute a purse containing five pieces of silver. The marshal brought into the council hall the grand standard of the Order, which he surrendered into the keeping of the chapter, and the other dignitaries in succession also delivered up the symbols of their various offices. These were not returned until the assembly had passed a fresh grant for that purpose. Another committee of three members, each of a separate *langue*, was also nominated to receive petitions, and to organize the questions to be brought before the chapter.

In order to expedite the business, for the despatch of which they had been convened, a committee of sixteen commanders was selected, two from each *langue*. It was felt that in so large an assembly discussion would have been most inconveniently protracted. To this committee, therefore, the real working powers were entirely delegated. They were sworn to legislate honestly and fearlessly for the public weal, and the remaining members, including the Grand-Master, also took an oath binding themselves to abide by the decisions and decrees of the committee. The vice-chancellor, the secretary of the treasury, and the Grand-Master's legal adviser, all took part in its meetings and debates, but had no vote, that privilege being reserved exclusively to the sixteen members nominated by the chapter.

The statutes laid down what should be the general order of the business to be transacted by the committee. They were, first, to examine into the incidence and pressure of the various imposts decreed by previous chapters, and to make such alterations and revisions as the state of the revenue and the exigencies of the treasury might render possible or advisable. They were afterwards to look strictly into the management of the treasury, and satisfy themselves of the correctness of its administration. The records were then to be passed in review, after which they were to proceed to reform any abuses that had crept in, and to pass such new laws as they might consider necessary, abrogating all existing statutes which

appeared to them to be no longer suitable to the organization of the fraternity. In conclusion, they were to deal with any questions of a special nature which might be brought before them, but which did not come under any of the preceding heads.

The matters having all been debated and decided on by a majority of votes taken by ballot, the chapter was once more assembled, and the decrees of its committee ratified and promulgated. The business then closed with divine service, when the following prayers were offered in succession—for peace, for plenty, for the Pope, for the cardinals and prelates, for all Christian kings and princes, for the Grand-Master, for the bailiffs and priors, for the brethren of the Hospital, for the sick and captives, for sinners, for benefactors to the Hospital, and lastly for the *confraria* and all connected with the Order.

The duration of a chapter-general was very wisely limited to sixteen days, so as to check any spirit of opposition or factious debate by means of which it might otherwise have been indefinitely prolonged. If, at the conclusion of that time, any business remained unsettled it was disposed of by a council of reservation elected by the chapter prior to its dissolution. The chapter-general was the ultimate court of appeal from the decisions of the various councils, and in its absence that appeal lay with the court of Rome.

Provincial chapters were held in every grand-priory, presided over by the grand-prior or his lieutenant, at which all commanders attached thereto were bound to attend either in person or by proxy. The local interests of the fraternity were brought under discussion at these assemblies, and such matters were there disposed of as did not concern the Order at large, but only that branch of it embraced within the district. The appeal from these courts lay with the council at the *chef-lieu*.

The code of laws known as the statutes of the Order were the result of the decrees of a succession of chapters-general, no additions to, alterations in, or omissions from this code having been permitted by any authority short of that which originally called it into existence. The duty of the Grand-Master as head of the fraternity consisted merely in enforcing obedience to the

laws thus laid down, and even in this comparatively subordinate duty he was not permitted to act alone, but was associated with a council. Without the concurrence and sanction of that body none of his decrees had any legal effect, and he himself was rendered practically powerless.

The councils of the Order in its *chef-lieu* were of four kinds, viz., the complete, the ordinary, the secret, and the criminal. The latter was sometimes also called the council of state. The composition of the complete council differed from that of the other three, which were similar to one another.

The complete council consisted of the Grand-Master or his lieutenant, the archbishop of Rhodes, the prior of the church of St. John, the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants acting for them, the grand-treasurer or his lieutenant, and any grand-cross who might chance to be present at the convent on the occasion. To these were added two members from each *langue*, who were bound to be knights of justice and resident in Rhodes for at least eight years. The seniors of each *langue* below the rank of grand-cross were usually elected to this office, the nomination resting with the *languages* themselves. The time for the assembly of the court lay at the discretion of the Grand-Master, but the place of meeting was invariably in the council-chamber of the magisterial palace. In this it differed from the other three councils, which might be convened wherever the Grand-Master thought fit. Before the complete council were brought all appeals against the decisions and sentences of the ordinary and criminal councils, the ultimate appeal being with the chapter-general or in its absence with the papal court.

The following was the order of procedure on the occasion. The Grand-Master having fixed the hour at which the council was to meet, his master of the horse gave due notice to that effect to all the members authorized to be present. The great bell of St. John's church tolled for the half-hour previous to the appointed time, during which interval the councillors assembled within their hall. When the bell ceased the Grand-Master took his seat under the canopy which marked his place as president, and the business of the council commenced. Should

any of the conventual bailiffs be absent and his lieutenant as well, the master of the horse announced the fact and called for the senior member for the *langue* of ———, the commander ———, whereupon the knight so named took his seat with the other councillors.

The court being duly organized, the vice-chancellor announced the various matters to be brought under discussion, which usually consisted of appeals from the decisions of the inferior courts. In any case requiring pleading the rival parties were bound to appear in person unless they could show a good and sufficient reason for employing a deputy. The following exceptions were made to this general rule. Members of the English and German *langues* were permitted to employ advocates, as they would not have been able to make themselves intelligible in their own tongue. Knights who were unavoidably absent from the convent at the time when their cases came on for hearing might provide duly authorized substitutes to appear on their behalf. The same privilege was accorded to all knights of the grand-cross, who were never called on to plead in person. It appears to have been a main object in framing the regulations to throw as many obstacles as possible in the way of needless litigation amongst the fraternity. The "custom" or preamble which is attached to the statutes relating to these councils marks this principle very distinctly. It says—"In order that our brethren may study hospitality and the noble exercise of arms rather than embroil themselves in litigation and legal discussions, our predecessors have handed down the following very laudable custom—whenever differences shall arise between our brethren they shall be decided in council summarily—that is to say, there shall be no writings upon the subject in dispute, the parties shall plead their cause in person and state their cases simply, after which, judgment shall be passed. Writings which have been previously made and which have not been prepared expressly for the purpose may be produced in evidence, as also such witnesses as may be required, and, if necessary, the depositions of these latter may be reduced to writing."

The case under consideration having been pleaded and responded to, the court was cleared for deliberation, and after

the members had debated the matter under the seal of secrecy, a ballot was taken, the result of which decided the case. The court was reopened and the sentence announced by the vice-chancellor who recorded it in the archives.

The other three councils were composed of grand-crosses only, the two senior members of each *langue* below the rank of grand-cross being omitted. The ordinary council was considered to have a quorum provided the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants were present, the attendance of the other grand-crosses being optional. It was in this council that all nominations to vacant offices were made, all disputes arising therefrom decided, and the ordinary business connected with the government of the island transacted. This was the council usually employed by the Grand-Master, who might assemble it at any time and in any place he thought proper. No subject could be introduced without his sanction and approval, and as all grand-crosses had a voice in the council he was enabled, by the creation of a fresh batch of honorary grand-crosses, to carry any measure which he had at heart, but upon which opinions were divided in the convent. The secret council was similarly constituted, and took cognizance of such matters of internal and foreign policy as were not considered fit subjects for publicity, its proceedings were therefore never made known. The criminal council, also composed of the same members, received and adjudicated upon all complaints lodged against individuals connected with the fraternity. The accused persons were arraigned before the court; evidence was taken openly, and sentence was passed in accordance therewith.

The institution of slavery flourished in the Order from the earliest days of its existence until the close of the eighteenth century. During the residence of the knights in Palestine it had been their invariable rule, in accordance with the usages of eastern warfare, to reduce to a state of slavery all prisoners taken in action. This system had been in full operation long before the crusaders had introduced a European element into the warfare of Asia. It was only natural that a spirit of retaliation should have led to the adoption of the same practice. After their establishment in the island of Rhodes the knights continued to enforce the penalty which long custom

had legalized in their eyes. Both in that island, and afterwards at Malta, their galleys were invariably propelled by gangs of Turkish captives told off for that purpose, and driven to constant labour by the dread of punishment. A gangway ran along the centre of the vessel on which paced an official armed with a cruel whip, which he mercilessly applied to the back of any one of the unfortunate victims whom he considered was not putting forth his full strength. During the cruise the slave was never released from his seat at the oar, but as several men were attached to each, they took it in turns to obtain what rest and repose was possible under such miserable conditions. When not required on board the galleys, they were housed in a prison on shore established for the purpose. They were then employed either in the dockyard or on the fortifications. No one can have examined the stupendous and elaborate defences either of Rhodes or Malta, without perceiving that such works could have only been created under conditions of labour very different from those of the present day. The extraordinary width and depth of the ditches, so far beyond what seem actually necessary for purposes of defence, show that in their construction labour was a drug. It is true that in both instances these ditches were the quarries from which most of the stone used in the building of the respective towns was taken; still, but for the fact that there was a constant and never-failing supply of the cheapest manual power, the work would never have been carried to such vast depths.

There can be no doubt that great cruelty was often practised against these unfortunate captives, and the treatment which they received at the hands of their Christian masters was, as a rule, disgracefully barbarous. Their lives were held as of little or no value, and the records teem with accounts of the very thoughtless and cruel manner in which they were sacrificed to the whims and caprices of those who held control over their lives and persons. During the first siege of Rhodes a gang of these miserable beings was returning from the perilous labour of repairing the breaches made in the ramparts by the enemy's artillery when a party of young knights chanced to meet them, and began to amuse themselves at their expense. A slight scuffle ensued, the wretched slaves endeavouring to shield themselves

from their tormentors. The noise thus caused attracted the attention of a body of the garrison, who were patrolling near the spot, and these, imagining that the slaves were rising in revolt, fell on them, and without pausing for a moment to ascertain the truth of their suspicions, slew upwards of 150 of the poor defenceless creatures before discovering their error. So also we find it recorded at a period somewhat later than that at which we have arrived, viz., during the siege of Malta, that some hesitation having been shown by the slaves in exposing themselves during their pioneering labours to a fire more than ordinarily deadly, the Grand-Master directed some to be hanged, and others to have their ears cut off.* We also find an English knight, named Massinberg, brought before the council in the year 1534 for having without cause drawn his sword and killed four galley slaves. Upon being called on for his defence, this turbulent Briton replied—"In killing the four slaves I did well, but in not having at the same time killed our old and imbecile Grand-Master, I confess I did badly." The Grand-Master referred to was Peter Du Pont, and the defence was not considered satisfactory; we find, therefore, that Massinberg was deprived of his commandery, and stripped of his habit for a period of two days. That such a crime should have been dealt with in this manner shows that the insolence towards the Grand-Master was more thought of than the murder of the four slaves.

Having touched upon the question of slavery as it existed amongst the fraternity up to the time of which we are speaking, it may be well to complete the subject, although what remains refers to a later period of history. By degrees a system sprang up of not simply retaining the slaves for the service of the Order, but also of selling any number that might be demanded. The truth was, that eventually the convent of St. John became neither more nor less than a vast slave mart. The evil began at Rhodes; but it did not reach its full development until after

* The contemporary chroniclers record this as having been done "*pour encourager les autres.*" The writer has more than once seen a claim made as to the original authorship of this phrase at a far later date than that now alluded to, which was in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Doubtless the quaint expression was even then no novelty.

the establishment of the knights at Malta. There the miserable trade flourished without a check. When the demand was brisk, and the supply of slaves within the bagnio scarce, the galleys of Malta scoured the seas, and woe betide the unfortunate Moslem who came within their grasp. The war which they unceasingly waged against the Ottoman maritime power was not maintained purely for the glory of the struggle, or from religious conviction as to its necessity; they found other attractions in the strife. In thus gratifying their privateering propensities, they were swelling at one and the same time their own private fortunes and the coffers of their Order. Honour there was none; religion there was none; it had degenerated into a pure mercenary speculation, and the only excuse which could be offered for this degradation of warfare, lay in the fact that it was an act of reprisal. The northern coast of Africa was one vast nest of pirates, who scoured every corner of the Mediterranean, and whose detested flag always brought with it the horrors of bloodshed, rapine, and slavery. With such a foe as this, it was but natural that there should be but scant courtesy shown. Had the fraternity confined its efforts to the extermination of this noxious swarm, the historian need not have been very severe in his criticisms on its treatment of its captives. It is, unfortunately, a matter of fact that in their anxiety to keep their slave mart at Malta well supplied, the knights of St. John were by no means careful to discriminate between the piratical corsair and the peaceful eastern merchant, and that the latter too often had to endure the fate which should have been reserved for the former only.

There exists in the Record Office of Malta a letter from the English king Charles II. to Nicholas Cottoner, at that time Grand-Master, which bears upon this question, and clearly proves the traffic in human flesh then subsisting, and by which it appears that the knights were purveyors of slaves, not only to the king of England, but also to the monarchs of France and Spain:—

“Charles the Second by the grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. To the most illustrious and most high prince the Lord Nicholas

Cottoner Grand-Master of the Order of Malta our well beloved cousin and friend, greeting.

“It having appeared to us a matter of interest not only to ourselves but likewise to the whole Christian world that we should keep in the Mediterranean Sea a certain number of galleys ready to afford prompt aid to our neighbours and allies against the frequent insults of the barbarians and Turks; we lately caused to be constructed two galleys, one in Genoa and the other in the port of Leghorn. In order to man these we directed a person well acquainted with such affairs to be sent, as to other parts, so also to the island of Malta subject to the rule of your highness in order to *buy slaves* and procure other necessities. He *having purchased some slaves* it has been reported to us that your highness’s collector of customs demanded five pieces of gold of Malta money before they could be permitted to embark, under the title of toll at which proceeding we were certainly not a little astonished, it appearing to us a novel arrangement and one contrary to the usual custom, especially since it is well known to us that our neighbours and allies the kings of France and Spain are never accustomed to pay anything under the title of toll *for the slaves whom they cause yearly to be transported from your island*. We therefore beg your highness by the good and long friendship existing between us to grant to us the same privilege in regard to this kind of commerce within the territories of your highness as is enjoyed by both our said neighbours and allies which, although it ought to be conceded to us simply on account of our mutual friendship and our affection towards your highness and the illustrious Order of Malta, still we shall receive it so gratefully that if at any time we can do anything to please your highness we shall be always ready to do it with all attention and most willingly. In the mean time we heartily recommend your highness and all the members of the illustrious Order of Malta as well as all your affairs to the Divine keeping.

“Given from our palace at Westminster on the 12th day of February in the year of our Lord 1673 and of our reign the twenty-fifth. Your highness’s good cousin and friend Charles Rex.”

From the terms of this letter it is clear that the deportation

of slaves for the use of the kings of France and Spain was of annual occurrence, and that the merry monarch of England craved to be admitted to the same privilege. The results of this traffic must have been most profitable, not only from the proceeds of such as were sold, but also from the labour of those who were retained in the island. It has already been said that the fortresses of Rhodes and Malta show marked signs of the abundance and cheapness of labour. The numerous gangs of slaves who were awaiting the requirements of the wealthy potentates of Europe were, in the meantime, amply repaying the slender cost of their maintenance in the bagnio, by toiling at the vast defensive works for which the Order became so celebrated. Those ramparts have been reared by the drudgery and amidst the anguish of countless thousands, who, torn from their homes and their country, were condemned to drag out the remainder of their miserable life as mere beasts of burden. No existence can be conceived more utterly cheerless or more hopelessly wretched than that of the Moslem captive, whose only prospect of change from daily slavery on the public works was to be chained to the oar of a galley. Sometimes, however, it did happen that the fortune of war favoured these poor victims, and that the enslaved crew of a galley encountering a friendly antagonist were recaptured and liberated from their thralldom. In such a case piquancy was added to their joy by the fact that the haughty masters who had so long made them toil, were, in their turn, condemned to the same retributive misery and an equally hopeless degradation.

CHAPTER XIV.

1521—1522.

Election of L'Isle Adam—Fall of Belgrade—Correspondence with Solyman—Preparations for defence—Detail of the Turkish forces—Arrival of the Ottoman army at Rhodes—Commencement of the siege—Plot by a female slave within the city—Detail of Turkish artillery—Construction of cavaliers—Mining operations—Assault on the tower of St. Mary—Repeated attacks and their repulse—Accusations against the chancellor D'Amaral—His trial and execution—Devotion of the Rhodian women—Negotiations for surrender—Terms offered by Solyman—Their acceptance, and close of the siege by the surrender of the island.

ON the death of Carretto, as recorded in Chapter XII., a warm contest ensued for the election of his successor, the names of three candidates having been brought forward by their respective partisans. One of these was Andrew D'Amaral, or, as he was sometimes called, Del Miral, who was at the time the chancellor of the Order. His arrogance and haughty temper had, however, created him too many enemies to render his success in the slightest degree probable. The weight of the struggle lay, therefore, between the other two candidates, Thomas Docwra, or Docray, the grand-prior of England, and Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, grand-prior of France. Docray was a man whose experience in diplomacy had rendered his name celebrated amongst the fraternity. He was, moreover, in the possession of a magnificent private fortune, a fact which added greatly to the weight of his claims; but as the whole of the French interest was centred in L'Isle Adam, and as that interest was overpoweringly great, the vote was decided against Docray, and L'Isle Adam was proclaimed the forty-second Grand-Master.

Docray was among the first to offer his warm congratulations to his successful rival, all the more sincere possibly, as the

post was at the moment one of the most serious responsibility and difficulty. D'Amaral, on the other hand, felt so keenly the slight which he considered his rejection had cast on him, that he gave way to the most unwarrantable bitterness of temper. Whilst in this mood he is reported to have uttered a speech which was subsequently quoted against him, and which materially assisted in bringing him to the scaffold. He was supposed to have remarked, upon hearing of the election of L'Isle Adam, that he would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes.

L'Isle Adam was residing in his priory at the time of his election, but sensible of the importance of the crisis, and the imminence of the danger which threatened the convent, he set sail at once for Rhodes in the great carrack which had been despatched to Marseilles for his conveyance. A succession of disasters overtook the little squadron during the voyage. On one occasion the carrack caught fire, and was only saved by the strenuous exertions of the crew. Immediately afterwards they were assailed by a violent tempest, in the midst of which the ship was struck by lightning. Nine of the crew were killed, and L'Isle Adam's sword, which was hanging by his side, was destroyed, without, however, causing the slightest injury to his person. Such a combination of untoward circumstances excited the superstition of his attendants, and they earnestly besought him to abandon the voyage. L'Isle Adam was not the man to be deterred from his purpose by vague terrors, and so in spite of every obstacle he held steadily on his course. Whilst at Syracuse, he learnt that the pirate Curtoglu was hovering around Cape St. Angelo with the object of effecting his capture. Passing the point of peril under cover of night, he succeeded in evading the treacherous corsair, and reached Rhodes in safety.

In the summer of that year Solyman brought the siege of Belgrade to a successful conclusion, and his banner waved in triumph over its ruined ramparts. This victory accomplished, the Ottoman emperor found himself at leisure to turn his attention once more to that dream of his youthful ambition, the capture of Rhodes.* The recollection that the forces of his

* His father's last words to him had been, "You will be a great and

ancestor had been driven in confusion from its shores only rendered the project all the more attractive in his eyes. In addition to the desire which he naturally felt to remove the stigma cast on the Turkish arms by the former failure, it would be to him a great enhancement of glory to succeed in an undertaking in which so mighty a monarch as Mahomet had failed. In this ambitious view he was warmly seconded by many of his courtiers, although in the divan opinions were much divided on the subject.

The more cautious amongst his counsellors remembered with bitterness the stupendous preparations made on the former occasion by Mahomet. They recalled to mind the tempting inducements and promising assurances then held out by the traitorous adventurers in his confidence, all of which only resulted in the most miserable failure. The tide of invasion had rolled ignominiously back from those island bulwarks which the knights of St. John rendered an impassable barrier. These sage advisers pointed out that the garrison of Rhodes was very differently composed from those of the numerous fortresses which had succumbed to the Ottoman arms; that the town itself was at this time fortified far more completely and elaborately than it had been in 1480; that the recollection of their former success would nerve the knights and inhabitants to resist to the death any aggression on their island; and, lastly, that the powerful force necessary for such an undertaking could be far more usefully and brilliantly employed in other directions. To these arguments the supporters of the enterprise retorted that the failure of Mahomet's attack was mainly due to the fact that he was not himself present; they urged that that very failure rendered it highly advisable to wipe away the reproach cast on the military fame of the empire, and they further added that they had received trustworthy notification that the bastion of Auvergne had been thrown down with a view to its reconstruction on a better line. It seemed, therefore, that the present opportunity of attacking the place should be seized, whilst a breach was open through which they might enter with facility.

powerful monarch, provided you capture Belgrade, and drive away the knights from Rhodes."

This piece of information had been forwarded to Constantinople by a spy who had been maintained in Rhodes for some years in the pay of the Ottoman government. He was a Jewish physician who had been despatched thither by the emperor Selim for the express purpose of obtaining intelligence as to the state of the city. His profession had secured him a ready entrance and a warm welcome at Rhodes, where the impending prospect of a siege seemed to render him a valuable acquisition, and he maintained his clandestine correspondence with the Porte for a considerable time unsuspected. It was only at the very crisis of the siege that his treachery was discovered, and he himself rendered incapable of inflicting any further mischief.

Chief amongst those who urged Solyman to undertake an attack on Rhodes were his brother-in-law, Mustapha pasha, and the pirate Curtoglu, both of whom trusted to derive wealth and distinction by the enterprise. Their counsels, which accorded so well with the promptings of his own ambition, decided the emperor to carry out the project. As a preliminary measure, and to test the determination of his antagonists, he wrote to the new Grand-Master a letter couched in the following terms:—“Solyman the sultan, by the grace of God, king of kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high emperor of Byzantium and Trebizond, very powerful king of Persia, of Arabia, of Syria, and of Egypt, supreme lord of Europe and of Asia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, lord of Jerusalem and ruler of the universal sea, to Philip Villiers de L’Isle Adam, Grand-Master of the island of Rhodes, greeting, I congratulate you upon your new dignity and upon your arrival within your territories. I trust that you will rule there prosperously and with even more glory than your predecessors. I also mean to cultivate your favour. Rejoice then with me as a very dear friend that, following in the footsteps of my father, who conquered Persia, Jerusalem, Arabia, and Egypt, I have captured that most powerful of fortresses, Belgrade, during the late autumn, after which, having offered battle to the Giaours, which they had not the courage to accept, I took many other beautiful and well-fortified cities, and destroyed most of their inhabitants either by sword or fire, the remainder being reduced to slavery. Now, after sending my numerous and victorious army into their winter

quarters, I myself have returned in triumph to my court at Constantinople." L'Isle Adam was not slow in perceiving the covert menace of this letter. He therefore returned a reply breathing a still more open spirit of hostility. It ran as follows:—Brother Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to Solyman, sultan of the Turks, I have right well comprehended the meaning of your letter, which has been presented to me by your ambassador. Your propositions for a peace between us are as pleasing to me as they will be obnoxious to Curtoglu. This pirate, during my voyage from France, tried to capture me unawares, in which, when he failed, owing to my having passed into the Rhodian Sea by night, he endeavoured to plunder certain merchantmen that were being navigated by the Venetians; but scarcely had my fleet left their port than he had to fly and to abandon the plunder which he had seized from the Cretan merchants. Farewell."

To this bold epistle the sultan again replied, and endeavoured to inveigle the Grand-Master into sending a dignitary of the Order as an ambassador to Constantinople. He was in hopes that he might thus be enabled to extort valuable information with respect to the island and fortifications. L'Isle Adam was too well acquainted with Turkish treachery to intrust any member of his fraternity to the power of the wily Solyman, and the event shortly proved the wisdom of his precaution. A native of Rhodes, who had been despatched by his fellow-townsmen to open a negotiation with the Turks on the Lycian shore, was treacherously made captive and carried away to Constantinople. There, with the most complete disregard of the laws of civilized nations, he was, by order of Solyman, cruelly tortured, and a confession extorted from him of all that he knew concerning the fortifications of Rhodes.

It was now clear that no negotiation could any longer stave off the impending blow, and L'Isle Adam prepared himself with prompt energy to resist it manfully. Envoys were sent to all the courts of Europe to implore assistance in a struggle the result of which might prove a matter of so great moment to Christendom. Unfortunately, the emperor Charles V. and the French king Francis were too deeply engaged in their own broils to give any heed to the cry for assistance which arose

from the shores of Rhodes. The commanderies had all furnished such contingents as it was in their power to contribute, and it became clear to L'Isle Adam that he would have to trust for success far more to the spirit of his troops than to their numbers. Only one of the numerous embassies which he had despatched was prosperous in its issue, and this was the mission to Candia, which he had intrusted to Anthony Bosio, a serving-brother of considerable talent and sagacity, and related to the celebrated historian of the Order. This able negotiator succeeded in bringing back with him not only an ample supply of stores, but also 500 Cretan archers, in those days highly esteemed for their skill with the cross-bow. He had likewise attracted into the service of the knights the Venetian engineer, Gabriel Martinigo, whose reputation as a master of that science stood so high that his presence in Rhodes was hailed with enthusiasm.

Martinigo was so much impressed with the devotion and zeal which he noticed on every side, that he formed a desire to join the ranks of the fraternity, and made an application to that effect to the Grand-Master. As Martinigo was a man of good family and unmarried, no obstacle was placed in the way of accomplishing his wishes, and the knights greeted with joy this important acquisition to their ranks. He was at once named a grand-cross, and a large pension assigned to him, the whole charge of the fortifications being vested in his hands. Various additions were at his suggestion made to the defences; the gates were covered with ravelins, casemates were constructed in the flanks of the bastions, and the counterscarps were mined at such points as seemed most likely to be made use of by assaulting columns. Within the town barricades were erected in the principal streets, in the hope of protracting the contest even after the ramparts had been penetrated.

L'Isle Adam now caused a careful inspection to be made of his little garrison. The members of each *langue* were drawn up in front of their respective *auberges*, fully armed and accoutred, each being inspected by a knight of a different *langue*. Every individual was called on in turn to swear with his hand on the cross hilt of his sword that the equipments in which he was then paraded were his own property, and had not

been borrowed for the occasion. In this manner L'Isle Adam satisfied himself of the complete preparation of his little force.

The number of English knights present at the siege has not been recorded. Mention has only been made of the names of twenty, but this must have fallen far short of the number actually present. Conspicuous among these stands John Bouch, or Buck, the Turcopolier, who was selected as one of four leaders of supporting bodies destined to act as reserves, to be in readiness to carry succour wherever their services might seem to be most urgently needed. The commander of the English bastion, or tower of St. Mary, was Nicholas Hussey, whilst the leader of the troops apportioned for the defence of the English quarter was William Onascon.*

In like manner L'Isle Adam himself undertook the defence

* The names of the English knights which have been preserved are as follows:—

John Bouch, or Buck, Turcopolier, killed.	John Ranson, or Rawson.
Nicholas Hussey, commander of the English bastion, or tower of St. Mary.	William Tuest (? West).
William Onascon, commander of the English quarter.	John Baron.
Thomas Sheffield, commander of the palace postern.	Thomas Remberton, or Pemberton.
Nicholas Farfan, in the suite of the Grand-Master.	George Asfelz.
Henry Mansel, in the suite of the Grand-Master, killed.	John Lotu.
William Weston.	Francis Buet (? Butt).
	Giles Rosel (? Russell).
	George Emer (? Aylmer).
	Michael Roux.
	Nicholas Usel.
	Otho de Montselli, or Monteilli.
	Nicholas Roberts.

The last-named knight wrote an account of the siege to the earl of Surrey (*vide* Appendix No. 8). It has been suggested, and with much probability, that the William Onascon, commander of the English quarter, is the same as the William Weston who stands a little below him on the list. The latter was a very distinguished knight, and was not long after made grand-prior of England. He would, therefore, have been a likely person to be selected as commander of the quarter for that *langue*. If this be so, the number of names would be reduced to nineteen. Although there is no record of the deaths of any of these knights except Buck and Mansel, it is probable that the majority of them lost their lives in the siege, as it is stated that, owing to the numerous casualties amongst the members of the English *langue*, the defence of the tower of St. Mary had eventually to be transferred to knights of other *langues*.

of the quarter of St. Mary of Victory, the point where the last and most desperate struggle had taken place in the previous siege.

A commission was appointed, consisting of the chancellor D'Amaral, the Turcopolier John Buck, and Gabriel de Pomeroy, whose duty it was to examine into the stores of provisions and ammunition contained within the arsenals of the city. They reported that the supply of both was ample, and that no further provision of either was necessary. As a matter of fact the ammunition of the besieged soon fell short, and this deficiency was one of the main causes which led to the loss of Rhodes. This report, by which the Grand-Master was misled as to the state of his magazines, was brought forward against the unfortunate D'Amaral as an additional proof of the treason of which, as we shall presently see, he was convicted. The absurdity of the accusation is apparent; the treason, if such it were, must have been shared in by his brother commissioners, against whose fair fame no suspicion has ever attached. Nothing, in fact, is more likely than that the commissioners should have underestimated the expenditure of powder. The siege was much more protracted than the former one, whilst the amount of powder consumed in the mining operations of Martinigo, eminently successful as they were, went far towards exhausting the supply, and could hardly have been foreseen or provided for by D'Amaral or his associates.

D'Amaral, unfortunately for himself, was of so haughty and turbulent a disposition, that he was perpetually adding to the number of his antagonists, and giving them some fresh pretext upon which to found additional accusations against him. Thus, at this critical moment he headed a cabal which broke out amongst the knights of the Italian *langue*, who, under the excuse that the Pope was assuming the patronage of their commanderies, requested permission to depart for Rome so as to plead their cause in person before his Holiness. This request was very naturally refused by L'Isle Adam, who, at the moment he was expecting to see the whole power of the Ottoman empire arrayed against him, could ill spare the services of a single knight. D'Amaral, still undoubtedly smarting under a sense of jealousy at the preference shown for L'Isle Adam, prompted them to take for themselves the leave

which had been refused by the Grand-Master. They followed his suggestions, and, departing by night, secretly proceeded to Candia.

L'Isle Adam was dismayed at this serious defection from his force, already too feeble for its duties. His was not, however, the character to swerve from the path of duty through any motive of expediency. In the present dilemma his course was prompt and decisive, and, as is usually the case, when men guide themselves by the strict rules of justice, it was in the end eminently successful. He at once summoned a general council, before which he arraigned the recusant knights, and in their absence judgment was passed by default. They were sentenced to be deprived of their habit, and expelled the fraternity as unworthy members who had treacherously and pusillanimously abandoned their brethren during a crisis of extreme danger. This sentence soon brought the fugitives to a sense of their duty. They had abandoned the island, not from cowardice or from disinclination to share the common peril, but simply from a feeling of insubordination, aroused in a moment of pique and irritation against the Grand-Master. The view which had been taken of their conduct by the council touched their honour deeply. Instantly hurrying back to Rhodes they threw themselves at the feet of L'Isle Adam, imploring a remission of the sentence, and that they might be permitted to wash away in the blood of the infidel all recollection of their misconduct. To this petition L'Isle Adam at once assented. He was naturally overjoyed at the prospect of recalling so many gallant spirits to his standard, and during the lengthened struggle which ensued the conduct of the Italian knights was such that he had no cause to regret the leniency he had shown.

The total strength of the garrison, the inspection of which L'Isle Adam had caused to be made, amounted only to 600 knights and 4,500 men-at-arms. In addition to this force of regular troops, many of the inhabitants had enrolled themselves as a volunteer body, and were formed into battalions. The sailors of the galleys were also landed, and composed a naval brigade. The peasants who flocked into the town from the surrounding country were made useful as pioneers, performing most of the manual labour which the small number of the

troops rendered them unable to execute for themselves. A description of the fortress has been given in Chapter XII., showing what portion of the general line was attached to each *langue*. It remains only to say that the reserve was divided into four bodies, commanded respectively by the chancellor D'Amaral, who was to support the quarters of Auvergne and Germany; the Turcopolier, John Buck, for Spain and England; the grand-prior of France, Peter de Cluys, for France and Castile; and the grand-prior of Navarre, George de Morgut, for Provence and Italy. The Grand-Master himself, with his lieutenant, Gabriel de Pomeroy, at the head of his body-guard, was reserved for general purposes. The tower of St. Nicholas was placed under the command of Guyot de Castellan, a knight of Provence, and was garrisoned by twenty knights and 300 men-at-arms.

L'Isle Adam did not content himself with merely making these military dispositions. He also directed prayers and intercessions to be offered in all the churches, invoking the intervention of the Almighty to rescue them from their enemies. The town was divided into two creeds, the Latin and the Greek. At the head of each was an archbishop, the Latin dignitary being Leonard Balestin, and the Greek, Clement. Fortunately these ecclesiastics zealously co-operated with each other for the public weal, and maintained the most complete harmony between their respective flocks. They both issued most earnest exhortations to secure faithful and unswerving obedience to their common chief. The address of the Greek archbishop has been recorded by Fontanus, and is an excellent specimen of the declamation of the period. L'Isle Adam was certainly fortunate in possessing, at this crisis, two such able and energetic coadjutors, men whose position gave them ample power to sway the opinions and feelings of their countrymen.

The emperor Solyman was, during this time, busily engaged in collecting his forces in readiness for an attack on the island, and when all was prepared he, as a last measure, prior to commencing operations, despatched the following summons to surrender:—"The sultan Solyman, to Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to his knights and to

the people at large. Your monstrous injuries against my most afflicted people have aroused my pity and indignation. I command you, therefore, instantly to surrender the island and fortress of Rhodes, and I give you my gracious permission to depart in safety with the most precious of your effects, or if you desire to remain under my government I shall not require of you any tribute, or do aught in diminution of your liberties or against your religion. If you are wise you will prefer friendship and peace to a cruel war. Since, if you are conquered, you will have to undergo all such miseries as are usually inflicted by those that are victorious, from which you will not be protected, either by your own forces, or by external aid, or by the strength of your fortifications, which I will overthrow to their foundations. If, therefore, you prefer my friendship to war there shall be neither fraud nor stratagem used against you. I swear this by the God of heaven, the Creator of the earth, by the four Evangelists, by the 4,000 prophets who have descended from heaven, chief amongst whom stands Mahomet, most worthy to be worshipped, by the shades of my grandfather and father, and by my own sacred, august, and imperial head."

This letter was read by L'Isle Adam in full council. It was at once decreed that no other reply should be accorded than such as could be borne by the guns of the town. Any further parley would, indeed, have been fruitless, for by the time that this letter was being read at Rhodes, viz., on the 14th June, 1522, every preparation for the immediate commencement of the siege had been completed by Solyman. Mustapha pasha had been selected as the leader of his land forces, and Curtoglu, as admiral of the fleet, had the management of everything connected with their transport. The question of the strength of the Ottoman army is somewhat difficult to determine. Vertot, and most of the other European historians, place it at 140,000 men-at-arms, supplemented by 60,000 peasants from Wallachia and Bosnia, who were destined to execute the pioneering operations of the besieging force. These figures sound incredibly large when placed in comparison with a garrison which could only count from six to seven thousand men of all ranks and

descriptions. When we look to the Turkish historians the matter does not become much clearer. Ahmed Hafiz speaks of 40,000 rowers for the galleys, with 25,000 infantry on board ; but these figures only refer to the force which originally started from Constantinople, and take no account of those which the sultan afterwards brought up with him when he proceeded in person to Rhodes. It may therefore well be that even if a liberal discount be taken off the numbers given by the Christian historians, enough will remain to show that the disproportion between the forces of the besiegers and besieged was far greater than usual.

The naval armament by which the troops were transported, together with the *matériel* and stores, numbered, according to Hafiz, 700 sail, of which 500 were galleys. Curiously enough, these figures are far larger than those given by the Christian writers, who specify only 400 sail, of which 100 were galleys. An advanced detachment, consisting of thirty vessels, piloted the way to the scene of action, and pouring upon the smaller islands, the defenders of which had been withdrawn, carried sword and ravage in every direction. In the island of Lango, however, the fortress of which was still maintained, they met with a decided repulse. The commandant, a French knight named Prejan de Bidoux, at the head of his force, dashed at the disembarking marauders and drove them back in confusion to their ships. Awed by this act of determination they sheered off, and bore away in the direction of Rhodes.

Early on the morning of the 26th of June a signal from St. Stephen's hill conveyed intelligence into the city that the Turkish fleet was in sight. It was within the octave of the feast of St. John, during which period it had always been the custom at Rhodes for a procession to pass through the principal streets of the town. L'Isle Adam, anxious as far as possible to calm and reassure the terror-stricken population, directed that this procession should pursue its usual course, although the hostile fleet was at that moment studding the horizon. The procession over, high mass was celebrated in St. John's church. At its conclusion the Grand-Master approached the altar, and mounting its steps he elevated

the Host in the presence of the assembled multitude, and poured forth a prayer on behalf of the people committed to his charge, that the Almighty would deign to give them fortitude to defend His holy religion, and that the fire and sword, the slaughter and rapine, the destruction and slavery with which they were menaced, might through His infinite mercy be averted. L'Isle Adam was recognized as one of the first soldiers and most trusted leaders of the day. He was at the same time equally eminent for the fervour of his piety and the earnestness of his religious zeal. When, therefore, on this eventful morning he thus consecrated his cause to Heaven, and appealed to the Most High in terms of eloquent and touching supplication against the foe by whom his city and Order were menaced, all felt that under the leadership of such a man they were in good hands, and that if it were decreed that they should prosper, none could better carry the fiat into effect.

The religious ceremony concluded, the doors of the church were closed and the garrison directed to repair to their respective posts. The gates were shut, the bridges raised, banners were hoisted on the various bastions, and all stood awaiting the first scene of the bloody drama. The Grand-Master, clad in magnificent gilt armour, rode at the head of his guards with three knights beside him, one bearing the grand standard of the Order, the second a banner presented to D'Aubusson by the Pope, and the third a flag emblazoned with his own coat of arms. This latter was borne by a young English knight named Henry Mansell, who was killed early in the siege.

Not a man, woman, or child on that eventful morning remained within doors. Every point from whence the motions of the hostile fleet could be observed was thronged with anxious gazers. Many there were within that crowd, men whose hair time had sprinkled with silver, who, looking back through a long vista of years, could call to mind a scene very similar to that on which their eyes were now bent, when forty-two years since their seas had been covered with the fleet of that proud empire between which and themselves an undying animosity was ever burning. Then the God of battles had declared for their side, and they had triumphed gloriously. He had aided them to

hurl back the ruthless invader from their shores, and the bones of thousands who had once mustered in that proud array lay whitened beneath their soil. The husbandman still, in the preparation of his land, every now and again turned up some relic to remind him of that strife of which he was so justly proud, and amidst those verdant plains with which the city was surrounded, many a patch of green more brilliant than the rest was pointed out as the spot where lay one of those numerous masses of slain, buried in haste and confusion after the retreat of their fellows.

With all these memorials of their former victory before their eyes, with the knowledge that the Rhodes of to-day was far more powerful and capable of resistance than that which had maintained itself so successfully forty years before, with the strains of martial music filling the air and exhilarating their hearts, with the summer sun flashing its rays upon many a knightly crest and brodered pennon, it was natural that they should enjoy a sense of confidence amounting to exultation, and that they should look with a feeling well-nigh of certainty for the moment when the foe, once more recoiling in dismay from their ramparts, should seek an ignominious safety in flight.

Some there were, however, whose hearts, in spite of all these brilliant auguries of success, were filled with dread. They well knew that the might of Mahomet was, even at its zenith, far inferior to that of the emperor who now occupied his throne. Solyman's career had, to the present moment, been one unbroken succession of triumphs; the power had not as yet appeared which could withstand the vigour of his attack; the army which was now pouring its endless battalions upon the shores of their fair isle far exceeded that which they had before successfully resisted, not in mere numbers only, but in every detail of its equipment, and was led by generals trained to victory beneath the redoubted banner of their sultan. Under these conditions it might well prove that the constancy and bravery even of the knights of St. John would be unavailing, and that they might yet live to see the day when the Moslem standard should wave over those ramparts whereon they were now standing, and which had been for upwards of 200 years maintained in proud and honourable security.

The chief difficulty against which L'Isle Adam had to contend was the paucity of his garrison. Numerous tempting opportunities presented themselves for opposing the besiegers whilst they were disembarking. Any such efforts, however, must have involved a certain amount of loss, and as, considering the enormous disproportion between the Turkish forces and his own, no comparatively minor advantage could compensate for any diminution of his strength, the Grand-Master was obliged to curb the ardour of his followers, and to permit advances to be made which had his numbers been greater he would have been able to check.

It is recorded by Fontanus, in his history of this siege, that a Florentine named Girolamo Bartolini brought forward a project whereby the whole Turkish navy was to be destroyed at a blow, presumably by means of some explosive substance. L'Isle Adam declined the proffered aid, and this refusal has, by many of the contemporary writers, been attributed to the malign influence of D'Amaral. We may, however, safely assume that the clear judgment of the Grand-Master had discovered the chimerical nature of the proposal, and that he did not allow himself to be weakly guided by others when declining its adoption.

The disembarkation of the besieging army, which extended over several days, proceeded without interruption from the defenders, who were busily engaged throughout this period in making their last preparations to meet the coming storm. All preliminary measures having been taken, the Turks broke ground under cover of a cannonade, and commenced the construction of trenches with the aid of the Wallachian peasants, whom they had brought for the purpose. The knights, on their side, harassed the advances of the working parties by constant sorties. These checks greatly impeded the operations of the besiegers, whilst vast numbers of the defenceless pioneers fell beneath the swords of their assailants.

From the very commencement of the expedition disaffection had shown itself in the Turkish army. Upon the first appearance of the fleet a deserter had succeeded in making his escape from one of the ships, and reached St. Nicholas's tower, swimming a distance stated to be between six and seven miles,

under cover of the night. This fugitive, after having given correct information as to the magnitude of the force, stated that there was great reluctance on the part of the janissaries to engage in the operation. The failure of the former siege was well known to them, and the almost superhuman valour displayed on that occasion by the knights of St. John had lost none of its terrors by constant repetition. They were well aware that since that day much had been done to strengthen the fortress, and they looked upon Rhodes, defended as it was by such a frowning mass of batteries, and held by the lion hearts before whom their forefathers had so often recoiled, as almost impregnable.

The ill success of their first attempts in pushing forward the siege works, and the fearful slaughter of the pioneers by the harassing sorties of the knights, completed their disaffection. Murmurs and remonstrances soon became loud throughout the camp, and it was with difficulty that the troops could be induced to advance to what they considered certain destruction. Pir Mehmed pasha (called in most of the European histories Pyrrhus pasha), a general and counsellor in whom Solyman placed the greatest confidence, deemed it necessary to report this disaffection to his master, informing him that nothing short of his own immediate presence on the spot could control the turbulence of the mutineers. Solyman had from the first intended to take part in the siege in person, but this message hastened his movements, and he soon appeared on the scene at the head of a large body of troops.*

By a judicious mixture of clemency and severity, he rapidly restored the spirit of his army, and the late mutineers, ashamed in the presence of their sultan of the murmurings and insubordination in which they had so lately indulged, now became

* The Turkish account of the sultan's arrival at Rhodes differs somewhat from the above, which is taken from the narratives of the European historians. According to Ahmed Hafiz, the force which first landed only consisted of the troops usually carried in the fleet, together with the Wallachian peasantry. The sultan advanced by land at the head of the real army, and the fleet having returned to Asia Minor for the purpose, he embarked with his forces, and was conveyed to Rhodes. The date of his landing is uncertain, but it must have been somewhere about the middle of July.

fired with an anxious desire to distinguish themselves and merit his approbation.

Meanwhile a plot of the most dangerous character had been discovered within the city, the details of which had been arranged, and were to have been carried into execution, by a woman. She was a Turkish slave, who, eager for the success of her countrymen, and at the same time anxious to regain her own freedom, devised a scheme for setting fire to the town at several points, and giving admission to the besiegers during the confusion that would ensue. This design she communicated to several of her fellow-slaves, and had even been able to establish communications with the Turkish leaders. The hour for the attempt was fixed, and all the necessary arrangements made to insure success, when by some inadvertency on the part of one of the confederates, the plot became revealed to the authorities. The conspirators were at once seized and subjected to torture, under the pressure of which a confession was extorted from all concerned, excepting only the daring female who had devised the scheme, and who stoutly maintained her innocence. Her constancy remained unshaken to the last, and she suffered the extreme penalty of the law without having uttered one word to inculcate either herself or others. Of her guilt, however, if such an attempt can be called guilt on the part of one who was suffering all the cruelties and privations of slavery, there can be no doubt. Her severed limbs were exposed on the ramparts, where they served as a warning to deter others similarly situated from any further projects of the kind.

Suspicious of treason throughout this siege appear to have been very prevalent, and the rumours to that effect which were constantly circulating engendered a universal feeling of distrust highly prejudicial to the maintenance of good discipline. Many of these suspicions were entirely groundless; but there lurked within the ramparts an amount of treachery amply sufficient to account for their existence. The Jewish doctor was still residing within the town,* and he succeeded in

* The name of this person has not been recorded. It has by some writers been supposed that he was a myth, and that it was D'Amaral who was guilty of the treasonous acts imputed to the Jew. This, however,

maintaining intercourse with the besiegers whereby much valuable information was made known to them. It was by his suggestion that the Turkish artillery was turned against the campanile beside St. John's church, from which elevated spot the besieged had been able to overlook the whole Turkish camp and to trace their operations in the trenches. A few days' practice at so elevated a target sufficed to achieve its overthrow, and the knights were thus deprived of a post of observation which they had found extremely useful.

The numerous sorties in which the garrison had indulged during the construction of the trenches materially impeded, it is true, the operations of the Turks, and caused the slaughter of vast numbers of their Wallachian pioneers, but these successes had not been gained without loss. The same feeling which prompted L'Isle Adam to refrain from any attempt to check the disembarkation of the Turks made him now again give strict orders that all further sorties were to be abandoned. The Turks were thus able to complete their works without any other hindrance than that which was caused by the ceaseless play of artillery brought to bear on every part of the trenches, and, as Ahmed Hafiz admits, with wonderful precision and accuracy. The cessation of these sallies prevented the capture of any more prisoners, and L'Isle Adam was no longer made acquainted with the movements taking place within the enemy's camp. In this dilemma a party of sailors undertook to obtain the required information. They dressed themselves as Turks and left the harbour during the night in a boat. They coasted along the shore, and speaking the enemy's language with facility, proceeded fearlessly into the midst of the Turkish camp. Thence they succeeded in inveigling two genuine Moslems into their boat and carried them off undiscovered into the town. The prisoners were taken to the top of St. John's tower, which had not as yet been demolished, and there they were questioned by Martinigo, the Venetian engineer, and two other knights. They were given plainly to understand that on

could not be the case, as it will be seen further on that the doctor was discovered and suffered the penalty of death before the conclusion of the siege.

displaying the least hesitation or prevarication in replying to their questioners, they would at once be hurled headlong from the dizzy height on which they stood. Under the pressure of this menace they disclosed all they knew.

The order in which the besiegers' forces were posted thus became known to L'Isle Adam. Between the shore of Archandria bay and the bastion of St. John were the troops of the vizier Pir Mehmed pasha; to his left was Cassim pasha, who commanded the division of Anatolia; then that of Mustapha pasha, next to whom was Achmet pasha, whose division reached as far as the Amboise gate, the circuit being closed towards the north by the troops of the Beglier Bey of Roumelia, and the janisseries under their chief, Baly Aga. Solyman had established his head-quarters on St. Stephen's hill. From the same source Martinigo learnt the strength of the battering train which had accompanied the Turkish army. This train included six brass guns with a calibre of $3\frac{1}{2}$ palms,* fifteen others of from 5 to 6 palms, twelve large bombards of from 9 to 10 palms, and two others still larger of 11 palms. In addition to these there were twelve basilisks of 8 palms and fifteen double cannon for throwing iron shot. There were also twelve brass mortars for vertical fire, throwing shot and shell of from 7 to 8 palms. From these mortars the gunners of the Turkish army anticipated great results, and an incessant fire was kept up from them upon the town. Bourbon records that they discharged 1,713 stone shot and eight brass balls filled with artificial fire during the early part of the siege. These latter were probably the first shells of which history has recorded the use, and from the fact that so few were thrown, we may perhaps conclude that they were not found to answer as well as was expected.

The sultan had not long continued the direction of the siege when he discovered that, from the level of the ground in which his trenches were formed, he could gain no command over the works he was attacking. To obviate this difficulty he directed two large cavaliers to be raised, one in front of the bastion of Italy, the other between the posts of Spain and Germany, near the gate of St. George. As the sites selected for these works

* It has already been mentioned that these palms are supposed to be 2·9 inches long.

were completely commanded by the guns of the town, and as, from the rapid manner in which the operation was pushed forward, it became evident that something of more than ordinary importance was contemplated, every battery which could be brought to bear on them was called into requisition, and the losses consequently sustained by the unfortunate pioneers were prodigious. Heaps of slain marked the rise of the structures, but as Solyman held the lives of these wretched peasants in no esteem, the labour was pushed forward with undiminished energy. In spite of every effort on the part of the defence, the mounds continued to rise higher and higher until at length they dominated over the ramparts in their front, and exposed the defenders to a galling fire from their summit. It is rather curious to see how differently the same events are described by the two sides. This is what the Turkish historian, Ahmed Hafiz, says on the subject:—"Mehmed pasha, without loss of time, directed Mustapha pasha to have a number of sand-bags filled, and to have them piled up as close as possible to the fortress in order to raise redoubts, which should reach the height of the crest of those works, for in this manner only did he hope to be able to carry them. The infidels, doubtless understanding the design, concentrated all their fire on the workmen, but their shot had no effect in the soft earth, killing, it is true, some persons, but not damaging the mounds, which soon reached the level of the parapets, so that the defenders could no longer man them with impunity." It is easy to see from this description that the slaughter of the Wallachian peasants made no impression on the mind of the historian—some persons, it is true, were killed, but the raising of the mounds was the main object, and that was not impeded.

Meanwhile a heavy fire was brought to bear against the tower of St. Nicholas and the post of Auvergne, but without success. The artillery directed against the besieging batteries by the skill of Martinigo, utterly annihilated their efficiency. A more general distribution of the besiegers' guns was then decided on, and for a whole month the air resounded with the roar of the cannonade, which in all directions was being concentrated upon the devoted town. The bastions of St. Mary and Italy soon began to show signs of the vigour with which they were

being attacked. At the former a new rampart had been constructed, covering the old one, and this it was which gave way. The older escarp in its rear proved the better defence, and resisted the pounding of the hostile guns long after the other had been breached into ruins.

Wherever the works showed signs of yielding to the cannonade, the unflagging energy of the defenders was called into play to repair the damages almost as rapidly as they were caused. In all directions new ditches were sunk, and behind them retrenchments were raised within the vulnerable points. Solymán at length perceived that with antagonists such as these, a simple war of artillery might last for ever. He determined, therefore, on pushing forward his attack upon different principles, and in accordance with the advice of his most trusted generals, he had recourse to mining. Shafts were sunk in various directions, and galleries driven forward beneath the principal bastions. Martínigo had foreseen the probability of this mode of approach, and the numerous countermines which he had prepared before the commencement of the siege materially assisted him in opposing it. By the simple aid of the distended parchment of a drum he was able to detect the vicinity of the enemy's miners through the vibration of the earth, and took his defensive measures accordingly.

Unfortunately, two galleries which had been driven beneath the bastion of St. Mary, eluded his vigilance, and the first warning the defenders of that post received was an explosion which threw down the entire salient of the work. A battalion of Turks, which had been drawn up within their trenches, as soon as they heard the crash which betokened the downfall of the rampart, dashed forward with a wild shout of triumph, and mounting the still smoking breach, gained the summit before the defenders had recovered sufficient presence of mind to withstand the onslaught. Here they planted their victorious standard, and flushed with success, pushed forward with redoubled ardour to secure the remainder of the work. They were, however, brought to a check by the retrenchment, behind which the knights, now recovered from their momentary confusion, opposed a steady and obstinate resistance. At this critical juncture the Grand-Master made his appearance on the

scene, followed by his body-guard. He had been engaged in the celebration of mass in the chapel of St. Mary of Victory. The alarm caused by the explosion arose at the moment when the officiating priest had intoned the prayer, "*Deus in adiutorium meum intende.*" "I accept the augury," said the Grand-Master, and turning to his followers, he exclaimed, "Come, my brethren, let us exchange the sacrifice of our prayers and praises for that of our lives, and let us die, if God so wills it, in defence of our religion." Roused by this noble exhortation, they rushed to the scene of strife, hurled themselves into the midst of the contending battalions, and in a little while carried all before them. Foremost in the fray was L'Isle Adam, his gigantic frame conspicuous amidst his compeers, as, armed with a short pike, he dashed at the foe, and by word and deed encouraged his followers to drive back the invading Moslem. A few moments of desperate strife sufficed to attest the superiority, both moral and physical, of the knights of St. John. Cowering under the withering storm, the Turks, no longer able to advance, nor even to maintain themselves upon the ground already gained, gradually gave way, and were driven back in confusion through the breach which they had so shortly before entered in triumph. Mustapha pasha, whose division had furnished the assaulting columns, was watching the fortunes of the day from the advanced trenches, and had been congratulating himself with the idea that Rhodes was won. He was not permitted to indulge long in this pleasant dream, and his fury as he beheld his receding battalions fleeing tumultuously from the scene of strife knew no bounds. Hastily drawing his scimitar he rushed upon the foremost of the fugitives, and in the vehemence of his rage cut down several with his own hand, and thus checked the flight. Rallying the remainder he led them in person once more to the attack, and the struggle was again renewed. The advantage, however, had now been lost, so that it was not possible even for the valour of Mustapha to restore the fortunes of the day. Bravely he strove to penetrate within the ruined rampart, but in vain. The breach was now crowned by those who were well able to maintain it, and the baffled and discomfited columns of the Moslem were eventually

forced to relinquish the strife, and to retire in despair to the shelter of their trenches.

It would be a tedious task to describe the constant succession of assaults by which Solyman endeavoured to regain the advantage which had been lost on the first attempt. In each case, the means employed, both in the attack and defence, were always the same. The sudden alarm caused either by the explosion of a mine or the rush of a storming column, the hasty call to arms, the ringing of the bells, whereby the impending danger was notified to the garrison generally, the onset of the Moslem, the firm stand of the knights, the fiercely-shouted war-cry ringing out on either side, the roar of artillery, the incessant rattle of small arms, the flashing of Greek fire, and the fatal hissing of the seething pitch poured on the foe as they clambered over the breach; such were always the leading features of the picture; what need therefore to repeat the tale? The results are the only real points of importance, and these were invariably the same. Though the assaulting columns numbered thousands and tens of thousands selected from the flower of the Ottoman army, whilst the defenders consisted of but a handful of Christians, harassed, exhausted, and weakened by their previous efforts, still upon each occasion the swarms of the infidel were forced to recoil from the impassable barrier.

It is thus that Ahmed Hafiz describes some of these assaults: "The Mussulmans descended into the ditch, carrying their fascines with them, whilst the best marksmen fired on all who dared to show their heads above the crest of the parapet. Clinging to the walls like polypi, the assailants mounted steadily under the storm of fire and steel, which rained on them from the ramparts; the noise of musketry, the discharge of cannon, the cries of the combatants filled the air with a confused tumult. Not content with receiving the victorious* with fire and steel, the besieged also poured on them caldrons of boiling pitch and tar. The brave soldiers of Islam fell by hundreds, and the angels opened the gates of Paradise to their souls, for from the summit of the fortress were hurled masses of rock and of metal upon the ladders crowded with men. By

* Hafiz always speaks of the Ottoman forces as "the victorious," even when impartially recording their failures.

midday the number of the dead had become so great that it was necessary to suspend the attack, the corpses of the Mussulmans were so numerous that they were huddled into trenches without counting them, but God certainly kept a pitying record of the number of the faithful whom He that day received into Paradise." And again, on another occasion—"In obedience to the orders given, the victorious of Islam rushed to the assault full of ardour; the fight was bloody; the dead of the Mussulman army fell like rams destined to the sacrifice, under the terrible fire of the enemy's guns; the number of the victims was untold; still the fortress resisted the heroic efforts which were made against the infidels, so that exhausted at length the victorious of Islam were compelled to retire." Once more—"The division of Mustapha pasha having completed a mine, fired it; the damage done was considerable; all the infidels who defended this post were hurled up into the third heaven, and their souls were plunged into hell; a large piece of wall having fallen, the road was open for the victorious, they threw themselves into the ditches, strove bravely to mount the breach, and fought like heroes; vain effort; they were compelled to retire, leaving the ditch choked with the dead, and inundated with their generous blood."

It was thus that on the 13th, the 17th, and the 24th of September the most furious attempts were made to carry the town. Upon the 13th the attack was on the Italian quarter; on the 17th the English bastion of St. Mary withstood the violence of the assault, the Turcopolier, John Buck, falling gloriously at the head of his *langue*. Upon the 24th, in accordance with the proposals of Pir Mehmed, the attack was made simultaneously on all sides. Even this gigantic effort of superior numbers failed utterly in its purpose. Although several temporary advantages enabled the besiegers to gain a footing upon the rampant and to plant their standard on its summit, still the success was in every instance but momentary, and the impetuous onset of the defenders ended by restoring the fortunes of the day. In order to encourage his troops by his own immediate presence, the sultan had caused a scaffold to be erected, from the height of which he might witness the assault. He had fired his soldiery with the prospect of booty, having given

up to them the whole plunder of the city. This offer, combined with the knowledge that they were fighting under the immediate eye of their sovereign, had roused them to a pitch of enthusiasm such as he fondly hoped must prove the precursor of victory. If the assailants were stimulated with the hope of gain and the prospect of distinction, the defenders, on the other hand, were equally nerved to the combat by their religious devotion and by the energy which despair had brought to their aid. Solyman had, in consequence, the mortification of witnessing from his lofty post of observation the utter discomfiture of his forces. Sounding a retreat, he descended to his tent, and in the bitterness of his mortification resolved to wreak his vengeance on those who had originally counselled the expedition. Both Pir Mehmed and Mustapha were condemned to death, and the sentence would have been carried into effect had not the other leaders interceded and persuaded him to reverse the decree. They were, however, banished from the camp, and compelled to return to Asia, whilst the siege was still in progress. The pirate admiral, Curtoglu, was reserved for a more humiliating fate, having to undergo the degradation of corporal punishment on the poop of his own galley, after which he was ignominiously expelled from the fleet, the reason alleged for this severity being that he had neglected to aid the land forces by making a naval diversion.

Whilst these successes were enabling the garrison to maintain their resistance, the first seeds of those disastrous results which eventually led to the loss of the town began to show themselves. Although before the commencement of the siege it had been reported to L'Isle Adam by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the quantity of powder in the magazines was amply sufficient, even if the siege were protracted for a year, little more than a month had elapsed before it became manifest that the supply was too limited for the occasion. In addition to the powder in the magazines, there were large stores of saltpetre within the town, and L'Isle Adam promptly established a manufactory of gunpowder under the superintendence of two knights and a committee of citizens. Even with this aid it soon became necessary to practise the most rigid economy in the

expenditure of ammunition, and the efforts of the garrison were much impeded by this vital want. Curiously enough, we learn from Ahmed Hafiz that a similar difficulty arose in the besiegers' camp, and that their operations were for some time suspended whilst a portion of the fleet was engaged in fetching further supplies.

Treason also shortly began to display itself. The incident of the female slave already recorded had created a dread of some similar attempt on the part of her fellow-slaves. Every one was on the alert, and whispers of treachery passed from ear to ear. At length the Jewish doctor, who had been placed in Rhodes as a spy by the sultan Selim, and who had contrived to maintain a correspondence with the Turkish leaders during the siege, was detected in the act of discharging a treasonable communication into the enemy's camp attached to an arrow. The evidence against him was positive and conclusive; he was, nevertheless, subjected to torture. Under its influence he confessed to having informed the enemy of the scarcity of ammunition, together with many other details tending to induce them to continue the siege. His fate was such as he richly deserved, but the mischief he had caused did not end with him. But for the information he had imparted, in all human probability Rhodes would not have fallen.

As it was, the constant ill success which attended his efforts, and the fearful carnage which had decimated his troops, caused Solyman to pause and ponder well the advisability of abandoning the enterprise. At that moment the fate of the town hung suspended in the balance, and a mere trifle would have inclined it either way. It was, indeed, a glorious sight to see an army which, on the most moderate computation, must have exceeded 100,000 in number, thus baffled and held at bay by a force reduced through its many casualties to little more than 3,000 fighting men. Those fortifications with which they had at such cost surrounded their city were now crumbling beneath the artillery and the mines of the enemy. Gaping breaches laid it open in every direction, and yet, destitute as they had become of even the ordinary necessities of life, short of powder, food, and wine, they still protracted the defence with undiminished obstinacy, determined to maintain

themselves whilst yet there remained a knight to oppose the entry of the Moslem.

It is not surprising that in this desperate condition men should lend a ready ear to tales of treason. It was evident to all that spies were in the town; everything that occurred was soon made known to Solyman, and many points in his attack had been altered in conformity with the information he had received. They knew not where to look for the traitor, and each one glanced fearfully at his neighbour, as though feeling that at such a moment no one could be trusted. At this crisis suspicion was directed against some of the chief dignitaries by a Spanish pilgrim, a female of great reputed sanctity, who was then residing at Rhodes, having lately returned from Jerusalem. This woman traversed the streets with bare feet, denouncing the leaders and asserting that the calamities then befalling the town were due to the vengeance of God called down by the iniquities of some of those who ruled over their fortunes. No names were mentioned, but the general suspicion being thus turned in a particular direction it required but little to create a victim, and this was ere long effected.

Whilst the ferment was at its height a servant of the chancellor D'Amaral, named Blaise Diaz, was detected on the bastion of Auvergne with a bow in his hand. As this was not the first time he had been seen under similar circumstances he was arrested and brought before the Grand-Master. By his instructions the man was interrogated before the judges of the castellany, and under the influence of torture averred that he had been employed by his master to discharge treasonable correspondence into the enemy's camp. D'Amaral was at once arrested and confronted with his accuser, who repeated the charge to his face. No sooner had the name of the chancellor become bruited abroad than numbers rushed forward, eager to add corroborative testimony. His arrogant conduct had created him enemies in every sphere of life, and now, when suspicion had fallen on him, all were ready to lend a helping hand to complete his destruction. A Greek priest deposed that he had seen the chancellor with Diaz on the bastion of Auvergne, and that the latter had discharged an arrow with a letter attached to it. The statement was also recalled that at

the election of L'Isle Adam, D'Amaral had asserted he would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. On this testimony he also was subjected to torture, which he bore with unflinching fortitude, asserting that he had nothing to reveal, and that at the close of a life spent in the service of the Order, he would not disgrace his career by the utterance of a falsehood so as to save his aged limbs from the rack.

His firmness and constancy did not avail to save him from those who were clamorous for his death. Diaz, of whose guilt there could be no doubt, was hanged and quartered on the 6th November. D'Amaral, whose rank forbade so degrading a death, was sentenced to be beheaded. He was stripped of his habit in the church of St. John on the 7th November, and, on the following day, executed in the great square.

Of the two contemporary writers who have given accounts of this siege, both of whom were eye-witnesses of the events they record, one, the chevalier de Bourbon, asserts the guilt of the chancellor without doubt, and may fairly be taken as the mouthpiece of the general opinion within the town. The other, Fontanus, who was one of the judges appointed to investigate the charge, is very reticent and obscure on the point. A careful study of his work leads to the impression that he found no proofs of guilt in D'Amaral. Never, perhaps, was man condemned on weaker evidence. The deposition of his own servant, who had been detected in a treasonable act, and might naturally try to save himself by fixing the guilt on another, should have been received with grave suspicion. The testimony of the Greek priest was absolutely worthless. Why, if he had previously witnessed the transmission of treasonable communications, did he not denounce the criminals sooner, when treason was known to be fraught with such imminent danger? The explanation which D'Amaral gave of this man's evidence was probably correct, viz., that it was the effect of spite, owing to his having had to find fault with the looseness of the priests' life. The improbability of a man in the position of the chancellor risking his life and reputation by employing a servant in such open treachery seems too great for the fact to be readily accepted. Much has, of recent years, been said as to the guilt

of D'Amaral being confirmed by the fact that the church of St. John was destroyed by an explosion of powder stored in the vaults beneath, unknown to the authorities. This incident seems to add but little, if anything, to the evidence. It is a matter of great doubt whether powder would explode after a storage of upwards of three centuries. It is much more probable that it was placed there by the Turks themselves at some considerably later period. Even if it could be traced as far back as the siege of 1522, there seems nothing to connect it with D'Amaral. He was one of three persons appointed to report on the quantity of powder and other stores within the fortress, but it is nowhere alleged that he had charge of it. At all events, had a large quantity been stored in these vaults at a time when its scarcity was so well known, there must have been many persons acquainted with the fact who would all have been privy to the treason, if treason there were. It seems, therefore, that the chancellor D'Amaral fell an unfortunate and, as far as history can judge, an innocent victim to popular clamour.

Meanwhile, the sultan was weighing in his own mind the advisability of abandoning the siege, and this design he would in all probability have carried into effect, had he not been informed by an Albanian deserter of the state of destitution to which the town was reduced. This intelligence tempted him to persevere, and Achmet pasha was appointed to the command of the forces. Under his directions several fresh assaults were made, and in every case successfully resisted. Day by day the breaches became wider, and the ramparts more untenable; the defenders fewer, and their strength more exhausted; hope had given way to despair, and the prospect of relief from Europe had grown less and less; still the opposition remained as stubborn as ever, and Solyman began to dread that he would only enter the ruined city when the last of its garrison had fallen.

It was not the men only who were thus covering themselves with glory; the women also, in this fearful emergency, proved worthy helpmates in the heroic defence. Many incidents are narrated of their courage and devotion, and throughout they seem to have aided materially, both by precept and

example, in maintaining the constancy of the besieged. One woman, a Greek by birth, and either the wife or mistress of an officer, earned an imperishable renown by her sad, though brilliant, fate in one of these latter assaults. She had been engaged in bringing food to the defenders, when, in one of the sudden Turkish onslaughts, she saw her husband struck dead. Overwhelmed with despair, she rushed into the thickest of the struggle and there fell, covered with wounds, not, however, before she had amply avenged the fate of him who had been so dear to her.

With women capable of acts such as these the glorious defence which Rhodes made ceases to be a matter of surprise. The resistance still offered was as indomitable as ever. Although the Turks had established themselves permanently on two distinct points in the ramparts, they were not yet masters of the place, for as each successive bulwark was lost a fresh one sprang up in its rear. Well might Solyman despair of ever calling the city his own; for six months he had hurled all the gigantic resources in his possession against its bulwarks; 60,000 men, it is computed, had fallen by sword and pestilence, and yet he still found himself advancing step by step only in the face of ever-renewed obstacles.

Then, too, he could not expect that succour for the besieged would be much longer delayed. Owing to the disturbed state of Europe he had been permitted to carry on his operations for six months unmolested. Now, however, that the gallant resistance of the knights was arousing the admiration of Christendom; when men were gazing breathlessly upon this noble spectacle of heroism and devotion, he could not hope to be left much longer undisturbed. Under these circumstances he acquiesced eagerly in the proposal of Achmet pasha, that the town should be invited to capitulate. Unwilling that such a suggestion should appear to emanate from himself, he directed a Genoese named Monilio, who was in his camp, to undertake the mission. Matters were prepared for him by the transmission of sundry letters which were shot into the town, and in which the people were urged to surrender; life and liberty for all being promised in case of speedy compliance, and dire vengeance being threatened in the event of protracted resistance.

When these letters had had sufficient time to create the intended effect, Monilio presented himself one morning before the bastion of Auvergne, desiring an interview with Matteo de Via, one of the leading citizens of Rhodes. This request being refused, he began to urge those whom he was addressing to seek terms of capitulation. His proposals were repulsed, and he was informed that the knights of St. John only treated with the infidel sword in hand. Two days after he again made his appearance, bearing, as he said, a letter from the sultan to L'Isle Adam. This letter the Grand-Master refused to receive, and Monilio was informed that if he attempted any further parleying he would be fired on. L'Isle Adam had long since decided that if he failed to receive help from Europe he would make the ruins of Rhodes the common grave of himself and his brethren.

Had the town contained none others than members of the Order, this resolution would indubitably have been carried into effect. It no sooner, however, became noised abroad that the subject of capitulation had been mooted from the Ottoman camp than a cabal arose in the town to urge its acceptance. There were not wanting those who preferred life to the glory of further resistance; and, indeed, it is clear that to men unfettered by religious obligations, continued opposition must have appeared perfect madness. The principal citizens therefore commissioned their metropolitan to urge upon the Grand-Master the necessity for treating with the enemy.

L'Isle Adam now found that it did not depend only on himself to carry his heroic resolutions into practice. Without the concurrence of the citizens this would be impossible, and that concurrence the archbishop positively assured him he would not obtain. A council was therefore summoned to deliberate on the matter. Whilst it was sitting a deputation appeared to present a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they implored the Order to provide for the safety of their wives and children, and to rescue from the profanation of the infidel those holy relics which they all held in such high veneration. The petition closed with a threat that if the knights neglected to comply with its request the inhabitants would feel themselves bound by every law, divine and human, to secure by

their own efforts the safety of those dearer to them than life. On hearing this petition L'Isle Adam called upon the prior of St. Gilles and the engineer Martinigo to report on the state of the town and fortress. Thereupon the latter rose and asserted on his honour and conscience that he did not consider the place any longer tenable; that the slaves and other pioneers had been all either killed or wounded, so that it was no longer feasible to muster sufficient labour to move a piece of artillery from one battery to another; that it was impossible without men to carry on the repairs necessary to the ramparts; that their ammunition and stores were exhausted, and further, seeing that the enemy were already established within the lines at two points, without any power of dislodging them, he was of opinion that the city was lost, and should be surrendered. The prior of St. Gilles corroborated this statement in every particular.

The debate was long and stormy; there were many who, like the Grand-Master, were desirous of emulating the self-devotion of their predecessors, and of burying themselves beneath the ruins of Rhodes. Had the knights not been encumbered by the presence of a large and defenceless population, this line of policy would unquestionably have been adopted. As it was, however, there were present in the council-chamber others, who perceived that by such a decision they were dooming to destruction those who had stood faithfully by them through the long struggle, and were now entitled to consideration at their hands. Moreover, the question was not, they felt, left only to them to decide. Should they attempt to continue the defence, would the people stand tamely by and see themselves thus doomed to slaughter, simply because the council had so decreed? If the town were to be yielded, it was far better that it should be by the unanimous act of the besieged, as they would thereby insure more liberal terms from the sultan than he would grant if he once knew there were divisions in their councils. It was therefore decreed that the next offer of parley should be accepted, and that the Grand-Master should be authorized to secure the best conditions procurable.

The chiefs of Solyman's army were too desirous of putting a stop to the fearful effusion of blood which had now been going on for six months, and of obtaining possession, upon almost any

terms, of the city, which seemed, as it were, to recede from their grasp as they advanced, to keep the inhabitants long in suspense. Upon the 10th December a white flag was hoisted at the top of a church standing within the Turkish lines, and this was at once answered by another raised on a windmill near the Cosquino gate. Two Turks then advanced from the trenches for the purpose of opening a parley, and they were met at the above-named gate by Martinigo and the prior of St. Gilles. They tendered a letter containing the conditions on which the sultan would consent to a capitulation. In consideration of the instant surrender of the town he was prepared to permit the Grand-Master, with his knights and such of the citizens of all ranks as might wish to leave, to do so unmolested, taking with them all their household property. Those who elected to remain were guaranteed the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and were to be free from paying tribute for five years; the churches were to be protected from profanation; and all property secured from pillage. The letter concluded with the most fearful threats if these terms were not accepted immediately.

The council decided on despatching an embassy to the Turkish camp, and for this purpose selected Anthony Grollée, the standard bearer of the Order, and a Rhodian named Robert Perrucey. These envoys at once proceeded to the tent of Achmet pasha, who, on behalf of the Turks, sent into the city two hostages of high rank as a guarantee for their safe return. On the following day Solymán admitted them to an audience, but commenced by ignoring the contents of his letter, conceiving it to have been beneath his dignity that he should have taken the initiative in proposing terms of capitulation. He, however, added that he was willing to adhere to the conditions therein offered, and required an immediate reply. A truce was agreed on for three days, and one of the envoys sent back into the town to announce the fact, the other being still retained as a hostage.

Meanwhile L'Isle Adam, who was daily looking for succours from Europe, determined on protracting the negotiations as far as possible. With this object he, the next morning, despatched a fresh embassy into the Turkish camp, the real object of which was simply to gain time, but ostensibly to try and

persuade Solyman to offer the knights better terms. The envoys took with them a letter which had been received by D'Aubusson from Bajazet, the grandfather of Solyman, in which that prince invoked the malediction of Heaven upon any of his successors who should attempt to disturb the Order in its peaceful possession of the island of Rhodes. Achmet pasha, to whom this document was shown, at once destroyed it, feeling sure that if it came under the eye of his master it would only stimulate his rage against the fraternity by recalling to his memory an incident which in no way redounded to the glory of his race.

At this juncture, and whilst the terms of the treaty were being discussed, an unfortunate collision occurred between some portion of the garrison and the Turks, in which several of the latter lost their lives. It is not clear how this arose. The Turkish writer Hafiz states that on that night a relieving force of fifteen galleys filled with troops had arrived in the harbour, and that the attack was made by them. No allusion to such a reinforcement is made by any of the other historians, nor is it easy to see from whence they came. Be this as it may, the outbreak brought the truce to a premature close, the batteries were reopened, and everything replaced on a hostile footing. Some prisoners who fell into the hands of the Turks were mutilated by having their fingers, noses, and ears cut off, and in that miserable plight sent back into the town with the message that such was the treatment the besieged might now expect at the hands of the sultan. L'Isle Adam was overjoyed at the failure of the negotiation. He had entered into it most reluctantly, nothing but a stern sense of necessity having induced him to countenance the attempt. Now that it had been made and had failed, he was free to continue the defence, and to carry out his original project of burying himself and his fraternity beneath the ruins of the city.

The recommencement of hostilities was followed up by an assault on the retrenchment of the Spanish bastion still held by the knights. This took place on the 17th December, and although the struggle was continued throughout the whole day, the Turks were once more worsted and compelled to retire dis-

comforted. On the following day, however, they were more successful, for the assault being renewed, they gained undisputed possession of the whole of the work. Unable to control the panic of the multitude, who were now clamouring for unconditional surrender, and feeling sure that they would take action themselves if longer opposed in their views, L'Isle Adam was again compelled to open negotiations. Fresh envoys were despatched to Solyman with *carte blanche* to surrender the town on the best terms they could secure. Solyman received the messengers in his pavilion in all the splendour of imperial pomp, surrounded by the janissaries of his body-guard. On hearing the errand which brought them into his presence, he consented to renew the offers he had previously made, and these were at once accepted by the envoys. The principal stipulations were that the citizens should remain in perfect freedom, both as to their persons and religion; that the knights should be allowed to leave the island in their own galleys, bearing with them all their personal property; that such of the citizens as preferred to follow their fortunes rather than remain at Rhodes under Ottoman dominion should have free permission to do so, and that twelve clear days should be granted for the embarkation. The churches were guaranteed from profanation, and all their sacred relics were to remain the property of the Order. That the due execution of the treaty might be insured, the Turkish army was to be withdrawn from the vicinity of the town, and only a select body of janissaries was to enter the gates and take possession on behalf of the sultan. In return for this clemency, so unusual in those days of bloody reprisal, the knights were to yield up peaceable possession, not only of the city, but of all the islands dependent on Rhodes, as well as the castle of St. Peter on the mainland. Twenty-five knights, of whom two were to be grand-crosses, and the same number of citizens, were to be given as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. As soon as these persons made their appearance in the Ottoman camp, the aga of the janissaries, with the specified number of troops, entered the town and took formal possession of it.

Thus the island of Rhodes, after having remained for two centuries in the occupation of the knights of St. John, once more

reverted to the power of the Moslem. All the skill which engineering science had developed upon its massive fortifications, all the beauties which art had lavished on its buildings, were now lost to the Order and to Christianity. That lovely island, the garden of the East, that city whose ramparts had so long frowned with proud disdain upon its foes, now no longer acknowledged the sway of the friars of the Hospital. Still bearing the traces of its former grandeur, and still displaying in its buildings the magnificence of those who had raised it to what it was, it passed for ever from the rule of those gallant warriors, who were once more doomed to seek their fortune on the wide world.

To the nations of Europe the loss of Rhodes was a subject of the deepest shame. Apathy and indifference had been suffered to continue during the six long months that this memorable struggle lasted, and its unfortunate issue remains a blot on the history of the sixteenth century. To the knights of St. John the event bears with it no such memory of disgrace. The gallantry which had so long withstood overwhelming and desperate odds was everywhere recognized and enthusiastically hailed by admiring nations. As the struggle progressed, and its ultimate issue became more and more certain, men gazed with astonishment and awe upon that touching scene of heroism and endurance. When at length, driven from their home, sadly reduced in number, and ruined in prospects, the relics of that gallant band wandered westward in search of a new resting-place, they were everywhere greeted with rapturous welcome. The feeling of all was well expressed by Charles V., who, on hearing of the disastrous issue of the siege, turned to his courtiers and exclaimed, "There has been nothing in the world so well lost as Rhodes."

CHAPTER XV.

1522—1534.

Surrender of Rhodes and departure of the Order for Candia—Arrival at Messina—Departure for Civita Vecchia—Project for bestowing Malta on the Order—Hopes of regaining Rhodes—L'Isle Adam proceeds to Madrid—His negotiations—Visits Paris and London—Returns to Italy—Malta ceded to the Order—Antecedent history of that island—Tripoli—Its disadvantages and dangers—Description of the harbour of Malta—Expedition to Modon—Disputed appointment to the bishopric of Malta—English Reformation—Insurrection in the convent—Death of L'Isle Adam.

THE surrender of Rhodes took place on the 20th December, 1522, and by the terms of the capitulation a period of twelve days was granted to the knights within which they were to carry out its stipulations. Messengers were despatched to the castle of St. Peter at Budrum, and to the island of Lango, the only two outposts which had been maintained during the siege, directing the immediate withdrawal of the garrisons, which were to retire to the island of Candia.

The provisions of the treaty were not at first carried out by the Turks with much exactitude; many foul outrages were perpetrated by the janissaries after they had obtained possession of the city; churches were desecrated, women violated, the inhabitants plundered, and other excesses committed. For these acts of barbarity the sultan can in no way be held responsible, for the moment he heard of what was taking place, he at once issued a most peremptory mandate to the aga of the janissaries, intimating that that officer should pay the penalty of any further infractions of the treaty with his head. Solymán, indeed, appears throughout this transaction to have been moved by a desire of showing magnanimity and clemency. That such clemency was not one of his usual attributes, the horrors per-

petrated with his sanction at the capture of Belgrade fully testify. He was evidently actuated by some unusual motive in pursuing so different a line of conduct with the defenders of Rhodes. The stubbornness of their resistance during a period of six months, and the gigantic losses they had inflicted on his army, must have exasperated him greatly. It redounds, therefore, much to his credit that he did not allow himself to be carried away by any feelings of animosity when the time came for their gratification.

On the day succeeding that on which the capitulation was signed a large fleet was descried on the horizon, bearing down on Rhodes; the idea prevalent in both armies was that this was the long looked-for succour arriving from Europe. The feelings of L'Isle Adam and his fraternity may be conceived as they reflected that had they held out but for two days longer they could have saved their beloved city. When, however, the fleet drew nearer it was seen that the vessels bore the Turkish flag. Solyman had, in fact, some time previously summoned a fresh body of troops from the frontiers of Persia. This reinforcement, amounting to 15,000 men, had now arrived, and it reflects honour on the sultan that he took no advantage of its presence to alter the terms of the capitulation, the ink of which was as yet scarce dry.

It seems from the narrative of Ahmet Hafiz that Solyman made his first entry into Rhodes on Christmas-day. That writer thus describes the event:—"Then the sublime sultan, preceded by the second regiment of janissaries and by his banners, which were adorned with fringes of gold, escorted by 400 of the Solouk body-guard, by four Solouk chiefs, four Kehayas, and forty Odabachis, all robed in white, with turbans glittering with rich jewels, entered the town to the sound of salvoes of artillery, and in the midst of a dense crowd. The rest of the body-guard, the musicians, the officers of all the various corps followed the glorious Padishah, crying Allah! Allah! by Thy will the glorious scimitar of Mohammed has captured this proud fortress! In this manner the sultan went as far as the temple of San Givan (the church of St. John), and there, where the infidels adored an idol, he, the blessed conqueror, addressed a prayer to the true God."

The sultan made a second entry on the 29th December, which Hafiz thus describes:—"On the 29th December, the sultan, on horseback, entered the town by the gate of Kyzil Capou (the St. John or Cosquino gate), with the same pomp as on the first occasion; he visited the harbour, and admired the massive chain which closed it, and the engines of war which the infidels had made use of during the siege."

After this visit to the town, L'Isle Adam received a notification through Achmet pasha that he was expected to pay his respects to the sultan in person. Unwilling as he was to submit to what he considered an act of degradation, the Grand-Master felt that at such a critical moment it would be most unwise to create any irritation in the mind of Solyman. He therefore, on the last day of the year, presented himself in the Ottoman camp, and demanded a farewell audience of his conqueror. Turkish pride kept the poor old man waiting at the entrance of the sultan's pavilion through many weary hours during that winter day, and it required all the fortitude of L'Isle Adam's character to bear with composure the slight thus cast on him. At length, the vanity of Solyman having been sufficiently gratified, the Grand-Master was admitted, when the courtesy of his reception in some measure atoned for the previous slight. An eye-witness of the interview states that, on their first meeting, each gazed in silence on the other. The sultan was the first to speak. After some words of condolence and praise for his gallant and protracted defence, Solyman proceeded to make the most brilliant offers to L'Isle Adam, urging him to abandon his religion and to take service under himself. Against such offers the mind of the Grand-Master revolted with horror. "After," replied he, "a life spent not ingloriously in combating for my religion and maintaining its cause, I could not cast so foul a slur upon my later days as to abandon that religion for any worldly prospects whatever. Even the sultan himself must feel that I should be no longer worthy of that esteem which he has been pleased so graciously to express towards me. I only crave of his magnanimity that the terms of the capitulation may be maintained inviolate, and that I and my followers may be freely permitted to seek our fortunes in a new home." On this head Solyman assured him that he need have no uneasiness, and the Grand-Master left the

imperial presence with every mark of respect. The sorrow of the old man, so natural on abandoning the cherished home of his Order, touched the sultan greatly, and he could not forbear exclaiming to his vizier, "It is not without some feelings of compunction that I compel this venerable warrior at his age to seek a new home." The interview is thus narrated by Hafiz:—"On the 31st December, the chief of the fortress, Mastori Mialo (a corruption of Meghas Mastoris, or Grand-Master), having obtained permission, came to take leave of the sublime sultan at a divan. The sultan desired to make him a gift of a large number of ingots of gold, precious stones, and other valuable offerings, and renewed his permission that the Order might make use of the galleys and other craft which had belonged to them, on condition, as he added with tears in his eyes, that the next day should see them quit the island. On this the chief of the infidels withdrew with a pensive mien, and left for Frengistan."

On the night of the 1st January, 1523, this sad event took place. Four thousand of the Christian inhabitants of Rhodes preferred to follow the fortunes of the knights into exile rather than remain under the sway of the Turk. Amidst a general display of grief the fleet sailed and made its way to Candia.* Misfortune seemed to dog the wanderers on their road. A severe hurricane overtook them, and several of the smaller craft were lost. Others were saved by throwing overboard the little property which the unfortunate refugees had rescued from the town, so that when the scattered fleet reassembled at Spinalonga there were many on board who were reduced to actual beggary. The governor of Candia welcomed the fugitives with every mark of hospitality, and urged on them the advisability of wintering in the island; but L'Isle Adam felt that he had much before him requiring prompt decision and immediate action. He therefore only remained long enough to refit and to repair, as far as practicable, the damages his fleet had sustained in the late storm.

Whilst waiting for this purpose he was joined by the garrisons of Budrum and Lango, and he also heard of the

* It is worthy of note that one of the vessels, the great carrack of Rhodes, was commanded by William Weston, who was elected Turcopolier immediately on their arrival at Candia.

miserable fate of his *protégé* Amurath, the son of Djem. This young prince had been unable to elude the vigilance of the sultan, and to make his escape with his protectors. His disguise having been discovered he was captured and brought before Solyman, to whom he boldly announced himself a member of the Christian faith. On this the sultan, who was only too glad of an excuse to make away with him, ordered him to be strangled in front of the troops. The incident of Amurath's fate has been but lightly touched upon by the historians of the siege of Rhodes, probably because it seems to cast a slur on the otherwise fair fame of L'Isle Adam. Amurath had many years before thrown himself on the protection of the Order; he had embraced the Christian religion, and had ever since lived peaceably at Rhodes. It was well known that his residence there was a constant source of disquietude and anxiety to the Ottoman sultan. The Grand-Master could not, therefore, have been ignorant of the risk the young prince ran, should he ever fall into that monarch's power. Yet we find the capitulation of Rhodes agreed on without any mention of his name, and no precautions taken to shield the illustrious convert from the vengeance of his implacable foe. The city was handed over to the sultan, and with it the unfortunate victim who had intrusted his all to the good faith of the knights of St. John. The result was what must have been foreseen, and the feelings of L'Isle Adam, when he learnt the sad fate of the young prince, must have been painfully remorseful.

True, he had much excuse for his conduct. Not only the lives of his own fraternity, but those also of thousands of the citizens, hung upon the terms which he could obtain from the Turks. It is possible that he may have endeavoured to include Amurath in the general amnesty, and that the condition was peremptorily rejected by the sultan. If this were so, L'Isle Adam would have had a very difficult point of conscience to decide. Either he must have given up the lives of all within the city to maintain inviolate his honour towards his guest, and that, too, without by such action saving the young prince, who would have fallen with the others; or, on the other hand, he must sacrifice him for the general

weal. In doing the latter he seems to have acted with more prudence than chivalry.

L'Isle Adam hastened to quit Candia as soon as possible, being anxious to place himself in close proximity to the court of Rome. He therefore selected the port of Messina as the next point of rendezvous. The larger vessels proceeded there direct, under command of the Turcopolier, William Weston, whilst he himself, with the great mass of his followers, pursued his course more leisurely. In token of the loss his Order had sustained, he no longer suffered the White Cross banner to be displayed, but in its stead he substituted an ensign bearing the effigy of the Virgin Mary, with her dead Son in her arms, and beneath it the motto, "*Afflictis spes mea rebus.*"

The Grand-Master was welcomed by the Sicilian authorities with the same hospitality as had been displayed in Candia, and the viceroy announced that the emperor invited the members of the fraternity to make their residence in the island for as long a time as they found convenient.

L'Isle Adam's greatest fear had been that his knights, finding themselves deprived of their convent home, might follow the fatal example of the Templars and retire into their various European commanderies. One of his first steps, therefore, after quitting Rhodes, had been to solicit special authority from the Pope to prevent the dispersion of the homeless wanderers. Adrian, who recognized the wisdom of the request, lost no time in acceding thereto, so that when L'Isle Adam entered the port of Messina he found already awaiting him a bull, in which the Pope, under the severest penalties, enjoined the members of the Order to remain with him wherever he might lead them.

Having established a Hospital, and taken such steps as were in his power to provide for the comfort of his followers, L'Isle Adam caused a rigid investigation to be made into the reason for the non-arrival of reinforcements during the siege. He had himself upon several occasions despatched envoys from the island to hurry on these much-required succours, but none had ever returned. Now that he found them all reassembled at Messina, he called for a full explanation of their conduct. The cause alleged was the unprecedentedly tempestuous state

of the weather. From various points efforts had been made to bring up the necessary relief, but the incessant violent and contrary winds which had prevailed prevented their departure. One English knight, indeed, Thomas Newport, the bailiff of Aquila, had persisted in the endeavour to force his way to Rhodes in spite of every obstacle, and he fell a victim to his temerity, the vessel with all on board having been lost on the voyage. The explanation was accepted as satisfactory, and the Grand-Master in council pronounced a full acquittal of the accused.

The plague having at this juncture broken out amongst the exiles, the authorities of Messina ordered L'Isle Adam to leave the port. With the permission of the viceroy the refugees were all transferred to the gulf of Baiæ, where they remained for a month. At the expiration of that time, the pestilence having disappeared, they proceeded to Civita Vecchia, whence the Grand-Master pushed on to Rome to pay a personal visit to the Pope. He was received with the greatest distinction, and Adrian pledged himself to use every possible exertion to obtain for the knights a new home, where they might establish themselves on a footing as advantageous to themselves and to the support of Christian power in the Levant, as that which they had held at Rhodes. These promises were unfortunately rendered futile by the death of the pontiff, which occurred shortly after. The honour of guarding the conclave which was assembled for the election of a successor once more devolved upon the knights of St. John. Giulio di Medici ascended the papal throne under the title of Clement VII., and great hopes were entertained that he would prove a powerful support to the fraternity from the fact that he had himself been a knight of St. John, the first Hospitaller who had ever attained to the chair of St. Peter. These hopes were to a large extent fulfilled. Clement had no sooner assumed his new position than he reiterated all the promises of his predecessor, and pledged himself to exert his influence in obtaining a suitable home for the convent. The islands of Elba, Cerigo, and Candia were severally named, but the objections to each seemed insurmountable. At last the idea of the island of Malta, with its dependency Gozo, was suggested,

and this seemed the proposal which met with the most general consent.

A request was consequently made by the Grand-Master, supported by the authority of the Pope, to Charles V., emperor of Germany, in whose possession these islands then were as an offshoot of the kingdom of Sicily, for their transfer to the Order of St. John. To this application the emperor returned a favourable answer, as he was delighted at the prospect of setting up a new and formidable barrier against the aggressions of the Turk, who, now that Rhodes had fallen, appeared likely to threaten the kingdom of Sicily. He fettered his offer, however, by two very unpalatable conditions; one that the city of Tripoli on the north coast of Africa should be coupled with the islands, and the other that the Order should render fealty to him. The city of Tripoli was a charge which would greatly impede the free action of the knights, and exposed as it was would lock up a large portion of their available force. As regarded the question of fealty, one of the main principles involved in the foundation of the Order was its cosmopolitan character. Embodying within itself, as it did, members of every nation in Europe, it was impossible that fealty should be rendered to any one sovereign without offence to the others. Still, the emperor's gift was not to be hastily rejected, and L'Isle Adam trusted that with a little patience he might succeed in softening the severity of the conditions.

Meanwhile a body of commissioners, eight in number, one of each *langue*, was appointed to visit the islands in question, and to report to the council then residing at Viterbo on their capabilities. L'Isle Adam was the more disposed to let matters take their course quietly and slowly, since a prospect had suddenly developed itself of his being able to recover possession of the city of Rhodes. Achmet pasha, to whom, as we have already seen, the command of the Turkish army was intrusted, upon the degradation of Mustapha, had been despatched into Egypt to quell an insurrection there. Having succeeded in this, his ambition prompted him to renounce allegiance to the sultan, and to establish himself as a sovereign prince over the kingdom. As a support in his new and insecure position, he sought the assistance of such European powers as he con-

sidered likely to lend their aid in a movement tending to enfeeble the Ottoman empire. To L'Isle Adam he addressed himself more particularly, informing him that he had it within his power to restore to the fraternity its lost stronghold of Rhodes. The new commander of fort St. Nicholas was, he said, a creature of his own, who, if an adequate force were landed on the island, would surrender his post and join the invaders. L'Isle Adam was so struck with the plausibility of the scheme that he despatched the commander Bosio to Rhodes disguised as a merchant, that he might inquire into the general state of the island, and enter, if possible, into a negotiation with the commandant of fort St. Nicholas.

This knight performed his mission with admirable tact, and on his return to Viterbo gave a promising picture of the feasibility of the enterprise. The fortifications had been left un-repaired since the siege, and were consequently in a ruinous condition. The Christian inhabitants of the island had found the Turkish yoke very different from the just government of the knights, and were eager to enter into any project for the recovery of the fortress. The commandant of St. Nicholas had pledged himself to join the movement provided it were supported by an adequate force; it therefore only remained for L'Isle Adam to collect sufficient troops and at once take possession of his old home. Unfortunately this, simple as it seemed, was a matter involving much delay, since the Order, in its then beggared position, did not possess the means of raising such a force, but was compelled to seek assistance for the purpose. This there was but little present hope of obtaining, owing to the distracted condition of European politics. The king of France was at that moment a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, having been captured at the battle of Pavia, and a league was being formed between the Pope and the rulers of France and England to check, if possible, the overpowering advance of Charles.

At this juncture, L'Isle Adam was requested by the regent of France to act as an escort to the duchess of Alençon, the sister of the captive monarch. That fair lady trusted to her charms, which were very great, for she was one of the most beautiful women in Europe, and to her wit, to obtain terms for

the liberation of her brother less rigorous than those which the emperor seemed determined to extort. L'Isle Adam gladly accepted the commission, as it would enable him to obtain a personal interview with both monarchs, an object he had much at heart. He proceeded to Marseilles, for the purpose of escorting the lovely princess to her destination. This action gave great umbrage to the emperor's ministers in Italy, who conceived that such a step was a declaration of support to the French cause; they therefore at once sequestered the whole of the Order's property in that country. L'Isle Adam did not allow this arbitrary act to prevent him from pursuing the course he had proposed; he therefore accompanied the duchess to Madrid, and aided her with all the keenness of his political sagacity in treating for the liberation of her brother. In this matter he was, in fact, the more successful of the two. At the expiration of her safe conduct she was compelled to return to France, and it was after her departure that L'Isle Adam succeeded in concluding a treaty between the two kings, whereby Francis regained his liberty. The favourable issue of this negotiation, which had in vain been attempted by the leading politicians of Europe, reflected the highest credit on the tactics of L'Isle Adam, who now added the character of a talented diplomatist to that he already had acquired of being one of the leading captains in Europe.*

A heavy ransom having been one of the conditions upon which the liberty of the French monarch depended, a general levy was made throughout his dominions to raise the necessary funds. The privileges of the Order of St. John exempted its property in France from any share in this contribution,

* On the occasion of the first interview which took place between the rival sovereigns after the conclusion of the treaty, L'Isle Adam being present, both monarchs having to pass through a doorway, the emperor drew back, offering the precedence to the king. This the latter declined. Charles immediately appealed to the Grand-Master to decide this subtle point of etiquette, and he extricated himself from the difficulty by the following ingenious answer addressed to the king of France:—"No one, Sire, can dispute that the Emperor is the mightiest prince in Christendom, but as you are not only in his dominions, but within his palace, it becomes you to accept the courtesy by which he acknowledges you as the first of European monarchs."

still the knights were anxious to join in the good work of releasing a monarch who had always proved himself a friend to their interests. They therefore waived the right of exemption, and joined in the taxation on the same terms as the other ecclesiastical bodies in the realm, merely requiring from the king letters patent, declaratory of the fact that this contribution was perfectly voluntary, and was, under no circumstances, to be treated as a precedent. A deed to that effect was signed by the king at St. Germain, on the 19th March, 1527.

This matter having been settled, L'Isle Adam availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the two sovereigns, to submit his project for the recapture of Rhodes. The emperor entered warmly into the scheme, and offered a contribution of 25,000 crowns, at the same time informing the Grand-Master that, should this design fail, he might still accept the island of Malta. Gladdened by the success of his mission, L'Isle Adam left Spain in 1526 and proceeded to France, where he trusted to obtain additional assistance for the undertaking. Whilst there he was informed that Henry VIII. was much piqued at the fact that he should neglect to pay a personal visit to the court of England as he had done in Spain and France, and was therefore seizing upon the revenues of the Order, and also demanding from the knights of the English *langue* military service in his garrison of Calais. Undeterred by the severity of the winter and his own age, L'Isle Adam decided on at once proceeding to London to mollify the offended potentate. He therefore despatched the commander, Bosio, to cardinal Wolsey, to inform him of the intended visit. Henry, appeased by this mark of deference, directed that he should be received with all honour, and every preparation was made to give a hearty welcome to the hero of Rhodes. After having reposed for some days at the priory of Clerkenwell, L'Isle Adam paid his respects at the palace, where he was received with the most gracious cordiality. To assist him in his design upon Rhodes, Henry promised him the sum of 20,000 crowns, which he afterwards gave in the form of artillery. He at the same time suspended all his obnoxious proceedings against the fraternity.

The Grand-Master now returned to Italy, trusting to be at

length enabled to organize his expeditionary force. There he found everything in a state of the utmost confusion. The Pope had drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the emperor by joining in the league against him. The constable de Bourbon, who was that monarch's commander in Italy, had under Charles's direction led his troops to Rome, where, having carried the city by storm, he handed it over to pillage. After holding out for a month in the castle of St. Angelo, the Pope was himself captured and taken away prisoner to Naples. This political storm completely destroyed the prospects of the knights, and it was not until nearly two years afterwards, when peace had been signed between the emperor and the Pope, that the Grand-Master was able to gain any further hearing on behalf of the interests of his fraternity. During this protracted interval the favourable opportunity was lost. Achmet pasha had been assassinated, the plots of the Rhodians discovered, and consequently all hope of success in that quarter was over. It only remained to revert to the original project of the occupation of Malta, and the Pope, who was now reconciled to the emperor, exerted his influence for the abatement of the distasteful conditions on which the islands had been originally offered.

The result of his interposition was that an act of donation received the imperial signature at Syracuse on the 24th of March, 1530, by which deed Charles vested in the Order of St. John the complete and perpetual sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo, and the city of Tripoli, together with all their castles and fortresses. The only conditions attached to the gift were that the knights should never make war upon the kingdom of Sicily; that they should annually present a falcon to the viceroy as an acknowledgment; that the nomination to the bishopric of Malta should be vested in the emperor from amongst three candidates to be selected for that purpose by the Grand-Master; that this dignitary should have a seat in the council ranking next in precedence to him; together with several other minor clauses touching the extradition of Sicilian criminal refugees, and the selection of commanders to the galleys of the Order in the Mediterranean. The whole concluded with a proviso that should the brethren at any time desire to abandon the islands, they were not to transfer them to any other power

without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor.* Such were the terms upon which, after much negotiation, Charles was at length induced to surrender the then almost valueless islands of Malta and Gozo to a community whose indefatigable perseverance and lavish expenditure were destined to convert the former into one of the most powerful fortresses in the world.

This deed was presented to the commander Bosio by the emperor in person, and that knight instantly hurried off to place the precious document in the hands of the Grand-Master. During the journey he met with an accident from the overturning of his carriage, and the ignorance of an unskilful surgeon caused a comparatively trivial injury to terminate fatally. Feeling his end at hand, and knowing the anxiety of his chief on the subject of the Maltese donation, he sent the deed forward under charge of a Rhodian gentleman by whom he had been accompanied.

The gift of the emperor was promptly confirmed by a papal bull, on the receipt of which L'Isle Adam sent two knights of the grand-cross to Sicily to receive from the viceroy a formal investiture of the territory. As soon as this ceremony was completed, they proceeded to take possession of their new acquisition, and to place members of the fraternity in command of the various posts when handed over to them. A dispute arose with the viceroy on the subject of the free exportation of corn and the privilege of coining money within the new possession, which prevented the Grand-Master from proceeding to Malta for some months. These difficulties were at length adjusted, and then he at once set sail from Syracuse, and landed safely in his new home.

The first view which greeted the wanderers was certainly not reassuring or attractive. Accustomed as they had been to the luxuriant verdure of Rhodes, the fertility of which had gained it the title of the garden of the Levant, they were but ill-prepared for the rocky and arid waste which met their eyes in Malta. Few persons who now behold the island, occupied as it is with the commerce of Europe and Asia, presenting a busy scene of wealth and prosperity, with its massive defences rising in frowning tiers around its harbours, can picture to themselves

* *Vide* Appendix No. 9.

the desolate and unprotected rock which fell into the possession of the Order of St. John in the year 1530.

The antecedent history of Malta is not important, and may be very briefly narrated. It was originally colonized by the Phœnicians, and in many parts it is rich in remains of that people. About 755 B.C. the Greeks, returning from the siege of Troy, overran the Mediterranean, founded some cities in Calabria, and amongst other acquisitions established themselves in Malta, driving out the Phœnicians. Prior to this event the island had been known by the name of Ogygia, which was now changed into that of Melitas. It remained in the undisturbed possession of the Greeks for 200 years, at the expiration of which period the Carthaginians disputed with them its sovereignty, and eventually succeeded in wresting it from their hands. In the second Punic war Sempronius established the dominion of Rome in Malta, driving out its Carthaginian inhabitants. The Greeks were, however, allowed to remain, and their laws and customs were not interfered with. The island was attached to the government of Sicily, and was ruled by a pro-prætor or deputy governor, dependent on that province. Whilst under Roman sway, Malta attained a high pitch of civilization and refinement. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, within a short distance from the shores of three continents, it speedily became a thriving mart for much of the commerce of Rome. Its manufactures of cotton and linen, and its public buildings—chiefly temples erected in honour of its favourite deities—were justly celebrated throughout that part of the world. On the division of the Roman empire, the island of Malta fell to the lot of Constantine, and from that moment its decadence may be first dated. In the fifth century it was seized successively by the Vandals and Goths; and although in the next century, Belisarius, the general of Justinian, drove out the barbarians, and once more established Roman dominion, the island never recovered its former prosperity.

The rapid spread of Mahometanism in the eighth and ninth centuries brought Malta under the sway of the Saracens, who, in the early portion of the latter century, exterminated the Greek population, and established a government in their place dependent on the emir of Sicily. Much that is Saracenic, both in

building and language, still remains to mark this period of occupation. Indeed, the Maltese may be said, as a race, to partake more of the Arabic than of the Italian type to this day. At the close of the eleventh century, count Roger, the Norman, expelled the Saracens, and established a principality in Sicily and Malta, which was subsequently converted into a monarchy under his grandson. From that time the island followed the fortunes of the kingdom of Sicily through many changes of dominion, until at length both fell into the possession of Spain after the tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers.

Its decadence during these successive stages had been continuous, and when the emperor handed it over to L'Isle Adam there was not much left to tempt the cupidity or aggression of neighbouring powers. It contained neither river nor lake, and was very deficient in springs. Its surface was almost bare rock, with but little earth, and its vegetation was in consequence poor and insignificant. Scarce a tree was to be seen throughout the island, with the exception of a few caroubas and shumacks, and the eye roamed in vain for a patch of green to relieve the glare of the white rock.* The wretched villages in which the inhabitants dwelt, termed *casals*, partook of the general air of poverty and misery which everywhere prevailed. Its western side was rugged and inhospitable, offering no shelter to shipping, or even to boats, but the east and north were broken up into numberless creeks and harbours, some of which were of sufficient capacity to afford anchorage to the largest fleets.

This was, indeed, the great point of attraction to the knights. They had for so many years been accustomed to look to maritime enterprise as the principal source from whence their wealth and prosperity were to be derived, they had made their name so widely known, and so highly esteemed in the waters of the Mediterranean, that they were not prepared willingly to resign the position which their naval superiority had given them by the establishment of their new home in any

* This deficiency of trees still exists to a great extent, although of late years efforts have been made by successive governors to supply the want, by which it is hoped to mitigate the severity of the summer drought. These efforts are not very warmly seconded by the inhabitants, nor, indeed, looked on with much favour by them, as they hold strongly by the doctrine that much foliage breeds fever.

locality which did not afford them facilities for pursuing their favourite calling. This, and this alone, was the motive which induced them to accept the island of Malta, and to establish on it their convent. Nature had done everything, both in the central position of the island and in the configuration of its eastern coast, to render it suitable for naval enterprise, and L'Isle Adam determined to strain every nerve to remedy the numerous disadvantages under which it otherwise laboured.

It would have seemed a sufficiently desolate outlook for the Order had it received these islands without conditions, but the emperor, who well knew how to make the best of a bargain, had insisted on the occupation of the city of Tripoli as an absolute condition of their transfer. The report of the commissioners despatched to inspect this new acquisition was eminently discouraging. Situated at a distance of more than 200 miles from Malta and surrounded by piratical enemies, it was not only scantily fortified at the time, but what was far worse, seemed incapable of receiving much accession to its strength. The sandy nature of the soil, presenting a very treacherous foundation, rendered the erection of ramparts and the sinking of ditches a matter of extreme difficulty, if not absolutely impracticable. It was to be feared, therefore, that any garrison which the knights might despatch for the protection of the place would run great risk of being overwhelmed before succour could reach them. They felt, however, that in this matter they had no choice. The only course for them to pursue, was to endeavour, by the utmost exercise of skill and energy, to counterbalance the natural disadvantages of this most unwelcome addition to their responsibilities.

The day on which L'Isle Adam landed in Malta was the 26th October, 1530, and he at once assumed sovereign power over the islands. At the entrance to the Città Notabile, an insignificant collection of small houses, surrounded by a feeble fortification on the summit of a hill, but which ranked, nevertheless, as the chief town, he was arrested by the authorities until he had sworn upon the holy cross, the symbol of his religion, that he would preserve the privileges of the inhabitants, and govern them in accordance with their ancient



Engraved by H. Adlard, from an original painting in the Palace at Malta.

Iste liber est Magna Carta
Pro Libertate Libandam

laws. The keys were then presented to him, and he made his entry amidst the acclamations of the people, who trusted, and not without reason, that a new æra was about to dawn on them under the vigorous sway of the Hospital.*

The first care which occupied L'Isle Adam on his arrival at Malta was the selection of a suitable and defensible position for his convent. The fortifications which he found existing were of the most paltry description. The Città Notabile was indeed surrounded by a rampart and ditch, but of so miserable a character as to be almost worthless. The only other attempt at a defensive work was a little fort, called St. Angelo, which, although considered the main protection to the island and its harbours, was very feeble, and only armed with two or three small pieces of artillery.

In order the better to comprehend the locality here referred to, and the alterations which were carried into effect under the directions of the Grand-Master, it will be well to enter into a short description of this part of the island. The main harbour is divided into two parts by an elevated and rugged promontory projecting from the mainland in a north-easterly direction, and called Mount Sceberras. The height of this tongue of land is such as to give it command over all the surrounding points. The eastern of the two ports thus formed is in its turn divided into three creeks by two minor promontories which jut out from the mainland on its eastern shore. Of these two peninsulas the one nearest the entrance of the harbour was that on the extremity of which stood fort St. Angelo. Behind the fort, and extending back as far as the mainland, was a small town, or rather village, known by the name of the Bourg. The other promontory was called St. Julian, and was not in any way occupied. The western harbour, which did not present such facilities for safe anchorage as the main port, contained within it an island which greatly interfered with its use. It was further much subdivided by the sinuosities of its coast line. On this side there was no attempt at any work of defence or even habitation.

The practised eye of L'Isle Adam was not long in perceiving

* A picture hangs in the palace at Malta representing this scene, an engraving from which is here given.

the advantages of the position of Mount Sceberras, dominating, as it did, both harbours, and owing to its formation secure from attack, except on the land side. Here he naturally thought of establishing his convent, and fortifying the promontory, but unfortunately the funds necessary for such an undertaking were not forthcoming. The Order had for the preceding eight years led a wandering life, accompanied by a large body of Rhodians, to the number of nearly 4,000. Most of these had subsisted mainly on the charity of the fraternity, which was distributed to them under the name of the bread of Rhodes. This expenditure had gone far towards exhausting the public treasury, so that L'Isle Adam now found himself absolutely unable to carry out any work of magnitude, even though it might clearly prove to be of the most vital necessity. He therefore decided upon establishing himself, as a temporary measure, in the fort of St. Angelo, and fixing the convent in the adjacent Bourg. Such additions to the defences of the fort as his means permitted were at once constructed, and a line of intrenchment was drawn across the head of the promontory where it joined the mainland, so as to enclose the Bourg, and cover it as far as possible from the surrounding heights.

The Grand-Master was at this moment the less disposed to undertake any costly work in Malta because he still clung to the hope of establishing his convent in some more advantageous position. When the commander, Bosio, had visited Rhodes with the object of ascertaining the feelings of its inhabitants, he had at the same time opened negotiations in the town of Modon.* This was a port in the Morea which had been captured by the Turks some few years before the last siege of Rhodes. The position of the town rendered it well adapted for maritime enterprise, and L'Isle Adam was the more anxious to obtain possession of it since its proximity to Rhodes would enable him to take the first favourable opportunity for recovering his old home. Two renegades, one the commandant of the port and the other the head of the custom house, had notified to Bosio their willingness to assist the knights in seizing the place, provided a sufficient force were despatched to make success a certainty.

* Now called Methone. It is a little south of Navarino.

On the 17th of August, 1531, L'Isle Adam sent forth a fleet of eight galleys, under the command of Salviati, grand-prior of Rome, to attempt the capture. On arriving near Modon, Salviati hid his squadron in a sheltered creek in the island of Sapienza, which lies off the mouth of the harbour. He at the same time smuggled into the port two brigantines, ostensibly laden with timber, beneath which lay concealed a body of soldiers. The renegades, faithful to their promise, admitted these vessels, and the commandant, in order further to facilitate the seizure of the town, plied the janissaries of his garrison with wine until they were reduced to a state of helpless intoxication. At break of day the troops landed from their hiding places, massacred the drunken guard, and obtained possession of the principal gate of the city. A gun was then fired as a signal to the rest of the fleet to shew themselves and follow up the advantage which had been gained. A strong south-west wind was blowing, and this being directly contrary, prevented Salviati from hearing the report. Several hours were thus lost before any succour arrived. Meanwhile, the governor of the city, recovering from his first panic, and seeing how slender the force was by which he was attacked, collected the townspeople and led them on against the intruders. These were well-nigh overpowered, when at length, Salviati, who had been summoned from his hiding place by a boat despatched for the purpose, made his appearance, and once more turned the fortunes of the day. The Turks were driven into the citadel, and the remainder of the town fell into the hands of the knights. Unfortunately, a body of 6,000 men lay encamped within a few miles of Modon. A request for aid having been sent to them by the governor beleaguered in the citadel, they soon made their appearance and compelled the invaders to retire. Before embarking on board their galleys, however, they completely sacked the town and carried off a vast amount of plunder, as well as 800 unhappy Turks as prisoners. Thus laden they returned to Malta.

The failure of this enterprise destroyed the last hope which L'Isle Adam had entertained of finding a more congenial home than Malta. Nothing, therefore, remained but to take such further measures as should best insure security to his convent.

Many additions were made to the fortifications and armament of St. Angelo. The ramparts surrounding the Bourg, now beginning to grow from a poor little village into a considerable town, were strengthened by the addition of detached works. The fortifications of the Città Notabile were restored and increased, and its protection intrusted to an ample garrison. At Tripoli similar precautions were taken. A vessel having arrived from England laden with artillery, the present of Henry VIII. to the Order, which has been already mentioned, a portion of its cargo was despatched thither to add to the armament of that exposed station.

A chapter-general was at this time convened in which were decreed several reforms rendered highly necessary by the degeneracy of the fraternity. A material change had been for a long time past gradually developing itself in the feelings and aspirations of those who sought to assume the badge of the White Cross. The religious element, which had for so long predominated in the constitution of the brethren and in the lives of the members, had almost entirely died out. True, there was the same outward observance of the ceremonies of their creed. Each postulant still took the three monastic vows. He was still told to consider himself a poor soldier of Jesus Christ, and to dedicate his life to the defence of his faith and the relief of the poor. These exhortations, however, had gradually come to be regarded in the light of a mere form. The knights of St. John had, on so many a battle-field and behind so many a well-defended rampart, earned for themselves a glorious reputation, that the badge of their founder, the White Cross of Gerard—originally assumed as a token of Christian humility, and an emblem of the eight cardinal virtues—was now coveted as a decoration which marked its wearer as a member of one of the proudest and most celebrated institutions of the age. Worldly aspirations and worldly dignities had long since taken the place of those celestial rewards which in earlier times had been the object of the postulants' ambition. It is true, that whenever an attack was made either on their religion or their home, the knights of St. John were still ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of both, but the religious enthusiasm which had nerved so many of their predecessors during the desperate struggles of the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries had vanished, or at most, only shewed itself in very feeble and fitful flashes. In its place, the haughty bearing and the arrogant assumption of a prosperous military fraternity, priding itself as much on its wealth and territorial power as on its warlike achievements, gradually became the distinguishing characteristics of the Order.

L'Isle Adam had watched with sorrow the rapid advance of this decadence, which the events of late years had much accelerated. The last days of his life were, from this cause, doomed to be spent amidst scenes of domestic strife and political discord. Well would it have been for him had he fallen gloriously during the memorable siege so imperishably connected with his name. It was, however, otherwise decreed, and he was fated to pass his last hours in the midst of turmoil most distressing to his noble heart.

One subject of dispute sprang from the succession to the newly-created bishopric of Malta. By the act of donation already referred to Charles had reserved to himself and his successors the right of nomination to this post by selection from amongst three candidates to be named by the fraternity. When the first vacancy occurred the Grand-Master was most desirous that the dignity should be conferred on Thomas Bosio, the brother of the commander whose diplomatic services have been so frequently mentioned. He was already vice-chancellor of the Order, but L'Isle Adam thought that the late commander's services should be repaid by raising his brother to a still higher dignity. He therefore named him as one of the three candidates for the vacant post, and at the same time wrote a pressing letter to the Pope, entreating him to use his influence with the emperor to obtain the appointment for Bosio. This the Pope promptly did, and received a reply from the emperor assuring him that his request should be complied with. A considerable delay, however, took place before the nomination was made public, but eventually the deed selecting Bosio for the vacant office was deposited in the hands of the ambassador of the fraternity then resident at the court of the emperor. All seemed now satisfactorily arranged. The Grand-Master despatched Bosio to Rome with the emperor's deed of nomination, and with instructions to tender his chief's thanks for the share his Holiness

had taken in the matter. What was the consternation of the bishop designate when the Pope announced to him that he had already appointed another person.

The object Clement had in view by thus nullifying his own request is not very clear. It probably arose, in the first place, from pique at the delay of the emperor in acceding to his wishes, and afterwards from a desire to retain so valuable a piece of patronage in his own hands. All remonstrance on the part either of the emperor or the Grand-Master was unavailing, and the dispute remained unsettled until the death of the Pope three years later. His successor, Paul III., anxious to conciliate the emperor, eventually confirmed the appointment to Bosio.

This solution of the affair did not, however, take place till after the death of L'Isle Adam, so that the disappointment he experienced in his attempt to provide for the brother of one who had rendered such great services to the fraternity still remained to embitter his last moments. Another dark cloud which at this time gathered over him was the loss with which the Order was threatened in England through the religious revolution then taking place in that country. Long before Henry VIII. had renounced his allegiance to the Church of Rome he had displayed symptoms of greed against the English *langue*. The haughty monarch could ill brook that so many broad acres should be held in his own land by a power which yielded him no allegiance, and he had more than once availed himself of the most flimsy pretexts to encroach upon the property of the Hospital. Now, however, he had thrown aside the mask and placed himself at the head of the religious movement which had for years been fermenting within his kingdom, and he soon shewed that he purposed nothing short of the complete spoliation of the *langue*. His measures to that effect did not receive their final development during the life of L'Isle Adam; still, enough was apparent to leave him full of anxious forebodings for the future.

He was further fated before his death to become the witness of a disturbance within his convent of a nature so serious as almost to endanger the existence of the brotherhood. The quarrel originated in a dispute between one of the secular retainers of the grand-prior of Rome and a young knight of the

langue of Provence. A duel ensued, in which the knight was killed, not without grave suspicions of treachery on the part of his opponent. Several of the Provençal knights, under this impression, sought out the offending party. Finding him surrounded by his friends, a struggle ensued, in which some of the Italians were wounded and the remainder driven to seek refuge in the palace of the grand-prior. The members of that dignitary's household, who were very numerous, enraged at this attack upon their countrymen, armed themselves and sallied forth for vengeance. Without distinguishing the offending Provençal knights from those of the other French *langues*, they assaulted them all indiscriminately. As there was always an under-current of discontent at the predominance of the French element permeating the convent, the Italians soon found themselves joined by the members of the Spanish and Portuguese *langues*, and thus a regular civil war broke out. The prior of Rome did his best to appease the tumult. He placed under arrest and confined in his galley those of his suite who had been guilty of this breach of the peace. That step was not, however, considered by the French knights to be a sufficient reparation. They therefore attacked the galley of the prior, and laying hands on the prisoners murdered four of them in cold blood. This lawless proceeding at once revived the discord, and a regular engagement between the antagonistic *langues* took place in the streets of the Bourg. In vain the Grand-Master despatched message after message to the combatants directing them to disperse under threat of the severest penalties. His menaces were unheeded, and the remainder of the day was spent in strife and confusion. Towards night, however, the bailiff of Manosque, who was possessed of great influence with both the rival factions, succeeded by personal intervention in quelling the disorder and dispersing the combatants.

Severe measures were necessary for the punishment of so serious an outbreak, and L'Isle Adam directed a searching investigation to be made to detect the ringleaders. The result of this inquiry led to the expulsion of four knights on account of the murders committed on board the galley of the grand-prior of Rome. Bosio, the Italian historian, asserts that several of the most guilty were condemned to death, and thrown into

the sea in sacks. None of the other historians, however, make such a statement, nor is it confirmed by the criminal records of the Order. There it appears that four French knights, named respectively de Piscie, Regnault, d'Orleans, and de Vareques were deprived of their habits in the month of May, 1533, the two first for having killed four men in a galley, and the other two for being ringleaders in a tumult, and causing the death of the above four men. As, however, it was the custom of the fraternity, when capital punishment was deemed advisable, to deprive the culprit of his habit, and then to hand him over to the civil tribunal to be dealt with as an ordinary malefactor, it is possible that in the present instance that step was taken. In any case, the punishment inflicted seems to have had the required effect of restoring peace to the convent.

It was amid scenes such as these that L'Isle Adam brought his long and glorious life to a close. A violent fever eventually induced that end which he had so often braved, but always escaped, at the hand of the Moslem. On the 22nd August, 1534, he expired, aged upwards of seventy years, to the intense grief of the whole community. Never had the fraternity sustained so signal a loss, and never was a chief more sincerely mourned. The heroism and grandeur of his character were such that the clouds of adversity only set it forth in greater lustre. The gallant defence of Rhodes, although ending in the worst disaster that had occurred since the loss of Jerusalem, has been so imperishably connected with him, that he has become more distinguished by his conduct during that calamitous epoch than many a successful leader. The skill in diplomacy which gained for his convent its new home in Malta has associated him inseparably with that island. Amid the long list of Grand-Masters whose names are written on the page of history, none have excelled, and but few have equalled, John Villiers de L'Isle Adam.

CHAPTER XVI.

1534—1565.

Election of Peter Dupont—Expedition against Tunis—Didier de St. Gilles—John D'Omedes—Expedition against Algiers—Turkish descent on Malta—Loss of Tripoli—Destruction of the Order in England—Leo Strozzi—Attack on Zoara—Death of D'Omedes and election of La Sangle—Hurricane at Malta—Accession of La Valette—Expedition to Galves—Siege of Mers el Kebir by the Turks—Preparations by Solyman for an attack on Malta—Arrangements for defence.

THE council assembled for the purpose of electing a successor to their deceased chief, nominated Peter Dupont, a member of a Piedmontese family, to that office. At the time of his election, Dupont was residing in his grand-priory of Calabria, and it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted the supreme dignity. He felt that his great age made him unfit for the onerous duties of a Grand-Master at the perilous crisis in which the affairs of the Order were then involved. Eventually his scruples were overcome, and he set out for Malta to assume his new dignity.

The dangerous position in which the garrison of Tripoli stood rendered the maintenance of that post a subject of anxious consideration to the new Grand-Master, and he turned his eyes towards Charles V., then by far the most powerful potentate in Europe, for assistance in its protection. Charles had originally bestowed this unwelcome gift on the knights, partly to escape the expense of its maintenance, and partly in the hope that the establishment of the Order of St. John in that spot might act as a check upon the piratical enterprises of the surrounding princes. He was therefore well disposed to render every assistance in his power, and as a matter of fact the appeal of

Dupont reached Madrid at a moment when the emperor was himself actually contemplating a descent upon Africa.

The northern coasts of that continent abutting on the Mediterranean had first been occupied by the Arabs during the latter part of the seventh century. The country had since then gradually become subdivided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the most important. These principalities were now inhabited by a mixed race comprised of Arabs, negroes, and Moors, the latter having been driven there from Spain during the preceding two centuries. Until of late these petty kingdoms had not interfered in the politics of Europe, and their very existence was but little known and as little cared for.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century a revolution took place which materially altered their position. Two of the four sons of a Turkish inhabitant of Mitylene, named Horuc and Hayradin, prompted by a love of adventure, had abandoned their father's island and joined themselves to a crew of pirates. Their daring and skill in this new calling soon raised them to the command of the band, and they gradually augmented their forces until they became masters of a fleet of twelve large galleys, besides smaller craft. Calling themselves the Friends of the Sea and Enemies of all who sailed thereon, they scoured the Mediterranean and rendered their names terrible in every part of its waters. These brothers were known by the surname of Barbarossa, from their red beards. Horuc Barbarossa was recognized as the supreme chief; at the same time the power of Hayradin Barbarossa was but little inferior. Increasing in ambition as their control extended, they at length sought the acquisition of a new port whence they might carry on their buccaneering expeditions in security.

An opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The king of Algiers had called in Horuc to support him in a war with a neighbouring chief, and the freebooter took the opportunity of dethroning and murdering his ally, and of establishing himself in his place. To render his position the more secure, he placed his new acquisition under the protection of the Turkish sultan, to whom he tendered the homage of a tributary prince. It accorded well with the ambitious views of the Ottoman emperor

to add these extensive provinces to his power; he therefore accepted the proffered homage, and promised his support to the self-elected usurper.

In the year 1518, Horuc fell in an action against the marquis de Comares, the Spanish governor of Oran, and his brother Hayradin ascended the vacant throne. The fame of his naval exploits having reached Constantinople, the sultan appointed him commander-in-chief of the Turkish fleet. Thereupon Barbarossa repaired in haste to that city, full of a new project of aggrandizement which had presented itself to his ambition. The king of Tunis had died leaving behind him a flourishing family of no less than thirty-four sons, of whom the youngest, named Muley Hassan, had been named by the late king as his successor owing to the influence of his mother. As soon as the nomination had been declared, Muley Hassan poisoned his father, and ascending the throne promptly put to death as many of his brothers as he could get into his power.

Al Raschid, one of the eldest, succeeded in making his escape, and fled to Algiers to implore the protection of Barbarossa. This wily chief at once promised his support, and took the fugitive to Constantinople, where he trusted to obtain means from the sultan for the prosecution of his design, which was simply to make use of the claims of Al Raschid to secure the kingdom of Tunis for himself. The sultan readily adopted his scheme, and gave him the command of a powerful fleet, with an ample land force. Thus armed, Hayradin set sail, the unfortunate Al Raschid being meanwhile retained a prisoner in the seraglio at Constantinople. Arrived off Tunis, he succeeded in obtaining possession of the fort of Goletta, through the treachery of its commander. That work commanded the bay, and on it the protection of the town entirely depended. Possessed of this important point, Barbarossa soon effected an entrance into Tunis, asserting throughout that the object of his attack was the restoration of Al Raschid. Once fairly established he threw off the mask, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Muley Hassan, who had fled at his approach, proceeded direct to Madrid, and there implored Charles to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom.

This application was made at the same time that the Grand-

Master Dupont was also requesting assistance in the same direction. The emperor, therefore, was induced to undertake an enterprise with the object of establishing a friendly power in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, in lieu of that of the dreaded Barbarossa. This expedition he determined on directing in person, and the whole power of his empire was laid under contribution to insure its successful prosecution. The army was composed of contingents from Italy, Germany, and Spain, whilst the fleet, commanded by Andrew Doria, the greatest naval officer of the age, was numerous and well equipped. The knights of St. John contributed to the force, four large galleys, eighteen smaller vessels, and the great carrack of the Order.

The army, which numbered 30,000 men, landed without opposition on the shore of Tunis, in close proximity to the fort of Goletta. This work was now garrisoned by 6,000 Turks, under the command of a renegade Jew named Sinan, the most able and daring of Barbarossa's lieutenants. The siege was opened in form, and after its ramparts had been duly breached, it was carried by storm, the knights as usual occupying the van, and rivalling their ancient fame by the valour with which they headed the assaulting columns, and seized the obstinately defended breach.

Barbarossa was both surprised and dismayed at the loss of this bulwark. Garrisoned as it was by the flower of his army, and defended by so daring a spirit as his lieutenant Sinan, he thought it impregnable. Now that it had fallen, the road to Tunis lay entirely open to the conqueror. The whole of Barbarossa's fleet, together with an enormous accumulation of military stores, fell, by this success, into the hands of Charles, who, as he entered the fort, turned to Muley Hassan, then in attendance on him, and said, "Here is the gate open for you by which you shall return to take possession of your kingdom."

Barbarossa had assembled a large force, principally composed of Moors and Arabs from the neighbouring tribes, but he soon found that little confidence was to be placed either in their valour or fidelity. With such an army he considered that it would be unwise to attempt a defence of Tunis, or to await the

emperor's arrival before its walls. He determined, therefore, upon advancing boldly to meet the Christians on the open plain, where his wild horsemen might be made more available than they could be behind the ramparts of the town. He had, however, one great source of uneasiness in the presence of no less than 10,000 slaves within the place. Barbarossa dreaded that they would avail themselves of this critical juncture to rise and regain their freedom, unless he left a large force to guard them. This, under the circumstances, he did not feel able to afford. So, with the ruthless barbarity which had marked every step in his career, he proposed a general massacre of the whole body, as the quickest and safest method of overcoming the difficulty. To this sanguinary suggestion he encountered a strong opposition from all his partisans. The atrocious and cowardly brutality of the scheme was too great even for the piratical horde whom Barbarossa had assembled beneath his banner; added to which their interests were as much opposed to the measure as their humanity. The Jew Sinan was the owner of many of them, and several other leaders were in a similar position. They therefore resisted this suggestion for the wholesale destruction of their property so strenuously that Barbarossa was forced to abandon the idea, and to sally forth to meet the emperor, leaving the body of slaves as well guarded as his limited means permitted.

The action which ensued was hardly worthy of the name. Although the forces of Barbarossa far exceeded those of the emperor in point of numbers, they were not to be compared with the latter in discipline or steadiness. The very first onset decided the day, nor could the utmost efforts of the Algerine rally his flying battalions. The rout became general, and the usurper hastened to re-enter Tunis so as to take proper measures for its defence. Here he found that his original fears with regard to the Christian captives had proved well founded. As soon as they discovered the departure of the main force, they had risen on their guards, recovered their freedom, and seized upon the citadel, which they now held against the retreating Barbarossa. Amongst these captives was a knight of St. John, named Simeoni, the same who, in earlier youth,

had greatly distinguished himself in the defence of the island of Leros against a Turkish force. This knight immediately placed himself at the head of the revolting slaves, and took such prompt measures that the whole city fell into his hands. Barbarossa was compelled to fly, and his troops rapidly dispersed.

Simeoni advanced to meet the emperor, and informed him of what he had done. Charles, who was overjoyed at this unlooked-for assistance, embraced him with warmth, and praised him in the most emphatic manner for the intrepidity and discretion with which he had acted. Muley Hassan was restored to his throne as a tributary of Spain, and the expedition being thus happily ended, the knights returned to Malta laden with substantial marks of the emperor's satisfaction. They arrived there in time to see the last of their chief, who died shortly afterwards, having wielded the baton of Grand-Master for little more than one year.

He was succeeded by Didier de St. Gilles, a French knight, whose short reign was undistinguished by any event of importance beyond the destruction of a fort called Alcade, which the Algerines had constructed close to Tripoli. Botigella, to whom had been confided the command of the fleet of the Order in the late expedition, was intrusted with this enterprise, and the complete success which crowned his efforts marked the wisdom of the choice. The fort was utterly destroyed in spite of every effort on the part of the Algerines to save it, and the expedition returned in triumph to Malta.

St. Gilles himself never reached the *chef-lieu* after his nomination, but died at Montpellier, where he was residing for the benefit of his health. The vacancy which thus occurred gave rise to a warm contention in the election of a successor. The two commanders, Botigella and De Grolée, the latter of whom had led the assault on the fort of Goletta, were considered to have an equally good claim upon the suffrages of the electors. The Spaniards, however, whose influence in the convent had of late wonderfully increased, owing to the power of their emperor, were determined that a knight of their own *langue* should be chosen. They succeeded in carrying their point, and John D'Omedes, of the *langue* of Aragon, was nominated

to the post. Although his claims were by no means equal to those of either Botigella or De Grolée, he had nevertheless greatly distinguished himself during the siege of Rhodes, where he had lost an eye whilst defending the Spanish quarter.

The memory of D'Omedes has been much vilified by the French historians, and apparently somewhat undeservedly. These writers had evidently been imbued with warm feelings of partisanship in the struggle between the emperor and their own king. Everything Spanish was, therefore, regarded by them with a jaundiced eye, and the memory of D'Omedes, whose election was of itself calculated to awaken jealousy, has borne the brunt of this unfavourable bias. At the same time it must be admitted that some of his acts were arbitrary and unjustifiable, and that he was too often influenced by a partiality for his own nation.

A feeling of jealousy against his late rival Botigella, prompted him to remove that knight from the command of the galleys. In his place he appointed a young Florentine, named Strozzi, who in after years became notorious as one of the most adventurous and daring corsairs in the Mediterranean. At the time of his appointment he had done but little to distinguish himself, and his claims for the post were not for one moment to be compared with those of Botigella. The real reason of the change was that D'Omedes did not consider it safe to continue so important a trust in the hands of a man who had been his disappointed competitor, and whom he suspected of being still violently inimical.

The condition of the city of Tripoli had never ceased to give rise to feelings of anxiety. Though everything had been done that the limited means of the Order admitted, the place was still but feebly fortified. Each succeeding governor, as he returned to Malta, impressed upon the council the necessity of taking further steps to strengthen the place. These representations became at length so urgent that the Grand-Master appealed to the emperor either to assist in increasing its strength or to permit the knights to abandon it. The reply of Charles to this petition was a demand on them to join him in an expedition which he was contemplating against Algiers, still the stronghold of Barbarossa, and the chief haunt of the

pirates whose depredations kept the coasts of the Mediterranean in a state of constant alarm. He trusted by crushing them in their nest to insure the safety of Tripoli without further outlay, and at the same time relieve his maritime subjects from an incubus which had long weighed upon them.

Four hundred knights, each accompanied by two armed attendants, formed the contingent which the Order contributed to the army of the emperor, who, inflated by the success of his late expedition against Tunis, determined once again to lead his forces in person, and directed a general rendezvous in the island of Majorea. In vain his veteran admiral Doria remonstrated with him on the imprudence of attempting a maritime expedition so late in the year, when the storms which, at that season, are so violent and frequent in the Mediterranean, might at any moment disperse his fleet. Charles was not to be diverted from his purpose by any such prudential considerations, and he persisted in prosecuting the enterprise. The result proved the sagacity of Doria and the foolhardiness of the emperor. The army landed before Algiers, and commenced operations against it, but two days after they had broken ground a fearful storm arose from the north-east (known in the Mediterranean as a *griegale*). This not only deluged the camp and prostrated the army, but caused the far more irreparable loss of the greater part of the fleet, which had been lying off the coast, and the bulk of which was driven ashore. Fifteen galleys and 140 transports and store ships were lost in this dreadful tempest.

Doria, who, by the exercise of superior seamanship, had succeeded in rescuing some of his ships, took shelter under cape Matifu,* whence he despatched messengers to the emperor announcing his whereabouts. After a most harassing march, Charles at length brought his prostrate force to the spot, hampered during the retreat by the hostile action of the Moorish cavalry. During this movement the knights of St. John had ample opportunity for distinction, as the task of covering the march of the army was intrusted to them. Their losses in carrying out this duty were most severe, and the number

* About nine miles east of Algiers.

who survived to bear the tale of the disaster to Malta was but comparatively small.

The failure of this expedition rendered the position of Tripoli still more precarious. In this crisis the Grand-Master and council selected for the onerous post of governor a knight of the *langue* of Provence, called John de la Valette, a name which subsequent events rendered one of the most illustrious in the annals of his fraternity. Even at that time La Valette had distinguished himself by his bravery and zeal in numerous cruising expeditions against the Turks. He had never quitted the convent from the day of his first profession, except on the occasions of these caravans or cruises, and he had gradually risen from post to post within its ranks until he had attained a high position.

The fate of Tripoli was destined, however, to be postponed for yet a little while, and La Valette avoided the painful duty of its government before the blow fell. Meanwhile, Malta itself had a very narrow escape from suffering a similar catastrophe. Barbarossa had died at Constantinople, and was succeeded in the command of the Turkish fleet by his lieutenant, Dragut. This man had attained a notoriety in the Mediterranean, second only to that of his chief, and this addition to his power was followed by prompt and decisive measures. He possessed himself of the town of Mehedia, a port situated midway between Tunis and Tripoli, where he established a naval depôt in the most dangerous contiguity to the latter stronghold. D'Omedes viewed with very natural alarm the fresh danger which menaced his feeble outpost, and he persuaded the emperor to direct an expedition against this new foe.

Charles was the more readily induced to accede to this request because he was desirous of wiping out the stigma of his late failure in the attack on Algiers, and also because the proximity of the Turkish corsair menaced the coasts of Naples and Sicily. The Order of St. John despatched a contingent to join the main force, which was under the command of Doria. This auxiliary body consisted of 140 knights and 500 hired soldiers, the whole being under the command of the bailiff De la Sangle. The siege of Mehedia took place in

June, 1550, and, after a desperate resistance, ended in its capture. As it was not intended to hold the place, the fortifications were destroyed and the post abandoned.

This success, in which the knights had the principal share, brought down on them the anger of the sultan, and he forthwith began to prepare an expedition for the purpose of driving them from Malta. Neither time nor means were available for D'Omedes to place the island in a proper state of defence. When, therefore, the Turkish fleet under Dragut anchored off the Marsa Muscetto on the 16th July, 1551, very few additions had been made to the feeble fortifications with which the Bourg and the castle of St. Angelo were protected. The commanders of the Turkish armament landed upon Mount Sceberras, and from that elevated spot surveyed these several works. The natural strength of the position seems to have daunted the Turks, for they abandoned the idea of an assault at that point, and decided instead to commence operations against the Città Notabile. The troops were disembarked and marched directly into the interior, taking with them artillery for the siege of the town. The garrison was not prepared to yield tamely, and stoutly maintained its resistance, although the prospect seemed somewhat desperate. Fortunately intimation reached the Turkish commander that Doria had set sail, with a large fleet, for the relief of the island. This intelligence, which was completely false, so far terrified Dragut, that he decided upon abandoning his attempts on Malta, and re-embarked his troops with the utmost expedition. As a last effort, he made a descent upon the island of Gozo, which he ravaged without resistance, the governor, De Lessa, behaving on the occasion with the most abject cowardice.

The descent upon Malta having thus failed, Dragut directed his course towards the city of Tripoli, fully determined to capture and destroy it, so as not to return to Constantinople empty-handed. At this time the governor of Tripoli was a French knight, named Gaspard la Vallier, the marshal of the Order. To the summons of the Turks he returned a disdainful reply, and the siege was commenced in due form. Dragut made the greatest possible efforts, and the works were pushed forward with the most ominous rapidity. Treachery within the

town aided the designs of those in its front, and before long La Vallier was forced to treat for a capitulation. The most honourable terms were granted, but when the time came for their fulfilment they were basely violated, and the garrison, together with many of the citizens, were made prisoners. D'Aramont, the French ambassador at the Porte, had visited the Turkish army during the siege, hoping to divert its attack from Tripoli, and had been compulsorily detained. He now exerted himself to the utmost, and partly by his influence, partly by the expenditure of a large sum of money, he procured the release of all the prisoners, and set sail with them for Malta, where he anticipated being received with the gratitude he so richly deserved. The general feeling in Malta at the loss of Tripoli was so very bitter that D'Aramont soon found that he was regarded with distrust and antipathy. He was compelled, therefore, to return to Constantinople, saddened with the conviction that his kindness to the unfortunate garrison had been entirely misconstrued.

D'Omedes, feeling that he himself was not without blame in having left the beleaguered city to its fate, became anxious to divert the popular wrath into another channel. He therefore caused the marshal to be arrested, with three of his late companions in arms. Never were innocent men more basely sacrificed to popular clamour. They were all stripped of their habits, and La Vallier, than whom a braver man or more skilful captain did not exist, was further handed over to the civil power and imprisoned. He would undoubtedly have met with a still worse fate, but for the bold and indignant remonstrances of a knight named Villigagnon.

Whilst these events were taking place, the course of the religious revolution in England had been gradually reaching its climax. The quarrel between the king and the Pope had already assumed the most threatening aspect even before the death of L'Isle Adam, and fears for the security and permanence of the English *langue* had embittered the last moments of that venerable chief. Since then matters had rapidly developed, and the Reformation had become an accomplished fact. An institution like the Order of St. John, still

maintaining fealty to the papacy, was not likely to remain long undisturbed under the new *régime*. Henry VIII., even before his quarrel with the Pope, had shewn a strong inclination to interfere in the affairs of the fraternity in England, and to possess himself of much of its property. Now the moment had arrived when a plausible pretext was afforded of laying hands on it all.

There still exists in the Record Office of Malta a document addressed by the king to the Grand-Master, which deals fully with the subject. This document is dated on the 7th July, 1538, at Westminster, and is in the form of letters patent. It begins by styling Henry the supreme head of the Anglican church, and the protector of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It then goes on to declare, first, that for himself and his successors, he gives license to brother William West,* grand-prior of the priory of England, to confer the habit and receive the profession requisite to admit such English subjects as may desire to enter the Order under the usual conditions, provided always that such postulant shall have been previously required to take an oath of allegiance to the said monarch as his supreme lord, in accordance with the form duly instituted for that purpose, which oath the king exacts from all his subjects, whether lay or clerical; secondly, that any person nominated by the Grand-Master in council to a commandery, situated within the limits of the kingdom of England, shall of necessity obtain a confirmation of his appointment from the king. Such newly-appointed commander will be required to pay the revenues of the first year accruing from his commandery into the king's treasury, nor will his nomination to the commandery be ratified until he shall previously have taken the oath of allegiance, and have paid the said year's revenue, or, at all events, have given due security for its future payment. Thirdly, it shall not be lawful for the Order of St. John to make eleemosynary collections † within the realm of England, unless in virtue of a royal warrant, which warrant shall contain the express clause that such collection was not made in pursuance of any bull

* This name should be Weston, as Sir William Weston was the grand-prior at the time.

† Alluded to in Chapter VII. under the title of *confraria*.

from the Roman pontiff, but under letters patent emanating from the king of England. Fourthly, those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall not recognize, support, or promote the jurisdiction, authority, rank, or title of the bishop of Rome. Fifthly, those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England shall, after payment of the first year's revenues into the king's treasury, transfer those of the second year to the treasury of the Order for the general maintenance and support of the convent with the reservation of such annual tithes as the king retains to himself from all the commanderies within his kingdom. Lastly, that every year a chapter of the priory shall be held, in which all crimes committed by the fraternity within the realm of England shall be examined into and duly punished; and if any offending brother shall consider himself aggrieved by the sentence of the chapter, he shall appeal either to the vicar of the king, or to the conservator of the privileges of the Order of St. John duly appointed by the king.

A very cursory study of the clauses contained in this document will show both the subtlety and rapacity of those by whom it was drawn up. The fourth clause was in itself amply sufficient to prevent any member of the Roman Catholic Church from holding office or emolument within the kingdom of England; but as though the monarch feared lest the members of the Order might be possessed of consciences sufficiently elastic to take the oath, he secures for himself an ample provision from the revenues of the commanderies, payment of which would be enforced even upon the most compliant of the fraternity. Had the knights of St. John been in the habit of yielding any annual tithes or contributions to the See of Rome, it would have been but natural that the king of England, when he assumed to himself the papal functions within his realm, should at the same time have transferred to his own treasury all such payments. This, however, had never been the case. From the earliest period of its institution, the brotherhood had been exempted by papal authority from any demand for ecclesiastical tithe or contribution, and this exemption had been continued and confirmed from time to time ever since. Henry, therefore,

in exacting the payment of tithes, was arrogating to himself a privilege such as had never been assumed by the pontiffs of Rome, even in the days of their most dictatorial authority. One of the great sources of revenue enjoyed by the treasury was the payment of the first year's income by the successor to a vacant commandery. It was this of which Henry contemplated the spoliation. It is true that he substituted the second year's revenue for the benefit of the treasury, but in so doing he only mulcted the unfortunate commanders by so much additional taxation.

It is greatly to the credit of the members of the English *langue* that they did not permit the natural desire of retaining their large possessions in England to outweigh their sense of religious duty. Hard as the terms were which Henry was endeavouring to impose on them, they were such as many men would have deemed preferable to absolute confiscation; but the Order of St. John was not prepared to admit any such compromise between its duty and its interests. It had been reared in the bosom of the Church of Rome, it had been nurtured by the protection of each successive pontiff, and now that a storm had burst over the head of the father of the Church, which bid fair to deprive him of the spiritual allegiance of an important section of his flock, the knights were not prepared to abandon his cause for the sake of retaining their worldly advantages. The terms offered by Henry were peremptorily declined, and the *langue* of England—which had been so long considered one of the brightest adjuncts of the Order, and of which the historian Bosio, himself an Italian, and therefore an unbiassed witness, has recorded “*così ricco nobile e principal membro come sempre era stata la venerabile lingua d’Inghilterra*”—was lost to the fraternity. A general sequestration of its property took place, accompanied by much persecution. Some perished on the scaffold, others lingered in prison, and the remainder, homeless, destitute, and penniless, found their way to Malta, where they were received with all brotherly kindness and consideration. By an Act of Parliament, dated in April, 1540, all the possessions, castles, manors, churches, houses, &c., of the Order of St. John, were vested in the Crown; out of this revenue, pensions to the amount

of £2,870 were granted to the late Lord-Prior and to other members of the institution.*

It has already been stated that at the commencement of his rule D'Omedes had appointed to the command of the galleys a young Florentine knight named Leo Strozzi, who had attained the dignity of grand-prior of Capua. The father of this knight had been imprisoned by the emperor Charles, and had ended his life by suicide. Leo, burning with resentment at his death, abandoned the service of the Order and entered that of the king of France. He trusted that under that flag he would have an opportunity of avenging himself upon the emperor. For some time he served in the French navy with much distinction, and had risen to the chief command of the fleet. Being naturally of an imperious and fiery temper, he had in that position made for himself many powerful enemies in the French court, and was, in consequence, eventually compelled to resign his command and leave the kingdom. He then applied for readmission into the fraternity at Malta, but D'Omedes, who, as a Spaniard, was a warm partisan of the emperor, declined to permit him to land on the island.

The abandonment of his post had closed to him all French ports; his antagonism to the emperor prevented his finding shelter within any of the harbours of Sicily, and now that he was refused admission to Malta he was compelled to cruise in the Mediterranean without any means of refitting his galleys. Under these circumstances, he was in a measure driven into acts of piracy in self-defence, and for some time he became the scourge of the Mediterranean, under the title, assumed by himself, of "The friend of God alone." Charles, who was too wily a politician to permit his resentments to interfere with his interests, now that he saw this able captain quarrelling with his former protector, at once opened negotiations to induce him to enter his own service. It is doubtful whether Strozzi, whose anger at the imprisonment of his father appears never to have subsided, seriously contemplated the acceptance of this offer; but he permitted the negotiation to

* For further details of the suppression of the *langue* of England, see Chapter XXII.

be carried on, as during its progress he was freed from all hostility on the part of the emperor.

His daring deeds had raised for him a host of friends amongst the fiery spirits who dwelt in Malta. From some of these he received an invitation, whilst his parleying with the emperor was still continuing, to present himself once more in their island, pledging themselves that he should not again receive an inhospitable rebuff. Strozzi had now become very desirous of once more entering the ranks of the Order. He trusted that from his celebrated name and high interest he might one day attain to the supreme dignity. He therefore promptly accepted the invitation, and again presented himself off the harbour. The Grand-Master had by this time become acquainted with the overtures of Charles to the Florentine. He also knew how warmly Leo was respected by the knights, and therefore no longer refused him readmission into the fraternity; but, on the contrary, welcomed him into its ranks with every possible honour. The extreme ability of Strozzi was now freely displayed for the benefit of his *confrères*, and by his judicious counsels and suggestions he rendered them the greatest possible assistance.

In conjunction with two other knights, he was appointed to inspect and report upon the state of the fortifications, and to suggest such additions as might be considered necessary for the complete security of the island. The commissioners pointed out that, although the Bourg was enclosed by a rampart and ditch, it was, nevertheless, commanded by the rocky extremity of the peninsula of St. Julian, which ran parallel to that on which stood the castle of St. Angelo. They therefore strongly urged the necessity of establishing a fort on this promontory of sufficient capacity to hold a considerable garrison. Mount Seeberras also required occupation, in order to deny to an enemy the use of the harbour on the other side, called the Marsa Musceit, or Muscetto. Their recommendations on this head included the occupation of the entire peninsula, but the funds in the treasury did not admit of so extensive a work. Forts were, however, erected at the extremity of each promontory, that on Mount Seeberras being called St. Elmo, and that on the peninsula of St. Julian, St.

Michael; their further recommendations as to an increase in the works of the Bourg and St. Angelo were also adopted.

In order to carry out these additions with the greater vigour, the three commissioners each took charge of one of the works, and assisted by other knights, pushed forward the construction with the utmost rapidity, stimulating the workmen by their constant presence. Don Pedro Pardo, a celebrated Spanish engineer, designed the forts, to the rapid completion of which every one devoted his utmost energies. The bailiffs and other grand-crosses contributed the gold chains from which the insignia of their rank were suspended, as also a large portion of their plate; other knights followed their example, subscribing liberally from their private means in aid of the treasury. The galleys also were retained in port so that their crews, which were principally composed of slaves, might be employed upon the rapidly rising ramparts. The result of these exertions was so satisfactory, that in the month of May in the following year, 1553, the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo, and the bastions at the head of the Bourg, were completed and armed.

The last event of importance which marked the rule of D'Omedes was an unsuccessful attack upon Zoara, made under the command of Strozzi. This ill-fated expedition ended in the destruction of almost the entire force, and Strozzi himself only escaped being taken prisoner by the valour of a Majorcan knight named Torcillas. D'Omedes died on the 9th September, 1553, at the advanced age of ninety. It has already been stated that the French historians have omitted nothing which could blacken the memory of this chief. To the vices of avarice and favouritism they add a charge of general incapacity. That the French *langues*, long accustomed to see the Grand-Master selected from amongst their number, should feel it a grievance that this monopoly had been broken through, was but natural. It was also to be expected that the *langue* of Spain, suddenly brought into prominence and supported by the overwhelming influence of the emperor, should assume somewhat on its new position, and should arrogate to itself many of those good things which it had never before had the power of obtaining. Parsimony was doubtless

a vice of D'Omedes, nor can he be altogether acquitted of nepotism ; still in neither particular was he worse than many of his predecessors, nor would he, but for the circumstances in which he was placed, have been treated with the virulent abuse which has been poured upon him. During his later years extreme old age rendered him personally almost irresponsible for the acts of his government, and the Grand-Master, who sank into the tomb a dotard of ninety years of age, was a very different man from the hero who had so bravely held the post of Spain during the siege of Rhodes, and who lost an eye in that memorable struggle.

The general feeling at the death of D'Omedes was that Strozzi, the grand-prior of Capua, should be his successor, but it having been pointed out to the council that he would probably use the power thus intrusted to him in furtherance of his private quarrels, which were many and bitter, the choice ultimately fell on the grand-hospitaller Claude de la Sangle, who was at the time acting as envoy at Rome. This nomination, so contrary to his anticipations, gave dire offence to Strozzi. He at once resigned the command of the galleys, and set sail on a private adventure of his own, in which he was accompanied by several of the younger knights, who expected to earn renown under so distinguished a leader. Their anticipations were never destined to be realized, as Strozzi lost his life almost immediately afterwards before a small fort in Tuscany. His successor in the command of the galleys was La Valette, in which position that gallant leader added to the reputation he had already won.

During the first year of La Sangle's rule an evanescent prospect sprang up of the restoration of the English *langue*. The death of the young king, Edward VI., having placed his sister Mary on the throne of England, that princess being a zealous Roman Catholic, at once despatched ambassadors to Malta to treat for the revival of the English *langue*, promising at the same time the restoration of its sequestered lands. To this proposition the council of the Order naturally gave a prompt and joyful assent, and for a few brief years it seemed as though that venerable *langue* was about to resume its former status. But this was not to be. The death of Mary crushed

all the rising hopes of the fraternity, for on the accession of Elizabeth it was again suppressed in a still more formal and complete manner.

The successful forays which the galleys of Malta had carried out under the able command of La Valette, so far enriched the public treasury that La Sangle determined to add still further to the fortifications erected by D'Omedes. Both at St. Elmo and the Bourg considerable additions were made, but his main efforts were directed to the further strengthening of the promontory of St. Julian. D'Omedes had, it is true, erected at its extremity a fort called St. Michael, but this was not deemed sufficient, as the whole peninsula was much exposed to the neighbouring height of Coradino. To remedy this, La Sangle constructed a bastioned rampart along the side of the promontory facing those heights, and he enclosed its neck in a similar manner. These works were carried out principally at his own expense. The fraternity, in grateful commemoration of the fact, named the enceinte thus formed, and the town which rapidly sprang up within it, after its public-spirited chief. From that day it has always been known as the Isle de la Sangle, since Italianized into Senglea.

The prospects of the island of Malta were every day improving; the maritime successes of the Order not only enriched the treasury, but added so considerably to its already widely-spread renown that its ranks became rapidly recruited with much of the best blood in Europe. In the midst of this prosperity, however, a calamity occurred which, but for prompt assistance on all sides, might have proved irreparable. The island was visited by a furious hurricane on the 23rd September, 1555. The violence of this tornado was such that numbers of the houses were laid in ruins. Almost all the vessels in harbour sank at their anchorage, and many of the galley slaves forming their crews were drowned. The most prompt and energetic measures were necessary to restore the lost fleet, and, fortunately for the Order, it found friends both within and without its own ranks to aid it at this crisis. Philip II. of Spain instantly despatched two galleys, well armed and fully manned, as a present to his *protégés*. The Grand-Master, at his own expense, caused another to be built

at Messina, and the Pope, not to be behindhand in the good work, furnished its crew from amongst his own galley slaves. The prior of St. Gilles forwarded a galleon laden with ammunition and troops, and the grand-prior of France proceeded to Malta in person, with two galleys, and tendered his services to the Grand-Master.

These patriotic efforts proved to be of vital importance. The corsair Dragut, trusting to find the island in a defenceless state, made a descent on it, and even attempted a landing. He was repelled with great loss by the aid of the new fleet, and the prior of France promptly carried the war into the enemy's country by ravaging the coasts of Barbary. In this operation he was so successful that he returned to Malta with a vast accumulation of valuable spoil.

La Sangle died on the 17th August, 1557, and was succeeded by John Parisot de la Valette, who, during the last year of his predecessor's rule, had filled the office of lieutenant of the Mastery, holding, at the same time, the grand-priory of St. Gilles. His name of Parisot was derived from his father's fief, which was so called, but he is far better known to posterity by the family name of La Valette, which his deeds have rendered so illustrious. He was born in the year 1494, of a noble family of Quercy, and entered the Order at the age of twenty; he had been present at the siege of Rhodes in 1522, and followed the fortunes of the knights through their various wanderings after the loss of that island. Indeed, it is recorded of La Valette that, from the day of his first profession to that of his death, he never once left the convent except when cruising with the fleet. His successes as a naval commander soon singled him out from amongst his compeers, and he had, by his own unaided merits, raised himself step by step through the various dignities of the Order, until he now found himself elected its forty-seventh Grand-Master.

He had once been taken prisoner in an encounter with a Turkish corsair named Abda Racman, and during his captivity suffered great hardships and many indignities at the hands of his victor. Curiously enough, in later years he succeeded in capturing a galley commanded by Abda Racman, who thus, in his turn, became the prisoner of his former captive. History

has not recorded how the Turk was treated, or whether La Valette avenged himself for the indignities he had suffered at the hands of Abda. He was in due course ransomed from his slavery, and was shortly afterwards appointed governor of the fortress of Tripoli, at a time when it was difficult to find a man qualified, and at the same time willing, to accept that onerous post. After his recall from thence, he attained successively to the position of bailiff of Lango, chief-admiral of the fleet, and grand-prior of St. Gilles. On the arrival of the grand-prior of France, after the hurricane of 1555, La Valette resigned in his favour the post of commander of the fleet, and the Grand-Master, La Sangle, was so struck by this disinterested act, that he named him his lieutenant, an office which La Valette continued to fill until he was himself elected Grand-Master in August, 1557.

His first efforts, on assuming the magisterial office, were directed towards the recall of the chiefs of the Bohemian and Venetian priories to the allegiance which for many years they had cast off. In this he was so successful that a deputation was despatched to Malta from the recusant priories, praying to be once more received into the bosom of the fraternity, and pledging themselves to the punctual payment of their annual responsions for the future. By this wise and politic measure the influence and stability of the Order were largely increased, and its revenues much augmented, at a time when the course of events seemed to forebode a great strain upon both. La Valette also reversed the sentence which had been passed on the marshal La Vallier, for the loss of Tripoli. His discriminating judgment perceived from the first that this unfortunate knight had been sacrificed to popular clamour. The Grand-Master La Sangle had so far recognized the injustice of the original sentence as to release the prisoner from the close confinement in which he had been kept by D'Omedes. It was now the privilege of La Valette completely to wipe away the stain upon the honour of La Vallier, and in restoring to him the habit of which he had been stripped, publicly to proclaim his total innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and the consequent injustice of the sentence that had been inflicted.

At about this time the viceroy of Sicily, acting under the

directions of Philip II., who had lately succeeded to the throne of Spain, vacant by the abdication of his father, Charles V., assembled a force for the recovery of Tripoli, the importance of which for the protection of Sicily and Spain had become more than ever apparent since its capture by the Turks. A strong contingent from Malta joined this army, numbering upwards of 2,000 men, of whom 400 were knights, under the command of de Tessières, the new admiral of the fleet. The viceroy, who was at the head of the expedition, caused its utter failure through his obstinacy and vanity. Instead of directing his first attack against Tripoli, as had originally been intended, he captured the little island of Galves, upon which he began the construction of a fortress, intending that it should bear his own name. The delay proved fatal; disease spread rapidly amongst his forces, and the knights, perceiving the futility of the entire operation, abandoned the enterprise, by order of La Valette, and returned to Malta. Heedless of all warnings, the viceroy persisted in remaining within his new acquisition, where he was surprised by a powerful Turkish squadron, and with difficulty escaped the capture which awaited the remnants of his force. No less than fourteen large vessels and twenty-eight galleys, the flower of the Spanish fleet, were captured and carried off by Piali to Constantinople. It is computed that altogether 14,000 men perished in this unfortunate and mismanaged enterprise.

The exultation of the Barbary Moors at their success knew no bounds; indeed, it seemed as though of late years the Cross had been fated always to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Crescent. The tide was now, however, about to turn. Encouraged by the reverses the Spaniards had sustained in their late expedition, as well as in a fearful storm which at about this time—viz., 1562—overtook a squadron of twenty-four galleys, whilst carrying supplies to the Spanish colonies, and in which 4,000 men and nearly the whole fleet were lost, the Algerines determined on making a bold effort to sweep the Christians entirely from the coast of Africa. Since the fall of Tripoli, the principal possessions of the latter in that quarter were the fortresses of Oran and Mers-el-Kebir, which were in immediate contiguity to each other. It was against these

neighbouring strongholds that the first efforts of the Algerines were directed. On the 15th March, 1563, Hassan, their leader, commenced the attack on Mers-el-Kebir, detaching a small portion of his force for the investment of Oran, which was only three miles distant. For nearly three months the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, and the assaults delivered by the Algerines were both frequent and desperate. The governor of Mers-el-Kebir, Don Martin de Cordova, was a man equal to the emergency, and his resistance was so firm that when, on the 8th June, a relieving force despatched by Philip hove in sight, the fortress was still in his possession. Hassan was compelled at once to abandon the siege and retire in haste. Great were the rejoicings at this success, and a feeling of exultation spread through the maritime provinces of southern Europe, to which they had for some years been strangers.

Philip was not slow in following up his advantage, and carrying the war into the enemy's country. He wrested several important acquisitions from the hands of his discomfited antagonist, in doing which he was warmly supported by the knights of St. John. The Moors appealed to the sultan for aid, and suggested that he should wreak his vengeance on the Order in its island home. At this crisis an event occurred which, though apparently insignificant in itself, sufficed to determine the enraged sultan on immediate action. The Maltese galleys had succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in capturing a Turkish galleon armed with twenty guns and manned by 200 janissaries. This galleon was the property of the chief eunuch of the sultan's harem, and several of its fair inmates held shares in the valuable cargo, which Spanish historians have estimated at over 80,000 ducats. All the power of the seraglio was therefore exerted to induce Solyman to avenge the affront by a signal chastisement; and the attack on Malta, when pleaded for by bright eyes and rosy lips, was at length decreed by the amorous sultan. He determined as a fitting close to that long and glorious reign which had earned for him the title of Magnificent, to drive the knights from their new acquisition as he had in the commencement of his reign driven them from Rhodes. His preparations for this undertaking were made upon a most formidable scale, and the

attention of Europe was speedily drawn to the vast armament collecting in the port and arsenal of Constantinople. The uncertainty as to its destination filled the maritime provinces of the Mediterranean with alarm, and on every side precautions were taken for defence in case of need.

La Valette, who, in accordance with the practice of his predecessors, always maintained spies in Constantinople, was not long in discovering that Malta was the real point of attack. He at once despatched emissaries to the powers of Europe to crave assistance, but with the exception of the Pope, who contributed 10,000 crowns, and Philip, who sent a small body of troops, these appeals were unavailing, and he soon found that it was to his own Order alone that he would have to trust for the defence of the island; still, undeterred by the lukewarmness of those who should have been earnest in the cause, he promptly set himself to meet the storm as best he might. The front of Senglea on the land side was greatly strengthened, terrepleins were added to the ramparts, and the ditches of the Bourg were completed. La Valette also constructed a small battery for three guns beneath the fort of St. Angelo, nearly on a level with the water's edge, to flank the front of fort St. Michael. This battery, during the siege then impending, proved a work of the utmost importance at a very critical moment. A huge chain was fixed so as to close the entrance to the port of the galleys, one extremity of which was secured to the platform of rock below St. Angelo and the other to the point at Senglea.

So anxious was La Valette to hurry these works and to insure their completion before the arrival of the enemy, that he and his knights laboured themselves constantly at them. It is recorded that the Grand-Master, although at the time seventy years of age, joined with the other officials of the Order in taking his place among the long file of labourers who were carrying materials to the ramparts. By the suggestion of the viceroy of Sicily, who at that moment visited the island, a ravelin was also constructed at fort St. Elmo on the side nearest to the Marsa Muscetto.

Meanwhile, La Valette had summoned his *confrères* from all their European commanderies; and the call was obeyed with the utmost enthusiasm. They poured into Malta from all quarters;

and contributions also came in from those who were unable to render personal service either on account of age or infirmity. The Maltese militia was organized and drilled, and soon became a very effective body of soldiery, numbering upwards of 3,000, and 500 galley slaves were released under pledge of performing faithful service during the coming siege. The Sicilian viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, who was still prolonging his visit to the island, concerted with La Valette a project of mutual defence, and from this dignitary the Grand-Master received the most earnest pledges of assistance as soon as a sufficient force could be collected. He left his own illegitimate son under the charge of the knights, so that he might gain his first experience of war in the strife now about to commence.

La Valette was deeply gratified at the eagerness with which the flower of his Order had flocked to the island in the hour of danger. He assembled them all together, and in that glowing language which is ever the utterance of true earnestness, called upon them to stand firm in the good cause they had adopted at their first profession. They had then voluntarily devoted themselves to the defence of their religion, and if they were now called on to sacrifice their lives, it was their duty and their privilege cheerfully to lay them down. At the close of his address he led the way into the chapel of the convent, where they solemnly partook of the Holy Communion together.

Although the lapse of four centuries and a half had done much to weaken the simple and earnest religious feeling which had characterized the founders of the Order, it needed but a call like this to awaken something of the spirit of old. As they stood round their venerable chief the remembrance of many a gallant struggle was warm within their hearts. The scenes which had been witnessed at Jerusalem, at Acre, and at Rhodes, were once more to be enacted, and the devoted band determined with one heart that the renown of their predecessors should suffer no diminution by their conduct during the coming crisis.

CHAPTER XVII.

1565.

Enumeration of the garrison of Malta—Description of its defences—The Turkish army and fleet—The janissaries—Disembarkation of the force—Siege of St. Elmo commenced—Arrival of Dragut—Repeated assaults—The fort cut off from succour—Its fall—Massacre of the garrison.

A CAREFUL examination of the forces within the city was made under the orders of La Valette. With this view, a general parade of the *langues* was held, at which each was inspected by two knights selected from the other *langues*. At this parade the following numbers were present :—

			Knights.		Servants-at-arms.
Provence	...	...	61	...	15
Auvergne	...	...	25	...	14
France	...	...	57	...	24
Italy	...	...	164	...	5
Aragon	...	...	85	...	2
England...	...	...	1	...	0
Germany	...	...	13	...	1
Castile	...	...	68	...	6

making a total of 474 knights and 67 servants-at-arms. The solitary Englishman was Oliver Starkey, Latin secretary to La Valette, and author of the inscription on the tomb of that Grand-Master, by whose side his own remains are laid in the crypt of St. John's church in Malta. The number of knights present at the siege was eventually increased by nearly 100, many having been unable to reach the island before it began. They consequently mustered at Messina, and

awaited opportunities for penetrating into the fortress. There were also several conventual chaplains present, but they can hardly be counted as part of the garrison. It has been stated that the militia had been trained and organized into battalions; the same measures had also been adopted with the crews of the galleys. It was found, therefore, on a general muster, that, in addition to the members of the Order, the strength was as under:—

REGULAR FORCES.

Hired Spanish troops	...	...	...	800
Garrisons of St. Elmo and St. Angelo	...	...	...	150
Household and guard of Grand-Master	...	...	...	150
Artillery	...	...	...	120

MILITIA AND OTHER FORCES.

Militia of the Bourg	...	...	...	500
Ditto of Burmola * and Senglea	...	...	...	300
Ditto of remainder of island	...	...	...	4,560
Crews of the galleys †	...	...	...	700
Volunteers from Italy, Sicily, Genoa, Piedmont, &c.	...	...	...	875

From these figures it will be seen that, including the Order, La Valette might count upon a force of rather less than 9,000 men for the defence of the island.

A general description of the configuration of the ground forming the two great ports of Malta has been already given. It will now be well, before entering into the detail of the impending memorable siege, to describe more particularly the means of defence which the knights had, during a period of thirty-five years, been able to develop. For this purpose the

* After the foundation of Senglea by the Grand-Master La Sangle, a suburb had gradually formed itself between that town and the Bourg, which was called Burmola. The three towns of the Bourg, Burmola, and Senglea are now commonly known as the three cities, in contradistinction to Valetta.

† This number includes the 500 slaves who were released on promise of faithful service.

reader is referred to the map showing the state of the fortress in the year 1565.

The castle of St. Angelo, situated on the most northerly of the promontories which subdivide the grand harbour on its eastern side, occupied only its extremity, and was cut off from the mainland by means of a wet ditch running from sea to sea. In addition to the castle itself, which rose to a considerable height, and presented three tiers of batteries to the entrance of the harbour, there was an enceinte behind the ditch containing four bastions. The Bourg itself, which occupied the remainder of the peninsula, was protected on the land side by a line of rampart broken into two bastions in the centre, and two demi-bastions at the extremities; this had been strengthened by a ditch of considerable width and depth, but had no ravelin or other outwork. On its northern side, facing the entrance to the harbour, it was enclosed by a bastioned rampart extending to the ditch of St. Angelo, but on the side looking towards Senglea, the line was a mere curtain without flanks. The land front of the Bourg was allotted to the three French *langues*, as it was considered the most vulnerable part, and consequently the post of honour. The Germans were stationed on the sea face from St. Angelo half way towards the point where it joined the land front. The remainder was taken by the *langue* of Castile. This post became, during the latter portion of the siege, one of the principal points of attack. The inner face, looking towards Senglea (which has since been destroyed as useless), was manned by the Spanish *langue*. The garrison of St. Angelo consisted of 50 knights and 500 men, and here, as the citadel of the whole fortress, La Valette took up his abode.

The promontory of Senglea was defended by a very respectable sea front, formed by what had originally been the detached fort of St. Michael. The remainder of its enceinte was an irregular figure, little more than an indented line, except on the land side, where it threw out a bastion. It was garrisoned along its land front by the *langue* of Aragon, the remainder of the line being taken by the *langue* of Italy, and the whole being under the command of the grand-admiral de Monte, who in after years became Grand-Master. The extremity of Mount Scerberras was protected by fort St. Elmo, which was on a star

PLAN OF THE
FORTRESS OF MALTA

at the Mouth of the Great Harbour in 1716

and Command of the English Squadron and Garrison 1716



trace of four points, to the seaward of which was a cavalier dominating the work, and on the western side a ravelin connected with the main work by a bridge. The usual garrison for this post, which, owing to its peculiar trace, was very contracted, consisted only of sixty men, who had hitherto been under the command of a knight named de Broglio. The Grand-Master, in this crisis, augmented that number by two companies of foreign troops under the command of a Spaniard named La Cerda, as well as by sixty knights under the bailiff of Negropont, whose name was D'Eguaras. De Broglio, the original governor, was a man of great age, which rendered him unsuited for the post at such a critical time; still, La Valette felt it a very ungracious act to one who had been so distinguished to supersede him altogether. The bailiff of Negropont was therefore selected to aid him under the somewhat ambiguous title of captain of succours.

There yet remained the Città Notabile and the island of Gozo to protect. Opinions were much divided in the council as to the proper measures to be adopted in these cases. Some were for abandoning both points, and withdrawing their troops to increase the strength in the Bourg; others again, whilst anxious to abandon Gozo, deemed that it would be prudent to retain possession of the Città Notabile, which might act as a diversion. Either a most seasonable delay would be caused should the Turks decide upon capturing it by siege, or in case they at once sat down before the Bourg, it would prove a constant annoyance in their rear. La Valette ultimately decided upon retaining both posts. Their garrisons were therefore reinforced and placed under the command of knights in whose determination he could confide, and who he felt sure would hold out to the very last.

The commander Romegas, then one of the most daring naval captains the Order possessed, undertook the defence of the port of the galleys. This harbour was the portion of water enclosed between the Bourg and Senglea, and here all the galleys were drawn up at anchor. The entrance to this port was closed by a massive chain, which stretched from point to point.

On the morning of the 18th May, 1565, a signal gun from

the castle of St. Angelo, answered from the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo, announced to the people of Malta that the enemy's fleet was in sight. At this signal all the inhabitants who had not previously abandoned their homesteads flocked into either the Bourg or the Città Notabile, knowing well that if they were surprised in the open country their doom would be slavery if not death.

The Turkish fleet consisted of 130 galleys and 50 vessels of smaller size, together with a number of transports which were laden with the battering train and stores of the army. The troops embarked on board this fleet consisted of upwards of 30,000 men, of whom 4,500 were janissaries. It may be well here to say a few words on the subject of this redoubtable body, for so many years the chief support of the Turkish empire. Once in every five years a general conscription was levied upon the children of all Christians resident within the empire between the ages of seven and twelve. Such of them as displayed any pre-eminence either of mind or body were carried away to Constantinople, and from that moment became lost to their parents for ever. Those amongst this selected body who exhibited the greatest promise of bodily strength were chosen for the corps of janissaries. Every effort was made from the moment of their selection to endue them with the martial spirit of their calling. Marriage was strictly forbidden; they had therefore no family ties to divide their affections. The *esprit de corps* thus fostered increased with their age, and they formed a body of troops upon whom the strictest reliance could be placed in the most desperate emergency. Such were the men who composed an important part of the force which Solyman had despatched against Malta. The direction of the fleet was intrusted to Piali, the same admiral who had captured so many Spanish galleys in the late unfortunate expedition of the Sicilian viceroy. The army was placed under the command of Mustapha, a veteran general in whose skill and judgment the sultan placed the utmost reliance, but who mingled with his warlike virtues much ferocity and cruelty of disposition.

After some little cruising backward and forward, the Turks eventually disembarked, partly in the Marsa Scirocco, and

partly in St. Thomas's bay. A small body of knights, under the marshal Coppier, had been sent out to watch the proceedings of the enemy and to cut off stragglers. One of these named De la Rivière fell into the hands of the Turks and was brought before Mustapha, who questioned him closely as to the resources of the place. Rivière assured the pasha that the most complete preparations had been made for the defence, and that the garrison was determined to hold out to the last, being in full assurance of relief from Sicily. On this Mustapha directed that he should be submitted to torture, which for some time he bore with the most unflinching resolution. At length, feigning to be overcome by the agony, he informed the pasha that the post of Castile, at the eastern angle of the land front of the Bourg, was the weakest part of the fortifications. Relying upon this information Mustapha advanced towards the town, intending to make an immediate attack at that point; but on reaching Mount Salvator, a considerable eminence to the south-east of the Bourg, he perceived at a glance that his prisoner had deceived him, and that the angle indicated was in reality the most invulnerable part of the works. The unfortunate knight fell a victim to his constancy, as Mustapha immediately directed him to be put to death.

The appearance of the Turkish army in front of the town was the signal for a number of skirmishes between their advanced posts and small parties of the garrison. La Valette permitted these desultory encounters to be carried on for some time to accustom his troops to the appearance and weapons of the enemy. When he considered that this end had been fairly attained he directed them to remain behind their ramparts, knowing that he could but ill spare any of his slender force in combats which led to no decisive result.

Counsels were divided in the Turkish camp as to the course which should now be pursued. Before leaving Constantinople Solyman had enjoined both Mustapha and Piali to pay the utmost attention and to give the greatest possible weight to the advice of Dragut, who was to join the expedition after its landing. The corsair had not as yet arrived, and in his absence Piali was of opinion that no active measures should be taken, but that they should simply entrench their position. Mustapha,

on the other hand, dreaded the loss of valuable time which might allow succours to reach the garrison, and urged pushing on at once with the siege. He pointed out that the fleet lay in a very exposed situation in Marsa Scirocco, and that it would be a most important advantage to obtain possession of the Marsa Muscetto, within which they would find ample shelter. To do this it was necessary to capture fort St. Elmo, which commanded the entrance to that harbour. He therefore proposed that they should at once lay siege to this work, leaving to Dragut the responsibility of deciding upon their future measures. These views prevailed, and the attack on St. Elmo commenced in due form.

Mount Sceberras being but a bare rock, the Turkish engineers were unable to open their trenches in the ordinary manner. Gabions, fascines, and even earth had all to be brought from a distance, a task of enormous labour; but by dint of perseverance and at a great sacrifice of life from the galling and incessant fire of the fort, the work was at length accomplished. The siege operations at this point were very unskilfully designed. For the purpose of sheltering the trenches from the fire of St. Angelo, they were kept on the reverse side of the hill, and thereby left the communication between that fortress and St. Elmo open. Of recent years a subterranean communication has been discovered, the mouth of which was concealed amongst the rocks at the foot of Mount Sceberras, facing St. Angelo. An outlet has also been found in that part of St. Elmo which formed the original fort. Although the passage way has not been traced throughout, it being filled up with *débris*, there can be little doubt that it was by this channel intercourse was so long kept up between the two forts under cover of night. This would have been impracticable had the Turkish lines overlooked the harbour, and the error led to a protracted and bloody siege before a work which should have been taken in a few days.

The trenches being at length completed, a battery was constructed to bear against the points selected for attack, at a distance of a little less than 200 yards from the fort. It was armed with ten guns throwing 80 lb. shot, three columbines for 60 lb. shot, and one basilisk for 160 lb. shot. The guns

and columbrines were mounted on wheels, but the basilisk required complicated machinery for pointing and checking recoil. The Turks in that age made more use of artillery than any other nation, and their guns were of enormous calibre; the labour of placing them in position was consequently very great, and their fire by no means rapid; still, at short ranges their battering power was terrific. The result speedily manifested itself in the breaches formed both in the fort and ravelin, the ditches of which were choked with the *débris*.

The slender force which defended the fort was clearly insufficient to hold it in its present state. D'Eguaras therefore despatched an envoy to the Grand-Master demanding further aid, and the Spanish knight La Cerda was selected for the purpose. A worse choice could scarcely have been made. In a garrison where nearly every man was a hero the slightest taint of cowardice became instantly apparent, and unfortunately La Cerda was not free from this weakness. Exaggerating the injuries the fort had sustained, he not only strenuously pressed for immediate reinforcement, but further announced in open council that even under the most favourable circumstances the place could not hold out many days. La Valette was justly irritated with the injudicious envoy for thus publishing what, at all events, should have been reserved for the ear of his chief alone. He was, moreover, much disappointed at this speedy demand for succour before any assault had been delivered, and consequently before many casualties could have occurred. He had counted upon the delay which the attack on St. Elmo would occasion as the salvation of the island, since it would enable the Sicilian viceroy to redeem his pledge, and to hurry to the rescue. If, however, as La Cerda had proclaimed, the fort could only be held for a few days, he might expect to see the siege of the Bourg opened long before Don Garcia could possibly arrive. Turning, therefore, towards La Cerda, he demanded what their loss had been since they had so soon been brought into such a desperate condition. This was a difficult question to answer; La Cerda had been despatched for aid not on account of any serious losses, but because the breached ramparts required a larger force to hold them. His exaggerated account of the state of the work was due to his own desire to see

the garrison withdrawn into the Bourg, and he himself thus released from a position of peril to which his courage was unequal. Whilst he was hesitating for a reply, La Valette sternly remarked, "I myself will bring you succour, and if I am not able to remove your terrors, at least I trust to save the fort." It required the most urgent remonstrances of the council to dissuade the irate chief from making good his words, and himself leading the reinforcements into St. Elmo. He was at length induced to be content with sending fifty knights and 200 Spanish troops under a commander of that *langue* named Gonzales de Medrano, in whose intrepidity and constancy La Valette felt he could place implicit reliance.

It was at this moment that Dragut made his appearance with thirteen galleys, having on board a reinforcement of 1,500 men. Much to the mortification of Mustapha he condemned the steps that general had taken. He considered the island of Gozo should first have been seized, and that they should then have advanced upon the Città Notabile and secured that point. They would thus, when attacking the Bourg, have had their rear protected, and the knights would have been unable to draw in any reinforcements, either of men or provisions, from the rest of the island. Now, however, that the siege of St. Elmo had actually commenced, he decided that it should be persevered in, and prosecuted with vigour. Under his directions a second and still more formidable battery was erected on one of the highest points of Mount Sceberras to play both on St. Elmo and St. Angelo. He also constructed a small battery for four guns on the point of land opposite St. Elmo, and forming the other side of the entrance to the Marsa Muscetto. This point has, in consequence, ever since been called point Dragut, and on it now stands a strong work called fort Tigné, from the name of the engineer under whose direction it was erected.

Medrano had not long entered the fort before he proposed a sortie to destroy the enemy's batteries. This operation he headed in person. At first the attack was completely successful; the Turks were routed, their parapets thrown down, and the result of much labour destroyed. Before long, however, the besiegers rallied, and returned to the attack in overwhelming numbers. Medrano was in consequence compelled to draw off his

slender force, and to retreat into the fort. The wind, which at the time was southerly, had blown the smoke in the direction of St. Elmo, and concealed the movements of the Turks from the view of the garrison. To their dismay they perceived, when it had cleared away, that the besiegers had advanced unnoticed, and taken possession of the covered way, within which they were busily engaged entrenching themselves. A heavy fire was at once opened on them, but in vain; the covered way was lost, and from that time became included in the Turkish lines, which were thus brought close to the walls.

A few days later a gross act of carelessness on the part of the besieged caused the loss of the ravelin itself. Some Turkish engineers were engaged, under cover of the night, in making a reconnoissance from the ditch, to which they were able to gain access after the covered way had fallen into their possession. Anxious to discover the strength of the ravelin, one of their number had the hardihood to climb into an embrasure, trusting, in the darkness of the night, to elude the vigilance of the sentries. To his amazement, he found the work apparently untenanted, and certainly unguarded. It has never been clearly understood whence this carelessness arose. Some assert that the sentries, exhausted with the work of the day, were asleep; others, again, suggest that the one in the salient had been killed by a shot, and that the casualty had not been observed by the guard. Be this as it may, the result was most disastrous. The engineer instantly hastened back to camp, informed Mustapha of what he had discovered, and offered to lead a party to the attack of the unprotected ravelin. A chosen band of janissaries was quickly assembled, and, guided by the engineer, stole silently into the work. The defenders were taken completely by surprise, and unable to offer any effective resistance. Driven back by the fierce onset of the janissaries, and their commander slain, they were forced to seek refuge in the fort, whither they were hotly pursued by the Turks. But for the heroic efforts of one of the Spanish officers, of a junior grade, who, standing at the entrance of the draw-bridge, withstood for some moments almost single-handed the rush of the enemy, and maintained his post, until he was supported from within, like Horatius in the Roman story, St.

Elmo would on that day have fallen. D'Eguaras, Medrano, and other knights had, on the first sound of the tumult, hurried to the scene of action, and by their exertions eventually succeeded in preventing the enemy from penetrating into the fort. The most powerful efforts were made on either side, the knights striving to retake the ravelin, the Turks to push their advantage still further. Both were, however, unsuccessful. In spite of the most desperate sallies, aided by the fire of two guns which were brought to bear on the outwork, the Turks established a lodgment in the ravelin, but were unable to gain any further ground.

One body of the assailants having thus, at a fearful cost of life, secured a great advantage, the next morning another detachment, stimulated by that success, rushed into the ditch and made a most determined effort to carry the fort itself by escalade. This was an operation not likely to succeed against such men as those who were maintaining St. Elmo. The ladders, moreover, were too short to reach the crest; yet still they struggled on with the most invincible resolution. Here and there a Turk, more daring and more agile than his fellows, would obtain a momentary footing on the parapet, but before his comrades could come to his assistance, he was invariably hurled headlong down. Boiling pitch and wildfire streamed upon the mass congregated in the ditch; huge rocks were hurled upon them, and all the savage ferocity of war was let loose. The castle of St. Angelo was thronged with anxious spectators, eagerly straining their eyes to discover the issue of the fight. Amidst the roar of artillery, the volleys of arquebuses, the screams, shouts, and yells of the combatants, little could be distinguished to mark how the tide of battle turned, as a dense canopy of smoke hung over the fort, rent at intervals by the flashes of the guns, but obscuring from sight all that was taking place. It was not until the sun had declined far towards the west that they were enabled to understand the real state of things. The Turkish standard was then seen waving over the captured ravelin, whilst, on the other hand, the White Cross banner still floated over the fort and cavalier. Finding all efforts to carry the work unavailing, a retreat was sounded, and the Turks withdrew sullenly to their trenches. The gain of the ravelin was,

however, an immense advantage to the besiegers, and though the success was purchased at the cost of 2,000 men, Mustapha had cause for congratulation. The loss of the garrison did not exceed 100 men, but of these twenty were knights, whose scanty numbers could ill afford such a diminution. A touching incident is recorded in connection with this day's struggle. A French knight being mortally wounded, one of the brethren turned to assist him in leaving the spot, but the dying man refused the proffered aid, saying that he was no longer to be counted amongst the living, and crawled unaided away. At the close of the fight his body was discovered in front of the chapel of St. Elmo, whither he had dragged himself to breathe his last before the altar of the Virgin.

As soon as the darkness permitted, La Valette sent boats from the Bourg to remove the wounded and to replace them by a second reinforcement, commanded by a knight named Miranda, who had recently arrived from Sicily. On one of the first days of the siege, whilst the batteries and trenches were being constructed, the Turkish admiral, Piali, had been struck by a splinter of rock. The wound was severe enough to spread consternation, and La Valette took advantage of the confusion to despatch an envoy to Sicily, urging the viceroy to forward instant succour. The messenger returned with a pledge from Don Garcia that he would arrive in Malta by the middle of June if La Valette would send him the fleet of galleys then cooped up in compulsory idleness in the port. It was in company with the bearer of this message that Miranda arrived at Malta. He instantly volunteered his services to join the defenders of St. Elmo. As he had already achieved a high reputation for military genius and courage, La Valette gladly acceded to a request which added to the occupants of that post so experienced a soldier.

The Grand-Master was grievously disappointed at the condition with which the viceroy had hampered his proffer of aid. To despatch the galleys thus demanded he would be obliged to man them with their crews, whose services within the fortress were urgently required. Moreover, although the bulk of these men had been released from slavery on condition of faithful service during the siege, it would have been dangerous to trust them on

board in such close proximity to the Turkish fleet. Had they been sent they must have been accompanied by an ample guard. Such a diminution of his already too scanty force could not for a moment be contemplated. La Valette therefore sent off a fresh appeal for unconditional assistance.

Meanwhile he spared no effort to prolong the defence of St. Elmo. Fresh troops were every night introduced into the work to replace casualties. D'Eguaras and de Broglio had both been severely wounded in the last assault, and La Valette had directed their immediate return to the convent. All the writers who have described this siege have united in recording that both these knights refused to abandon their post. With respect to D'Eguaras, there is no doubt that such was the case, as his name appears in the list of the killed in the fort, but the evidence as regards de Broglio is different. In the first place there is no record of his death; but the strongest testimony that he availed himself of La Valette's permission to retire into the Bourg is the fact that on the 13th June the Grand-Master, in council, appointed Don Melchior de Montserrat governor of St. Elmo, which he could not have done had not de Broglio resigned the post.* The Spanish knight, La Cerda, who had previously shown so much panic, took this opportunity of returning to the Bourg amongst the other wounded, although his injury was so slight that it need in no way have incapacitated him from remaining at his post. The Grand-Master was so indignant at this second exhibition of cowardice that he caused him to be imprisoned. Before the close of the siege, however, La Cerda had, by an honourable death in the face of the enemy, wiped out the stain thus cast upon his fame.

Now that both the covered way and ravelin had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, on the latter of which two guns had been mounted that enfiladed many parts of the rampart, it was difficult for the garrison to find shelter from the pitiless storm

* This appointment was discovered by the author in a manuscript book, one of many valuable documents lying in the Royal Engineer Office at Malta. This book is entitled, "Decreti provisionali del Ven Consiglio in materia di guerra et altre diligenze fatte da Ven. Commis. delle Fortific Agozzini Reali Cap^{ne} d'armi di queste Città & altri Officⁱ militari in esec^{ne} delle d^a decreti del V. Consiglio dal 1554, fin al 1645."

of missiles that rained upon them. Had it not been for the promptitude with which La Valette poured his reinforcements into the fort its defenders would have melted away before the murderous fire of the besiegers. In this emergency Miranda proved himself a valuable acquisition, and his ingenuity displayed itself in the numerous devices with which he succeeded in constructing shelter from the Turkish artillery. Meanwhile the fire from the large batteries which played upon the exposed scarps of the work from the summit of Mount Sceberras, aided by that from point Dragut, as well as from some Turkish galleys at long range, which were lying outside the harbour, speedily reduced the whole enceinte to a mass of ruin. It was not a breach of any particular part of the rampart; it was practically almost a demolition of the whole. The bravest now felt that all had been done that was possible to retard the capture of the crumbling fort, and that the time had arrived when, unless they were to be buried beneath the ruins, they should be at once withdrawn and the post abandoned to the enemy.

The reputation of Medrano being such that his report would be free from all suspicion of panic, he was selected to return to the Bourg and explain to the Grand-Master the desperate state of affairs. La Valette could not in his heart deny that all had been done which ingenuity could devise to protract the defence, and that the fort had been maintained against overwhelming odds, with a constancy and devotion worthy of the highest praise. It was also but too evident that, if the lives of these gallant men were not to be deliberately sacrificed, they should be now recalled. Still he could not bring himself to direct the abandonment of the post. By its maintenance the siege of the Bourg was being deferred, and the time prolonged during which the succours so anxiously expected from Sicily might arrive. Toledo had in his last communication to La Valette, insisted on the retention of St. Elmo as one of the essential conditions of his support. Unless, he said, that point were maintained, he should not feel justified in hazarding the emperor's fleet in any attempt to raise the siege. La Valette felt, therefore, that so much hung on the issue of this struggle, that he was compelled to suppress all feelings of compassion,

and leave his brethren to their fate by maintaining St. Elmo at all costs, until it should be wrested from him by actual capture.

He therefore directed Medrano to return to his post and point out to his comrades the absolute necessity for their holding out to the last extremity. When this stern decree became known, the garrison perceived that they were being deliberately sacrificed for the general safety. Many among them, particularly those who, having grown grey in the service of the Order, were perhaps the more ready to lay down their lives at the will of their chief, prepared to obey the mandate. Others, however, there were of the younger knights—and also of those who, whilst serving under the White Cross flag, were not enrolled in its ranks—who were by no means so willing to await in calm obedience the fate to which the decree of La Valette had doomed them. They were perfectly ready to brave an honourable death in the face of the enemy, with the prospect of striking one last blow in the good cause before they fell; but the present was a very different case. They conceived that they were being needlessly sacrificed merely to prolong the resistance of the fort for a few days; loud exclamations of astonishment and indignation arose therefore amongst their ranks when Medrano delivered his message.

This insubordination did not find vent merely in idle murmurs. That same night a petition was forwarded to the Grand-Master, signed by fifty-three of their number, urging him to relieve them instantly from their untenable post, and threatening, in case of refusal, to sally forth and meet an honourable death in open fight rather than suffer themselves to be buried like dogs beneath the ruins of St. Elmo. La Valette was highly incensed at the insubordinate tone of this document. He informed the bearer that, in his opinion, the vows of the Order imposed upon its members the obligation, not only of laying down their lives when necessary for its defence, but further, of doing so in such a manner and at such a time as he, their Grand-Master, might see fit to appoint. Fearful, however, lest the recusants might be driven to desperation, and in reality execute the threat they had held out, and being, moreover, anxious to prolong, if only for a day, the retention of the

fort, he despatched three commissioners to inspect and report on its condition and power of further resistance.

The advent of these knights was hailed by the besieged with the most lively satisfaction, as they deemed it a preliminary step to their being withdrawn into the Bourg. Indeed, they had already begun to make preparations for that event, and when the commissioners arrived were employed in throwing the shot into the wells to prevent their being utilized by the enemy. They pointed out the desperately ruinous state of the ramparts, and appealed with confidence to the inspectors for a justification of their conduct. Two of the commissioners, struck with the demolition which met the eye on all sides, decided, unhesitatingly, that the place was no longer tenable. The third, an Italian knight named de Castriot, was of a different opinion. He stated that although the fort was in a shattered state, and the whole interior exposed to fire, still it was, he thought, feasible, by means of further retrenchments, to maintain it. This unsupported statement appeared to the malcontents little better than an insult, and high words ensued, de Castriot asserting that he was prepared to back his opinion by personally undertaking to conduct the defence. This offer raised such a storm of indignation that a general tumult seemed about to break forth, when the governor, with much presence of mind, caused the alarm to be sounded, on which each one rushed instantly to his post, and the irritating conference was brought to a close.

The commissioners returned to the Bourg, where de Castriot still maintained the views he had already put forth. He requested the permission of the Grand-Master to raise a body of volunteers, with whose aid he guaranteed to maintain St. Elmo against any odds. This gallant offer met the views of La Valette, who foresaw the result that would inevitably follow. Permission was granted to de Castriot to raise his corps, and there were so many applicants that numbers were of necessity rejected. Meanwhile a cold and sarcastic letter was forwarded to the garrison of St. Elmo, informing them of the steps that were being taken, and stating that they would be shortly relieved from their post.

The consternation caused by this letter was great, as every

one felt that it would be impossible to accept the offer of safety thus ignominiously tendered. They had requested permission to abandon the fort, but they were not prepared to yield their places in so honourable a struggle to others. An earnest letter was therefore instantly forwarded to the Bourg, imploring pardon for their previous rebellious conduct, and begging to be permitted still to retain the post of honour. This was the result which La Valette had foreseen, but he did not deem it prudent to accept the submission too promptly. He coldly declined their offer, and once more directed them to prepare for instant relief. This refusal increased the general dismay, and a still more pressing request was forwarded, again imploring that they might have an opportunity of wiping out in their blood the memory of what had passed. They pledged themselves, should they be permitted to remain at their post, to hold it to the very last. This was all that La Valette had desired; the garrison were now roused to such a pitch of enthusiasm that the continued defence of St. Elmo could with safety be intrusted to them. Contenting himself, therefore, with sending into the work a further strong reinforcement, he prepared to await the issue. These incidents had all occurred on the nights of the 13th and 14th of June.

The incessant cannonade of the besiegers had destroyed vast masses of the ramparts, and at length instructions were given by Mustapha for a general assault. During the whole of the 15th of June their artillery played so furiously that the defenders were unable to repair any of the damages. This cannonade was, towards evening, still further increased by fire opened from the fleet. Mustapha, confident of carrying the work on the following day, had directed his ships to be in readiness to force the entrance of the Marsa Muscetto as soon as the assault commenced, and for this purpose they arrived from Marsa Scirocco that afternoon.

These and other unmistakable symptoms warned the besieged of the impending attack. They therefore took every precaution that their limited means permitted to resist it to the death. Huge piles of rock were collected on the parapets, to be hurled on the besiegers' columns when in the ditch. The knights were told off so that one of them should stand between every three

soldiers to direct the defence. Three small bodies were kept in reserve to render assistance at any point which might be hard pressed, and a few who, from wounds or age, were considered the least available for active duty, were appointed to convey ammunition and refreshments to the combatants, so that no one might on any account leave his post. Various descriptions of fireworks were provided. Pots of earthenware, so baked as to break easily, were filled with wildfire; they were of a size that admitted of their being thrown by hand from twenty to thirty yards, and had a narrow orifice closed with linen or thick paper secured by cords dipped in sulphur. Before throwing the missile these cords were lighted, and as on falling the earthenware pot broke in pieces, the contents became at once ignited. This wildfire was composed of saltpetre, ammoniacal salt, pounded sulphur, camphor, varnish, and pitch; it burnt with the utmost fury, clinging to the bodies of those with whom it came in contact. The same material was also placed in hollow cylinders of wood called trumps, which, when lighted, poured forth streams of flame. These trumps, attached to the ends of halberds or partisans, became a most formidable obstacle to the advance of a storming party. Another missile used with great effect at this siege was a hoop of considerable diameter surrounded with flax steeped in inflammable matter and ignited. This, when hurled from above on to a crowded mass of men, often enclosed several in its fiery embrace, and easily succeeded in igniting their clothes, which, after the eastern fashion, were flowing and of light material.

Before dawn on the morning of the 16th, the knights detected the sounds of a religious ceremonial, which they rightly judged was the precursor to an assault. Mustapha's first step was to line his trenches with arquebusiers to the number of 4,000. These men had already displayed their skill as marksmen, and during this day's struggle they were of immense use in checking the defenders from exposing themselves on the parapets. At the appointed signal, given by Mustapha himself, a body of janissaries, the leaders of the column, rushed into the ditch at a point where the ruins of the escarp promised the greatest facilities for ascent. During the interval, brief as it was, whilst they were crossing the open ground, the guns of St.

Angelo, directed by the watchful La Valette himself, opened with great steadiness and effect upon their dense masses. Indeed, throughout the day, the artillery of that fort rendered the most efficient assistance by raking the flank and rear of the Turkish forces as they advanced to the attack. That of St. Elmo itself was no less vigorously served. From the instant the enemy first showed himself, its guns opened upon the storming battalions, and before the foot of the breach had been attained, many a turbaned head was laid low.

The janissaries, however, were not troops to be diverted even by this deadly fire. With yells of defiance, and shouting the war-cry of their faith, they dashed forward with reckless intrepidity, and as the iron hail ploughed deep furrows in their ranks, they closed in with invincible steadiness, still pushing their way towards the breach. Here they met with fresh obstacles and a new foe. Its summit was crowned with men who had despaired of saving their lives, and who stood there prepared only to sell them as dearly as possible. Against this impenetrable phalanx it was in vain even for the redoubtable janissaries to attempt an entrance. Though they threw themselves again and again upon the enemy, they were as often forced to recoil, and the mass of killed and wounded with which the breach lay strewn marked at once the vigour of the assault and the desperate gallantry of the defence.

Whilst this main attack was going forward on the land front, two other attempts were being made to carry the fort by escalade, one on the side of the Marsa Muscetto, the other on that of the grand harbour. The first was repulsed without much difficulty. The huge fragments of rock which the defenders hurled from the parapet broke several of the ladders, and the assailants were thereby thrown backward into the ditch, numbers of them being crushed to death. On the grand harbour side, however, the attack was led by a forlorn hope of thirty men, who, with a fanaticism not unusual to their nation and creed, had bound themselves by a solemn oath either to carry the fort or to perish in the attempt. They made their rush at the rampart in full view of St. Angelo, and succeeded in planting their ladders. The defenders were in truth somewhat taken by surprise, never having contemplated that a spot

so open to the fire of that fort could be selected for attack. The determined fanatics, followed by a column of janissaries, had well-nigh effected a footing on the works, when the guns of St. Angelo opened upon them. La Valette, who had been watching the conflict from his post of observation, soon perceived the desperate character of the attempt, and at once prepared to render assistance to the defenders. The first shot was, however, most unfortunate, for, instead of falling amongst the assailants, it raked the interior of the parapet, and killed or wounded eight of the garrison. The succeeding discharges were more effectual, the storming party were thrown into confusion, the ladders destroyed, and their fanatical leaders having all met that fate which they themselves had decreed should be the consequence of failure, the remainder abandoned the attempt, and retired into the trenches.

Still the main attack continued to rage with unabated violence. Fresh battalions were hurried in succession to the foot of the breach by the impetuous Mustapha, and as constantly driven back with great slaughter. Time after time shouts of encouragement and admiration were borne across the harbour from the anxious spectators who crowded the ramparts of St. Angelo, and as these cheering sounds reached the harassed combatants at St. Elmo, they were nerved to redouble their efforts and to continue steadfast in their resistance. They felt, indeed, that their recent insubordination had, to a certain extent, lowered them in the eyes of their comrades, and they rejoiced in having this opportunity of recovering their good fame. For six hours the attack was sustained, and yet the assailants had failed to penetrate at any single point. At length the intolerable heat, combined with the exhaustion of so lengthened a struggle, rendered further efforts impossible, and Mustapha was reluctantly compelled to sound a general retreat. A loud shout of victory arose from the midst of that heroic band, and a responsive echo came floating over the waters from their brethren in the Bourg.

Great as had been their success, it had been dearly purchased, 17 knights and 300 men having fallen. Chief among the former was the gallant Medrano, who was killed in the act of wrenching a standard from the grasp of a Turkish officer.

His corpse was removed with all honour into the Bourg, where it was interred in a vault in St. Leonard's church, set apart for the dignitaries of the Order. The loss of the Turks has not been recorded, but it must have reached a very high figure. Raked as they had been throughout the day by the fire from St. Angelo, and exposed on all sides to that from St. Elmo itself, it is impossible that the struggle could have been maintained for so many hours without fearful havoc in their ranks.

As soon as night had set in, boats were once more despatched from the Bourg with reinforcements, and to remove the wounded. The gallant D'Eguaras was again amongst the latter, but he still refused to leave his post. A most generous rivalry had sprung up in the garrison of the Bourg, each striving to form one of the succouring detachment. Although it was clear to all that the post they sought was almost certain death, the brave volunteers crowded forward, and La Valette's only difficulty was whom to select when all appeared so eager. The choice was, however, made,^a and the fort once more placed in as favourable a position for defence as its desperate condition permitted.

In the Turkish camp anxious consultations were held as to the steps to be taken to bring this protracted siege to a conclusion. Dragut, who appears to have been the only commander among the Turks of any real talent, pointed out that so long as the garrison of the Bourg was permitted to keep up a communication with St. Elmo, and to pour in fresh bodies of troops after every assault, the knights would succeed in maintaining the defence. Under his advice, therefore, the headland opposite point Dragut, which forms with the extremity of Mount Sceberras, the entrance into the grand harbour, was occupied, and a battery constructed on it. He also extended the trenches in front of St. Elmo well across the promontory towards St. Angelo, and here he also raised a small battery, which effectually swept the water and precluded the possibility of any boat landing on the rocks beneath the fort.

The construction of these works was attended with great difficulty and much loss of life, the pioneers being fearfully exposed to the fire from St. Angelo. Amongst the casualties was Dragut himself, who was struck on the head by a splinter,

and mortally wounded. By dint of perseverance the line was at length finished, and on the 19th of the month the investment was completed, and the garrison of St. Elmo cut off from all further reinforcement.

For three days more, viz., the 19th, 20th, and 21st June, an incessant fire was kept up from thirty-six guns, which were now mounted in the various Turkish batteries. Had the ramparts been constructed entirely of masonry, they would have been almost swept away by the effect of this overwhelming fire, but in many parts they were formed in the solid rock of which the peninsula is composed, and these portions withstood the battering they received. For the same reason no mining operations were practicable, and thus the knights were spared the additional dread of having to contend against an invisible foe.

With the earliest dawn on the 22nd, a fresh assault burst upon St. Elmo. Exhausted as its defenders were with constant watching, short of ammunition, and exposed on their ruined ramparts to the deadly fire of the Turkish arquebusiers, they still met the foe with the same indomitable resolution as before. Three times was the attempt renewed, and as often successfully repulsed, but on each occasion that gallant little band became still further reduced, and the prospect of continued resistance more and more hopeless. In breathless suspense La Valette, from his post of observation, watched the scene of strife, and great was his exultation when once again he heard the sound of retreat issuing from the midst of the Turkish host. Again had the Moslem recoiled in defeat from that blood-stained rock. Still was the White Cross banner waving defiantly from its summit, and the slender relics of its noble garrison once again raised a feeble shout of victory. It was, however, their last expiring effort. Begirt by foes on every side, cut off from all support or aid, and reduced to little more than half their original number, they felt that their last triumph had been gained, and that the morrow's sun would see the standard of the infidel waving over the ruins of St. Elmo.

In this desperate emergency an expert swimmer contrived to carry a message to La Valette, conveying intelligence, of the truth of which he was, alas ! too well assured. All that human effort could accomplish had been done to save that vital point.

Its defence had been protracted far beyond what even the most sanguine could have anticipated, and now there remained not the shadow of a doubt that it wanted but the light of another day to insure its destruction. La Valette felt, therefore, that the moment had arrived when, if it were not too late, the remnant of the garrison should be withdrawn from their post, and the ruins of St. Elmo left to the enemy. For this purpose he despatched five large boats conveying a body of volunteers, who were even then willing to share the fate of their comrades, and with this succour he forwarded a message to the governor, Don Melchior, leaving to him the option of abandoning the fort and retiring with his gallant little band into the Bourg. The permission came too late. La Valette had sternly refused all suggestions of surrender whilst the road for a retreat lay still open; he had deliberately chosen to sacrifice the brave defenders of St. Elmo for the sake of protracting the siege, and now it was impossible for him to recall that cruel fiat. The road of retreat was closed for ever. In vain did the relieving force attempt to approach undetected the rocky inlet where the mouth of the subterranean communication lay hidden, and from whence the ruined fort loomed indistinctly in the darkness of the night. The wary Turk too surely suspected that a last effort would be made to save the victims whom he had now securely enclosed within his grasp, and his watchful sentries gave speedy notification of the approach of the boats. The alarm was instantly sounded, and the battery which Dragut had constructed to sweep the point, opened with deadly precision. Thus discovered, it was, of course, manifestly useless to persevere in the attempt, and with heavy hearts they were compelled to return to the Bourg, leaving their comrades to their fate.

Anxiously had the attempt been watched by the garrison, and when the fire of the Turkish battery told them that it had been discovered and foiled, they felt that all was over. Silently and solemnly they assembled in the little chapel of the fort, and there once more confessed their sins and partook of the Holy Eucharist for the last time on earth. It was a sad and touching sight that midnight gathering around the small altar of St. Elmo's chapel. Scarred with many a wound, exhausted with

days of strife and nights of vigil, every hope of rescue abandoned, that little band of heroes stood once again and for the last time consecrating themselves, their lives and their swords, to the defence of their faith and of their Order. It is only within the last few years that this chapel has been discovered. Until recently, it was supposed that a building now used as a school in the centre of the fort had been the scene of this touching incident. That structure, however, shows by its armorial bearings and other decorations that it is of considerably later date. The newly-discovered original chapel is a little casemate, on the right of the entrance. It has no light except what is derived from an open archway at the back. There are recesses for two altars, one at the back of the casemate, and the other in the centre of the left side. Enough remains of the altar and of the ecclesiastical decorations to mark its original purpose. These had all been covered in, and an intermediate floor had hidden its roof. It is now once more restored, and forms an object of the deepest interest to those who know its history.*

The religious ceremony concluded, they proceeded to take such measures as were still within their power to retain the post until the last moment, and then to sell their lives dearly. Such of their number, and they were by no means a small proportion, as were too severely wounded to stand, caused themselves to be conveyed in chairs to the breach, where, sword in hand, and with their face to the foe, they prepared to meet their fate.

* This discovery was made by General Montague, of the Royal Engineers, who carried out the restorations that have been effected. The following fact connected with the chapel, though having no direct bearing on the history of the Order of St. John, may not be without interest. General Sir Ralph Abercrombie having been killed in the battle of Alexandria in the year 1801, his body was brought to Malta, where it was interred outside and beneath the walls of St. Elmo. This ground was afterwards taken into the general line of the fortifications, and the vault where Abercrombie lay was embraced in the salient of what was, for that reason, called Abercrombie's bastion. Alterations in the work necessitated the disturbance of his remains, and the author was employed to superintend the operation. On opening the vault the lead coffin was found in good preservation, excepting that the joints had somewhat given way at head and foot. It was placed in a new oak coffin prepared for the purpose, and taken to the little chapel in St. Elmo above referred to, where it lay for several days until a new resting-place was prepared for it.

With the first glimpse of dawn the Turks, who had been anxiously awaiting its appearance to seize upon their prey, rushed fiercely at the breach with frantic shouts. Baffled in so many previous attempts their rage had increased with each new disaster, and now every passion in their hearts was aroused to avenge the fearful losses they had sustained. For four long hours the strife raged wildly around that fated spot, and though each moment lessened the number of the defenders, still the dauntless remnant stood firm. At length, incredible as it may seem, the Turkish force, exhausted with its efforts, once more suspended the assault. No shout of triumph at this unexpected respite arose from the ranks of the garrison, nor did any encouraging voice find its way across the water from St. Angelo. Only sixty men, mostly wounded, remained to dispute the entrance of the foe, and to their imperishable renown be it told, that it was from the almost exhausted efforts of these sixty men that the Turkish columns had recoiled.

The knights took advantage of the interval to bind up their wounds and prepare for a renewal of the conflict. Don Melchior, who was still among the survivors, perceived that the handful remaining within the fort must be overwhelmed by the first rush of the enemy. He therefore recalled the few defenders of the cavalier to reinforce the slender remnant, trusting that his abandonment of that dominating point might remain unperceived, at all events for some time. But in this he underestimated the vigilance of Mustapha. That chief had been too often worsted in his attempts on St. Elmo not to maintain a watchful eye upon all that was passing within its ruins. He detected the movement at once, and despatched a body of janissaries to occupy the abandoned work, which, from its dominant position, commanded the whole interior of the fort. This done, he gave the signal for a renewal of the assault. The defenders were taken by surprise at the suddenness of the onset, and before they had time to rally the fort was lost. All combined action was now over, and it only remained that the last scene should be enacted of that sad tragedy, which has cast such a melancholy interest over the name of St. Elmo.

No quarter was asked or given. Desultory combats in various parts of the enclosure ensued, until the last of the besieged had

fallen. A few of the Maltese soldiery, then, as now, expert in the art of swimming and diving, succeeded in making good their escape to St. Angelo amid a storm of missiles. Another body of nine men (whether members of the Order or soldiers is not quite clear) were saved from death by falling into the hands of Dragut's corsairs. These pirates, realizing the fact that a live Christian was a more valuable article of merchandise than a dead one, and actuated rather by a love of gain than by such fanaticism as stimulated the other Turks, preserved the nine men they had captured for the purpose of utilizing them as galley slaves. The tattered White Cross banner was torn ignominiously from its staff, and on the 23rd of June, the eve of the festival of St. John, the standard of the Moslem was reared in its place.

The natural ferocity of Mustapha's character had been aroused to the utmost by the desperate resistance he had encountered. Even the senseless and bleeding corpses of the enemy were not sacred from his revengeful malice. He directed that the bodies of the knights should be selected from amongst the other slain, and that their heads should be struck off and erected on poles looking towards St. Angelo. The trunks were then fastened on planks extended in the form of a cross, the same emblem being deeply gashed upon their breasts. Thus mutilated, they were cast into the harbour, on the surface of which they floated. The action of the wind carried them across to St. Angelo, and its garrison was aroused to a frenzy of indignation by the sad spectacle. By La Valette's direction the poor disfigured remains were reverently raised from their watery bed, and as it was impossible in their then condition to identify them, they were all solemnly buried together in the conventual church of the Bourg. The revenge taken by La Valette was unworthy of his character as a Christian soldier, since he caused all his Turkish prisoners to be decapitated, and their heads to be fired from the guns of St. Angelo. Repulsive as this act seems to modern thought and feeling, it was too much in accordance with the spirit of the age to have been regarded with the slightest disapprobation by the chroniclers of the time.

The intelligence of the capture of St. Elmo was promptly conveyed to the wounded Dragut, who lay at the point of

death in his tent. A gleam of satisfaction passed over the countenance of the dying man, and as though he had lingered upon earth only to assure himself of the success he had so materially assisted, he no sooner heard the news than he breathed his last. His loss, which in itself was a great blow to the Turks, was by no means the principal price they had to pay for the purchase of St. Elmo. No less than 8,000 of their number fell in the attack from first to last. The loss of the Christians amounted to 1,500, of whom 100 were knights, and 30 servants-at-arms of the Order.

Thus fell that ruined bulwark, after a siege of upwards of a month, shedding, even in its fall, a bright ray of glory over its heroic defenders. Though Mustapha had achieved his object, yet much precious time had been sacrificed, and there can be no doubt that the protracted resistance of St. Elmo was the main cause of the ultimate failure of his enterprise. The losses the Turkish army had sustained, severe though they were, counted but little in Mustapha's calculations, compared with this great and unexpected waste of time. He had been thus taught the resistance he must expect in every subsequent stage of the undertaking, and even his bold mind quailed beneath the difficulties with which his path was still beset. Well might he, standing upon the ruins of the fort he had gained at such an outlay, and gazing at the lofty ramparts of St. Angelo, whose rising tiers of batteries were still crowned with the White Cross banner, exclaim, in an agony of doubt and perplexity, "What will not the parent cost us when the child has been purchased at so fearful a price?"

CHAPTER XVIII.

1565.

Siege of Malta continued—Arrival of the first reinforcement—Investment of the Bourg—Attack on Senglea—Repeated assaults on both points—Exhaustion of the garrison—Arrival of a succouring force from Sicily—Close of the siege.

THE festival of St. John the Baptist, on the 24th June, was celebrated by the inhabitants of the Bourg with very gloomy feelings. The sad tragedy enacted at the capture of St. Elmo had struck a panic into the hearts of all, and the horrifying spectacle of the headless and mutilated corpses which greeted their sight on the first dawn of their patron saint's day increased the general despondency. To overcome this feeling La Valette exerted all his eloquence, and in a public address which he delivered, he urged them rather to emulate the deeds of those massacred heroes, than to mourn their fate. "What," said he, "could a true knight desire, more ardently than to die in arms? And what could be a more fitting fate for a member of the Order of St. John than to lay down his life in defence of his faith? Both of these precious boons have been vouchsafed to our brethren; why, then, should we mourn them? Rather should we rejoice at the prospect of the glorious future which they have earned. They have gained a martyr's crown, and will reap a martyr's reward. Why, too, should we be dismayed because the Moslem has at length succeeded in planting his accursed standard on the ruined battlements of St. Elmo? Have we not taught him a lesson which must strike dismay throughout his whole army? If that poor, weak, insignificant fort has been able to withstand his most powerful efforts for more than a month, how can he expect to succeed against the stronger works and more numerous garrison of the Bourg? With us must be the victory. Let us then, on this holy day, once more renew before the altar of God those vows of constancy which our slaughtered brethren have so

nobly fulfilled." After this stimulating address, a procession was formed to the conventual church of San Lorenzo, and the same solemn scene of consecration was re-enacted which had before been witnessed there.

Whilst these ceremonies marked the festival on the part of the Christians, the camp of the Turks was, on its side, filled with sounds of rejoicing at the victory. The Marsa Muscetto was now open to their fleet, and a long line of galleys, gaily decorated, triumphantly rounded Point Dragut to the strains of martial music resounding from the poops, and came streaming in succession into the newly-acquired haven. The works of St. Elmo were dismantled, and the guns captured on its ramparts despatched to Constantinople as a token of the success that had been achieved.

Mustapha now turned his attention towards the new and far more formidable undertaking which still awaited him. The lines which enclosed the two peninsulas jutting out into the main harbour had been fortified as strongly as time and means would permit. The lengthened period spent by the Turks before St. Elmo had not been passed in idleness by La Valette. Wherever new works could be made to impart additional security to his enceinte he had carried them out. Men and women, high and low, the noble and the peasant, the knight and the private soldier, all had laboured with energy and goodwill at their construction. A floating bridge was thrown across the inlet between the two peninsulas, and thus free communication was established between the Bourg and Senglea. The garrison of the Città Notabile was reduced by five companies of soldiers, who were called in to aid in the defence of the Bourg, and all private stores and provisions were seized for the public use, the owners being duly compensated from the treasury. It was decreed that no further prisoners should be made, and thus a war *à outrance* was declared, no quarter being either asked or given. When these instructions reached Città Notabile, where the garrison, from its position in rear of the besiegers had constant facilities for cutting off stragglers, the practice was established of hanging a prisoner every day, and this was continued without intermission until the end of the siege.

Now that Mount Scceberras was in possession of the Turks, Mustapha moved the greater portion of his army round to the other side of the grand harbour, and enclosed the two peninsulas. A glance at the map will shew that two bold promontories of very high land jut out one on either side of the Bourg and Senglea, that on the south, which is the larger and most dominant, being the Coradin Hill, the one on the north being called Bighi. The trenches of the Turks were traced so as to stretch from one of these hills to the other, and when they were completed the garrison was completely cut off from succour. Before this was accomplished, however, four galleys, under the command of Don Juan de Cardona, had reached Malta, and landed their forces on the north of the island. This reinforcement consisted of forty-two knights, twenty gentlemen volunteers from Spain, eleven from Italy, three from Germany, two from England (whose names have been recorded as Edward Stanley and John Smith), fifty-six gunners, and a body of 600 imperial troops under the command of Don Melchior de Robles.

Taking advantage of a thick mist which most fortunately overspread the island (an event very unusual at that time of the year), de Robles succeeded in passing the Turkish lines in safety with his little force, and joined his brethren in the Bourg on the 29th of June. This reinforcement, slender as it was, greatly raised the spirits of all, the more so that the new comers brought the intelligence that a far more efficient force was being assembled in Sicily, which would shortly make its appearance in Malta. In proportion as the spirits of the garrison were raised, those of the Turkish army were depressed. They soon learnt that fresh troops had entered the Bourg, and their fears greatly exaggerated the number. Rumours also reached them of the large preparations going forward in Sicily, so that they felt they might at any moment be called upon to meet a new foe.

Mustapha entertained much dread at the thought of an interruption to his enterprise, and the disastrous consequences likely to ensue therefrom. He had no great confidence in the staunchness of his troops, so many of the best of them having been already sacrificed during the various assaults on St. Elmo. He therefore thought it advisable, if possible, to bring matters to

an issue by means of negotiation. For this purpose he selected as an envoy a Greek slave, whom he despatched, under a flag of truce, as the bearer of most liberal terms should the Grand-Master consent to capitulate. These conditions included all that had been granted on the surrender of Rhodes, and the Order was guaranteed security both for life and property. To La Valette this mission was very unacceptable. He had from the first determined either to carry his defence to a successful issue or to bury himself and his Order beneath the ruins of his fortress. His eloquent exhortations and his own example had roused a similar feeling in the minds of all his knights, and he was most unwilling that their firmness should be shaken by the offer of such alluring terms as those proffered by the pasha. To prevent, therefore, any further repetition of these messages, he directed that the envoy should at once be hanged. The unfortunate Greek implored mercy on the ground that he had been compelled to undertake the office. For some time La Valette remained obdurate, but at length he relented, and pointing to the ditches surrounding St. Angelo, bade the envoy inform his master that there lay the only ground within the island of Malta which he was prepared to surrender, and that only as a grave for the Turkish army.

This defiant reply shewed Mustapha that he had nothing to gain by negotiation, and that if the fortress was to be won it must be by force of arms alone. He therefore pushed forward his siege works with the utmost vigour, and early in July had completely surrounded both the Bourg and Senglea. The latter, secured at its extremity by the fort of St. Michael, was the object of his first attack, and he opened batteries upon it from every available point. Both from Mount Seeberras and the Coradin hill a tremendous fire was brought to bear upon that portion of the work which it had been determined to breach. The point selected was called the Spur bastion, which formed the extreme end touching the harbour.* It

* The portion of the defences of Senglea here alluded to formed part of the original fort of St. Michael. As first constructed that fort was an enclosed and isolated work like St. Elmo. When, however, de la Sangle fortified the whole peninsula, he connected the fort with his lines, removing that part which had formed the inner face. The remainder was still known as fort St. Michael, of which the Spur bastion was the extreme point.

was therefore open to assault by water as well as by land. As it was impossible for Mustapha to bring his galleys to the attack of this work by the ordinary channel through the entrance of the grand harbour without subjecting them to a deadly fire from the batteries of St. Angelo, he determined on the adoption of a novel expedient. From the upper extremity of the Marsa Muscetto to the head of the other harbour across the isthmus of Mount Sceberras the distance is not great. Mustapha caused a number of galleys to be transported by land across this neck, and relaunched under the Coradin hill. This service, which was necessarily most laborious, was performed by the Christian slaves, of whom a large number were retained in the Turkish camp for duties of this nature. In a few days La Valette beheld no less than eighty vessels of various sizes floating in the upper portion of those waters whose entrance he had so sedulously guarded.

About this time a very welcome addition was made to the garrison in the form of a deserter of high position from the Turkish army. This man, whose name was Lascaris, was a Greek of good family, who in early youth had been captured by the Turks, and being brought up as a Mahometan, had attained high rank in their army. A sense of the shame which overshadows the career of even the most brilliant renegade had long haunted Lascaris, and now, when he beheld the votaries of that faith in which he himself had been born, so nobly fighting in its cause, he determined upon sacrificing all that he had gained, and joining their fortunes. One evening, therefore, he descended Mount Sceberras opposite St. Angelo, and made signals by waving his turban to show his desire to be taken into the fort. Before this could be done, he was discovered by the Turkish sentries, and a body of men sent to seize him. In this juncture Lascaris, though a very poor swimmer, plunged into the water, and contrived to keep himself afloat until he was picked up by the boat which the Grand-Master sent to his aid. On his arrival at St. Angelo he informed La Valette of the motives which had prompted him to desert his colours, and also gave information of the attack that was impending on the spur of St. Michael. There was much in the incident that must have reminded La Valette

of the case of Maître Georges during the first siege of Rhodes, the history of which was, of course, well known to him. He does not, however, appear to have had his suspicions in any way aroused by the ominous similarity, but on the contrary, was so struck with the noble sacrifice made by Lascaris, that he appointed him a pension from the treasury. He had no cause to regret his confidence. Throughout the remainder of the siege the fugitive proved himself not only a valiant captain in the field, but also a most able adviser in the council.

Following out the suggestions of Lascaris, La Valette took every precaution to avert the impending storm. The seaward ramparts of St. Michael's were all strengthened, additional guns were planted at every point where they could be brought to bear upon the approaching foe, and as a last step a strong stockade was constructed, running from the spur of St. Michael parallel to the line of ramparts which faced the Coradin hill, at a distance of some six yards from the shore, and only terminating at the neck of the peninsula.* This stockade was formed of huge piles driven into the bed of the harbour, and connected together by chains passing through iron rings fixed into the head of each. Large spars were also fastened from pile to pile, and a barrier thus constructed which would materially impede any boat attack on Senglea from the side of the Coradin hill. A similar obstacle was erected in front of the posts of Germany and Castile. This work could, of course, only be carried on by night,

* In all former histories of the siege this stockade is described as stretching from the point of Senglea to the foot of the Coradin hill. The author followed the general error in the first edition of this work, it having been so positively and universally recorded. It had always, however, seemed to him an almost impossible undertaking to construct such a stockade passing through deep water for so great a length and terminating at a point so close to the enemy's lines. He has since examined a work in the public library of Valetta, not generally known, which was published soon after the siege. In this book there is, among other illustrations, one in which the stockade is shown as now described. There can be no doubt that this position is the correct one. It answers thoroughly the purpose for which it was constructed—viz., to prevent the enemy's boats from landing on the rocks at the foot of the ramparts throughout any part of the line. It is in comparatively shallow water, and in close proximity to the defenders' works.

but the Maltese, who have from a very early period been celebrated as divers, were able to complete it in an incredibly short time. Mustapha was dismayed at perceiving so novel and formidable an obstacle rising to impede his projected attack, and anxious, if possible, to prevent its completion, he selected a body of the most expert swimmers in his army, whom he provided with axes, and despatched with instructions to destroy the barrier. The admiral de Monte, who commanded at St. Michael's, met this attack by a similar sally. His Maltese divers, with their swords between their teeth, dashed into the water, and their superior activity in that element giving them a great advantage over their opponents, the latter were soon overcome, and but few succeeded in regaining the opposite shore.

Whilst the assault was still pending, the viceroy of Algiers, named Hassan, son of the redoubtable Hayradin Barbarossa, and son-in-law of Dragut, arrived with a reinforcement of 2,500 men, all of whom had served a long apprenticeship in the desperate piratical warfare of the Mediterranean. Hassan, whose great success as a leader had made him very vainglorious, sneered at the numerous failures which had hitherto taken place. A survey of the ruins of St. Elmo led him to express his amazement that Mustapha should have allowed himself to be baffled for such a length of time by so insignificant a work. Following up the taunt, he volunteered, with the troops he had just brought with him, to lead the assault against Senglea. The Turkish general was only too glad to give the young braggart an opportunity of making good his words. He was therefore appointed to head the attack on the land side, whilst his lieutenant, Candélissa, led that upon the spur by water.

At a given signal, early on the morning of the 15th of July, the action commenced by the advance of the Turkish flotilla. Its progress was enlivened by the strains of martial music, and the sun on that summer's morn flashed upon many a glittering weapon, and lighted up many a gay and fluttering pennon. It was a beautiful sight, and but for the fearful stake at issue, would have struck with admiration the gazers who crowded the bastions around. The war had, however, been

carried on with so much ferocity, and such extreme venom on both sides, that the only feeling aroused by the display was one of rancorous hatred. Men called to mind the barbarous outrages which had been perpetrated on their brethren at St. Elmo, and each one, as he gazed upon the proudly advancing foe, registered a vow that he would avenge that fatal day. In advance of the squadron came a boat containing two Turkish priests, who recited from the Koran such texts as were most likely to arouse the enthusiasm of their followers. When they neared the scene of strife, these holy men cared no longer to occupy their conspicuous position, but resigning their post to Candélissa wisely returned to camp, and watched the conflict from a safe distance.

Candélissa's first attempt was on the stockade, through which he endeavoured to force a passage. He had, as an alternative, provided himself with a number of planks with which he proposed to bridge over the space between it and the rocks. Both attempts proved complete failures. The barrier was too strong and the intervals were too small to permit him to push his boats through, whilst the planks were not long enough to form a bridge. Galled by the fire from the ramparts, Candélissa felt that he could not remain where he was. Plunging, therefore, into the water, which reached to his neck, he forced his way through the stockade, and calling on his men to follow him, waded to the shore, where he drew his sword and made a dash at the breach.

At this moment, unfortunately, a store of combustibles, which had been accumulated on the rampart for the use of the defenders, suddenly became ignited and exploded, killing and wounding a number of those who were crowded around. All was for a time in hopeless confusion, and when the smoke cleared away the Turks were found to have established themselves on the summit of the breach, where they were planting several small banners in token of triumph. The dismay of the defenders speedily gave way to feelings of rage, and determination to regain the lost ground. Rallying his forces the commander Zanoguerra dashed into the midst of the enemy, and the conflict once more raged with doubtful success. Long and desperate was the struggle, the tide of battle turning first

to the one side and then to the other. At last the force of numbers began to prevail, as more and more of the assailants forced their way through the breach, and in spite of their indomitable determination the defenders were driven back step by step.

La Valette and Mustapha were both watching the course of events, the one from St. Angelo, the other from the summit of the Coradin hill, and they decided, at the same moment, upon sending reinforcements to the scene of action. Mustapha, who had seen with exultation the progress made by Candélissa, determined to complete the success and overcome all further opposition. He therefore embarked a body of 1,000 janissaries in ten large boats, and despatched them to the assistance of the assaulting column. To avoid the obstacle of the stockade, this flotilla steered well round to the northward, and thus exposed itself to the fire of St. Angelo, from which the first attack had been screened by the point of Senglea. It has been already mentioned in Chapter XVI. that La Valette, amongst other works of defence, had constructed a small battery for three guns, *à fleur d'eau*, upon the rocks at the foot of St. Angelo, for the express purpose of protecting the spur of St. Michael. The knight who had command of this post, when he saw the advance of the hostile force, caused his guns to be loaded to the muzzle with grape, musket-shot, and other missiles, and then waited quietly until the boats had approached within easy range. At a given signal the battery, which had, from its position, escaped the notice of the Turks, belched forth its fire at a distance of little more than 200 yards, lashing the surface of the water into a foam with its iron hail. The result was awful. The boats were all crowded together, and the discharge had taken effect in their midst. Nine out of the ten sank instantly, and such of their occupants as were not killed were seen struggling in the water. The wondrous effect of this deadly discharge has been described with great unction by contemporary annalists, and the loss sustained by the Turks variously computed at from 400 to 800 men. For days after, the bodies of the killed floated on the water, and were seized by the expert Maltese swimmers, who reaped a rich harvest from the plunder found on them.

Meanwhile La Valette had on his side despatched a powerful

reinforcement from the Bourg by means of the temporary bridge connecting that point with Senglea, and this succour reached the scene of action at the moment when the Turks were paralysed by the incident they had just witnessed. Their appearance at this critical juncture decided the fortunes of the day. With fierce shouts they dashed at the enemy, and drove them headlong over the breach. Even Candêlissa, whose reputation for courage and daring had till that moment been above suspicion, was seized with panic, and was amongst the earliest to turn his back on the scene of strife. When first landing on the rock he had directed the boats, as their occupants left them, to draw away from the stockade into deep water, so that his troops might fight the more desperately from feeling that their retreat was cut off. He now found this valiant direction highly inconvenient, and as he stood up to his waist in the water beckoning them back again, he presented a spectacle not very edifying to the spectators on the Coradin hill. He hurried ignominiously into the first boat that reached the spot, and was followed by such of his troops as were able once more to scramble through or over the stockade. The remainder fell almost unresisting victims to the fury of the besieged. Their cries for quarter were met with the stern reply, "Such mercy as you showed to our brethren in St. Elmo shall be meted out to you and none other." From that day similar acts of vengeance became known amongst the knights by the name of *St. Elmo's pay*.

Candêlissa and his fugitive comrades having made good their escape, the defenders employed in their work of butchery became exposed to the fire from the enemy's batteries, which now opened furiously on the point. In this cannonade, the young son of the viceroy of Sicily, Frederic de Toledo, was killed. La Valette had hitherto, out of consideration for his father, studiously kept him from the more exposed and dangerous posts, but the enthusiasm of the young soldier could not tamely brook this state of inglorious security. When, therefore, the reinforcement left the Bourg for Senglea, Toledo contrived to join its ranks unnoticed, and bore himself right gallantly in the short but decisive struggle that ensued. His untimely fate, whilst fighting for a cause in which he had no

personal interest, created a universal feeling of deep regret, even the stern and impassive La Valette himself exhibiting the most poignant sorrow at his loss.

Whilst Candélissa had been thus engaged, Hassan had, on his side, made several desperate but futile attempts to penetrate into the defences on the land front of Senglea. Wherever the assaulting columns shewed themselves they were met by an impenetrable array which no efforts could dislodge. The young Algerine exerted himself to the utmost to urge on his followers. He was mindful of the scornful boast he had uttered whilst standing on the ruins of St. Elmo, and strove hard to accomplish what he had then undertaken. He now discovered, to his cost, that he was fighting an enemy very different in power from that with whom he had hitherto come in contact, and at length, exhausted with his fruitless efforts, he was compelled sullenly to withdraw his troops and acknowledge the bitterness of defeat.

Thus ended this memorable day. Nearly 3,000 of the flower of the Ottoman army perished on the occasion, most of whom were either janissaries or Algerine corsairs, whilst the loss of the defenders did not exceed 250. Amongst these, however, in addition to the son of the viceroy, was the commander Zano-guerra, who fell at the moment of victory. La Valette caused a solemn thanksgiving for this important success to be offered up in the conventual church of San Lorenzo. Mustapha, on his side, felt that still greater exertions were necessary to atone for the failure. The strength of the garrison being now much reduced, he conceived that he could best take advantage of his own superior numbers by carrying on an attack against Senglea and the Bourg simultaneously. He therefore retained the direction of the siege against the first-named place in his own hands, whilst he confided the other to the admiral Piali. As regards the former, it was found impracticable, owing to the stockade, to renew the attack on the spur of St. Michael. All further efforts were therefore directed solely against the land front. Candélissa, whose conduct during the late assault had not raised him in public estimation, was placed in charge of the fleet, with directions to cruise off the mouth of the harbour and intercept any attempts at reinforcement. This

division of command created great rivalry and emulation. Each felt that if he were the fortunate man to gain a first footing within the enemy's defences, the whole glory of the expedition, and consequently its reward, would fall to him. Piali, therefore, determined to push forward his attack on the Bourg with the utmost vigour. A battery had already been constructed on Mount Salvator, which played upon the post of Castile and on part of that of Auvergne. To this Piali added another, still larger, on the bluff of Bighi, containing both guns and mortars. He thus enclosed the post of Castile between two fires, and soon reduced its ramparts to a state of ruin. At the same time he pushed forward his trenches so that he was quite close to the bastion by the time matters were ripe for a storm.

Mustapha, meanwhile, had employed the time in increasing the number of his guns in battery, and in harassing the defenders of Senglea by a constant and galling cannonade. On the 2nd of August, being anxious, if possible, to forestall the operations of Piali, he delivered an assault at the point where Hassan had previously failed. For six hours the struggle was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides. Five times were the Turks driven from the breach, and as often were they rallied by their indomitable general. At length, owing to the sheer exhaustion of his men, he was compelled to abandon the attempt, and the wearied garrison was once more permitted to enjoy a brief repose.

Piali was on his side ready to assume the offensive within a few days of Mustapha's failure, and on the 7th of August a fresh attack was made on both points simultaneously. Piali exerted himself to the utmost to penetrate through the gaping breaches established by his batteries in the ramparts of Castile, but in vain. Retrenchments had been formed in rear of the exposed points, and so galling a fire was maintained upon the assailants that they were unable to face its intensity. Whilst thus thrown into confusion, the disorder being rendered still more complete by the various obstacles strewn upon the breach, the knights suddenly assumed the offensive, and dashing from their cover drove the Turks headlong backward. No efforts on the part of Piali could succeed in rallying his men, and he was compelled eventually to relinquish the attempt. Mus-

tapha's attack was at first attended with better success. His columns obtained a footing on the summit of the breach, and a desperate hand-to-hand encounter ensued, in which his superiority of number gradually made itself felt. He himself was to be seen in every direction, sword in hand, cheering on his forces with promises of reward and booty, and eventually he succeeded in driving the defenders back from the contested rampart.

At this time, when all appeared lost, and when a few moments more must have decided the fate of Senglea, Mustapha, to the amazement of the combatants, sounded the retreat. This step on his part seemed at first inexplicable, but the cause which led to it was in reality very simple. The commandant of the Città Notabile had heard the ceaseless din, which, since early dawn, had raged around the fortress, and rightly conjectured that the Turks were delivering a fresh assault. He determined, therefore, on making a diversion. Mustering all his cavalry, he sent them forth with the general instruction to make an attack wherever they might find a suitable opportunity. The knight in command advanced cautiously towards the head of the harbour, where the sick and wounded of the Turkish army were lying in camp. The guards had all left their posts, and were on the neighbouring heights gazing intently upon the conflict that was raging around. The little band, seeing the advantage thus offered, rushed upon the camp, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the helpless creatures lying there. Shrieks, yells, and groans resounded on all sides, and a panic spread through the army. It was supposed that the relieving force from Sicily had landed, and that its advanced guard was already in their rear. The news spread like wildfire. Terror and dismay were on every face, and each one, without waiting to meet the enemy, bethought him how he could best escape from the general massacre. The intelligence reached Mustapha in the thick of the contest at Senglea, and at the very instant of victory he saw the prize torn from his grasp. An immediate retreat was sounded, and he assembled his disheartened troops to meet the new enemy supposed to be at that moment on their flank. To his astonishment and rage, when he reached the scene of action, he dis-

covered the true state of the case. The cavalry of the Città Notabile, having attained their object and created a diversion, wisely retired in time, and Mustapha found, to his unspeakable indignation, that he had abandoned a victory already in his grasp on a false alarm.

From this time he resolved to carry his point rather by the harassing frequency of his attacks than by their intensity. Each day, therefore, witnessed a repetition of the struggle at one or both points of attack. It would weary the reader to enter into a detail of all the incidents by which these constant assaults were marked. Their general character was always the same. At the appointed signal the besiegers would rush forward with shouts and yells, and would make a dash at the gaping breach, the shrill notes of the atabal ringing forth with inspiring tones. But there they would be met by an enemy who cared little either for the notes of the atabal or the shouts of the Moslem. Then would ensue that hand-to-hand encounter, in which the chivalry of St. John, standing on the summit of the breach, invariably proved superior to the assailants struggling up the rugged pathway. Less and less obstinately would the combat be maintained, until the signal of retreat, rising above the din of battle, announced one more failure to the Turk, and one more triumph to the Christian.

After each of these victories, however, La Valette beheld his numbers steadily diminishing. His thoughts, therefore, turned more and more anxiously towards the relief expected from Sicily, where his ambassador had not been idle. That envoy's task was, indeed, no easy one, and it required the most skilful diplomacy to carry his instructions judiciously into effect. Whilst, on the one hand, it was urgently necessary that he should stimulate the dilatory viceroy to increased exertion, it was, on the other hand, equally incumbent on him to say or do nothing which could by any possibility be construed into a cause of offence. When the news had reached Sicily, first of the fall of St. Elmo, then of the blockade of the Bourg, and lastly of the repeated assaults that were being made at that point and at Senglea, he could no longer refrain from indignant and vehement remonstrances at a delay which seemed certain to entail the loss of the island.

It is very difficult to account for the conduct of the viceroy at this juncture. It is a well-known fact that he was warmly attached to the Order, and especially so to La Valette himself. He had even intrusted his son to the knights through the perils of the siege. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that under such circumstances he would be indifferent to the fate of the island. Whether he feared, by too hasty an intervention, to compromise the safety of the Spanish fleet, or whether, as is very probable, he was acting under secret instructions from Philip himself, can never now be ascertained. It is, however, quite clear that, but for the indomitable nature of La Valette's resistance, the succour by means of which the island was eventually relieved would have arrived only to find the Turkish flag waving over the castle of St. Angelo, and the sad scenes of St. Elmo re-enacted on a larger scale. The remonstrances of the ambassador induced the viceroy to summon a special council to deliberate on the steps to be taken. A proposition was actually made at the board, and supported by several voices, to leave Malta to its fate. Fortunately for the reputation of both Philip and his viceroy, other and nobler counsels prevailed, and an assurance was forwarded to La Valette that if he could hold the fortress until the end of August he should most positively be relieved by that time.

Meanwhile, the daily assaults continued without intermission, but on the 18th of August they assumed a more important character than ordinary. Both points were, as usual, to be attacked, but the attempt upon the post of Castile was deferred for some time after that upon Senglea had been commenced, partly with the hope of inducing some of its defenders to withdraw to the assistance of their friends, and partly to enable Piali to spring a mine, which had, with incredible labour, been successfully driven through the rock beneath the bastion. Finding that the delay did not tempt any of the knights to leave their stations, Piali fired his mine, and a large extent of rampart was thrown down by the explosion. The solid nature of the rock upon which the works stood had led the garrison to consider any attempt at mining an absolute impossibility, and the idea of such a mode of attack never occurred to them. The panic caused by so unlooked-for an event was consequently extreme,

and whilst it was paralysing the defence the assailants made their onset. When the dense smoke caused by the explosion had cleared away, the Turks were masters of the post. The alarm spread instantly, and the great bell of the conventual church pealed forth to notify the peril. A terrified priest, rushing into the presence of La Valette, besought him to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, as the Bourg was irretrievably lost. All was fear and confusion, and but for the presence of mind displayed by the Grand-Master at that critical moment the place must have fallen. Instead of following the advice of the priest La Valette seized a pike and rushed to the scene of action, calling upon his brethren to die manfully where they stood. A desperate encounter ensued, in which the Grand-Master was wounded, but he succeeded in attaining his object; the breach was re-taken and cleared of the enemy.

The catastrophe thus averted had been so imminent, and appeared so likely to threaten them again, that La Valette determined upon taking up his quarters permanently close to the exposed bastion. In vain his knights remonstrated with him; in vain they pointed out the inestimable value of his life to the defence; he persisted in his determination, and the result proved that he was right. That same night the Turks renewed the attack, and then the spirit inspired amongst the besieged by his presence materially aided them in successfully resisting it. The 19th, 20th, and 21st each beheld an assault upon some point, and, although on every occasion it failed, the steadily reducing numbers of the garrison proved clearly that they would be unable to sustain many more such efforts. Scarce a knight of that little band remained unwounded, and La Valette was each day called on to mourn the death of some one whose gallantry had endeared him to the hearts of his comrades. Nor was he spared the pang of a nearer loss. His own nephew, Parisot de la Valette, was struck down during a daring sortie, which he had led, in company with another knight named Polastron, who was also killed. It was only after a long and fiercely-contested struggle that their comrades succeeded in rescuing the corpses. La Valette himself was an eye-witness of the scene, and rejected all attempts at condolence by assuring his hearers that the whole fraternity

was to him as kindred, and that he did not mourn the loss of his nephew more than that of any other knight who had fallen.

Whilst the besieged were being reduced to this pitiable condition the position of Mustapha was but little better. The incessant attacks he had persisted in making had, it is true, harassed the besieged beyond all endurance, but their constant failure at the same time produced the worst possible effect upon his own troops. He had lost the flower of his army, partly on those deadly breaches, which they had in vain endeavoured to storm, and partly by a pestilence which had latterly raged with the most frightful violence throughout their camp. The power of the sun in Malta during the month of July is very great, and at all times likely to produce disease unless the most stringent sanitary precautions are insisted on. The Turkish camp had remained stationary for nearly two months, and, as is well known, the habits of Easterns are not sufficiently cleanly to stave off sickness under such conditions. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that by the time August had been reached a very large proportion of the force was laid low. Further, their ammunition was running short, and a scarcity of provisions had long been felt. It appears strange that with so large a fleet as that which Piali had at his command, they should have found any difficulty in maintaining their communications with the African coast, but certain it is that whilst the ships were lying in idleness in the Marsa Muscetto, Sicilian cruisers were permitted constantly to intercept supplies. The only explanation possible for this anomaly seems to be that the Turkish commander lived in perpetual dread of the arrival of such a powerful succouring force from Sicily as might necessitate his abandonment of the siege. He did not, therefore, wish to run the risk of having his retreat cut off by such an event taking place during the absence of any considerable number of his galleys.

Long and anxious consultations were held between Mustapha and Piali. The former, who felt that his reputation—nay, most probably even his life—depended upon the successful issue of the enterprise, strongly urged that the army should, if necessary, winter upon the island; but Piali declared that he

could not allow his vessels to run so great a risk. That fleet had been placed under his own especial command, and he alone was responsible to the sultan for its safety; he announced, therefore, that as soon as the summer began to break up he should quit Malta and return to Constantinople, either with or without the army. A constant jealousy had, indeed, from the first existed between the rival commanders of the Ottoman forces. So long as Dragut lived that feeling had been kept in check, and the Algerine had, by mutual consent, been permitted to take the lead in conducting the attack on St. Elmo, but after his death the ill-will between the two chiefs broke out with increased rancour. Each was more intent upon depriving his colleague of the honour of success than carrying on the main object of the expedition, and each felt that if he were not himself the principal actor at the capture of the island he would rather the attempt were a failure than that the other should reap the fruits of success.

Mustapha felt greatly dismayed at the now openly expressed opposition of his coadjutor; still, he retained the secret of his despondency within his own breast. Instructions were issued for a fresh general assault at all points on the 23rd August. Some friendly hand among the besiegers shot into the town an arrow, to which was attached a piece of paper having on it the word *Thursday*. The hint was sufficient, and La Valette at once guessed that on that day an attack of more than usual importance was to take place. A general council was summoned to deliberate upon measures of defence. It was there strongly urged that both the Bourg and Senglea should be abandoned, and that the garrison, which was so fearfully reduced, should be withdrawn into the castle of St. Angelo. The Grand-Master, however, would not listen to this proposition. He pointed out that St. Angelo was far too small to contain all the persons who would require shelter, also that the supply of water would be insufficient for their wants. Both the Bourg and Senglea must, he said, be maintained to the last, and, with the view of shewing that he was determined to carry his ideas into execution, he withdrew from the castle the greater portion of its strength to reinforce that of the two towns. Early on the morning of the 23rd the assault took

place as anticipated. Every member of the Order whose wounds were not so severe as positively to incapacitate him, had on this occasion left the infirmary and once more resumed his post upon the shattered ramparts. Yet even with this aid the number of the defenders had dwindled to a comparative handful. Nothing but their indomitable spirit and the demoralization which had so destroyed the vigour of the Turks, could have enabled them to maintain a successful resistance before the overwhelming odds which were brought against them. Once again, however, they were victorious, and the baffled Mustapha was compelled to withdraw his troops, now utterly cowed, from the scene of their latest failure.

For a week after this defeat the Turks attempted nothing further, but contented themselves with keeping up a sullen cannonade from their batteries. At length on the 1st of September Mustapha once more essayed his fortune at a last desperate assault, and on this occasion he used every incentive in his power by which his troops could be stimulated and their flagging vigour aroused. It was, however, all in vain; a spirit of disorganization and despondency had spread itself through their ranks; they declared that it was evidently not the will of Allah that they should become the masters of Malta, and loudly demanded to be carried away from the dreaded island where so many of their comrades had either found a bloody grave or were dying of pestilence like rotten sheep. It was not by men imbued with such feelings as these that victory was to be snatched from the determined and now utterly desperate garrison. Mustapha's quailing and reluctant battalions recoiled almost without a blow from the firm front still maintained against their advance. The feebleness of this last effort spread the greatest exultation and the most sanguine expectations of ultimate success amongst the besieged. They began to hope that they should themselves be able, alone and unaided, to drive the enemy from their shores, as their predecessors at Rhodes had done in the glorious siege of 1480, and they almost ceased to wish for the presence of that relieving force whose coming had till then been looked for with such earnest desire.

This long-expected aid was, however, at length on its way to

their rescue. On the 25th of August a fleet of twenty-eight galleys, containing 8,500 troops, of whom nearly 300 were members of the Order, the remainder being Italian and Spanish soldiery, set sail from Syracuse and appeared off Malta. Whilst the viceroy was reconnoitring the island with a view to deciding upon the most prudent measures to adopt for the relief of the fortress, one of those sudden and violent storms so frequent in the Mediterranean arose and dispersed his fleet, compelling him to return to Sicily to refit. His troops were so eager to be led to the rescue that the repairs were speedily completed, and on the 6th of September he again set sail, and anchored that same night between the islands of Comino and Gozo. The next morning he landed his army in Melleha Bay, a small but commodious inlet on the north of the island; and having witnessed the commencement of its march towards the Città Notabile, he returned to Sicily for a further body of 4,000 men who were still at Syracuse awaiting transport.

Meanwhile Mustapha had remained in his camp, after his last failure, in a state of the most abject despondency. Every effort which his ingenuity could devise had been made to overcome the obstinate resistance of the knights; their works had been battered by a train far more powerful than had ever been previously used at a siege; they had been subjected to a series of the most desperate and prolonged assaults; and in spite of the difficulties of the ground mining had been resorted to. All, however, was useless. A cavalier had been raised in front of the post of Castile, from the summit of which the interior of that bastion could be overlooked, but it had been captured by the defenders, and actually converted by them into an outpost. At the last assault a cask had been thrown into the town filled with combustibles with an ignited slow match attached to it, but the knights had succeeded in hurling it back into the midst of a column which was at that very moment advancing to the attack; the cask exploded, and the column was shattered and dispersed by a missile devised by themselves. An attempt had been made against the Città Notabile, but had been baffled by the determination of the commandant. Nothing seemed to succeed, and Mustapha felt that he had been thwarted at every point. It was at this moment, whilst he was plunged in the

depth of despondency, and whilst his troops were clamorous for the abandonment of the siege, that he received the first information of the landing and advance of the succouring army.

Intelligence had, indeed, long before reached him that this relieving force was assembling, but its lengthened delays and procrastination lured him into the hope that it would never really set sail. He had, moreover, decided, in his own mind, that, even if it did arrive, its efforts would be directed towards forcing the entrance of the grand harbour, and against such a step he had taken ample precautions. Great was his dismay, therefore, when he learnt that an army had actually landed on the island, and was marching rapidly towards the Bourg. Rumour had, as usual, greatly magnified the numbers of the advancing force, and Mustapha began to fear lest he should be surprised in his intrenchments, and the whole of his troops cut to pieces. He, in consequence, gave the order for immediate embarkation. The artillery and stores were at once removed, as far as was practicable, from the batteries, and throughout the night of the 7th of September his soldiers laboured with far more zeal and diligence in carrying off their guns than they had originally shewn in landing them. The sounds of departure were not lost upon the inhabitants, and with glad hearts they listened to the constant rumbling of wheels, which for many hours marked the movement going on in the Turkish camp.

With the first dawn of the next day the actual embarkation began. St. Elmo was abandoned; all the trenches and batteries which it had taken so many months, and so fearful an expenditure of blood to construct, were relinquished. La Valette's measures on this joyful morning were as prompt and decisive as those of Mustapha had been injudicious. The whole town poured forth into the trenches, and in a few hours the labour of months had been destroyed. The banner of the Order was once more triumphantly raised over the ruins of St. Elmo, and Piali was driven to hurry the departure of his galleys from the Marsa Muscetto, which was no longer a safe shelter now that Mount Sceberras was again in possession of the enemy. The embarkation of the Turkish

army had not been completed when Mustapha received more accurate intelligence as to the numbers of the advancing force. His proud spirit was struck with indignation at the thought that he should thus hastily have abandoned his position upon the approach of a body of troops so far inferior in number to his own. A council of war was promptly summoned, in which it was decided, by a slender majority, that the troops should be again landed and marched into the interior of the island to encounter the new enemy. This decision caused the greatest dismay and consternation amongst the disorganized Turks, who had trusted that their labours and perils were at last ended. They were, with the utmost difficulty, torn from the ships in which they had hoped to be borne away from the scene of so many hardships and privations. Mustapha was a man endowed with too much determination of purpose to allow the discontent of a mutinous soldiery to divert him from his aim. A body of about 9,000 men was, therefore, landed in St. Paul's Bay, to the north of the island, and with this force he advanced to meet the enemy, now lying between him and the town.

The viceroy had placed his army under the command of an Italian officer named Ascanio Corneo, second to whom was Alvarez Sandeo, a Spanish knight who had on several occasions greatly distinguished himself. La Valette sent timely notice to these officers that a body of Turks was being once more landed, and would probably advance against them. Corneo, upon receipt of this intelligence, took decisive measures to meet the attack. He secured a very strong position on the summit of a ridge in front of the casal or village of Nasciar, where what is geologically termed the great fault of Malta runs almost across the island, dividing it into two nearly equal parts with a sudden and very considerable drop of level between them. Along the crest of this line he hastily threw up intrenchments, behind which he proposed to await the approach of the Turks. He had, however, those under his command who could ill brook such a defensive policy. A body of 200 knights, each accompanied by several armed followers, had been formed into a battalion which was by far the most efficient in his little army. These knights were burning with eagerness to cross swords at once with their hated enemy, and to avenge in the blood of the Moslem the loss

of so many of their comrades who had fallen in the defence. No entreaties, no commands could restrain their impetuosity, and they openly declared that if the force were not at once led to the attack they would rush on the enemy unsupported. Corneo perceived that he could not hold them back ; he therefore decided upon making the best possible use of the enthusiasm by which they were fired, and which had spread through his troops. No sooner had the Ottoman army reached the foot of the hill than he ordered a general advance. Down rushed the battalion of knights, the White Cross banner waving in the van, and their brandished weapons gleaming in the sun as though eager to be bathed in the blood of the enemy. The Turks, who had with difficulty been brought thus far, were struck with awe at the furious onset. Without waiting for the shock they turned and fled with precipitation.

In vain did Mustapha strain every nerve to rally his flying soldiers ; twice he was unhorsed, and several times did he with his own hand cut down the foremost of the fugitives, in his vain endeavour to stem the torrent of the flight. The general terror was too universal for him to withstand, and he was at length himself carried away by the stream. On came the pursuers, heedless of aught but revenge. Every precaution was neglected, all discipline lost, even their very armour was cast aside that they might act with greater vigour and activity against the unresisting adversary. In tumultuous disarray they reached the shore and strove to prevent the embarkation of the Turks. Here, however, they were brought to a check. Mustapha, before advancing into the island, had left Hassan, the Algerine corsair, with 1,500 men to cover the place of embarkation. This force was judiciously posted, so that when the knights came streaming in confusion to the spot, they were received with so deadly a fire as almost to threaten their annihilation. Surrounded by this new enemy, and exhausted by their rapid advance, they must inevitably have been cut to pieces had not Corneo quickly made his appearance with the main body of his troops. As it was, many fell, and a few were for the moment taken prisoners. These, however, were speedily rescued by the advancing force, the Turks driven on board their galleys, and the island at length cleared of all its foes.

The siege was now over; the shattered remnants of that powerful army which a few short months before had landed with all the pomp and circumstance of war, were wending their way homeward to Constantinople, there to meet the angry frowns of a sovereign who, till that moment, had scarcely known defeat. It now only remained that the victors should advance upon the town and greet their friends in the Bourg. A joyful meeting it was between those enfeebled war-worn soldiers and the gallant comrades who had so opportunely come to their rescue. Their wan and haggard faces, attenuated with vigils and hardships, were lighted up with the proud consciousness of the glorious victory they had gained. Alone and unaided, they had for months withstood the shock of one of the most powerful armaments that had ever left the port of Constantinople. Their ruined and blood-stained ramparts could tell a tale of heroism and endurance that would long linger in men's minds. As friend met friend and was clasped in fraternal arms, each felt that another triumph had to be emblazoned upon the banner of the Order, before which all previous victories seemed poor and trivial. Well might La Valette be excused the natural exultation of the moment when he directed that the name of his town should be changed from its old appellation of the Bourg, to the proud and well-earned title of the Città Vittoriosa.

The troops which accompanied Mustapha to Malta had originally consisted of upwards of 30,000 men, mostly picked from the flower of the Ottoman army. The successive reinforcements brought by the corsairs Dragut and Hassan had increased that number to nearly 40,000. Of this vast force little more than 15,000 survived to return with their leader to Constantinople. On the other hand, the original garrison of the fortress had barely reached 9,000 men. The reinforcement received shortly after the fall of St. Elmo added only 700 to their strength. Of this small body only 600 remained unwounded. The process of exhaustion had been carried on by Mustapha almost to the point at which he had aimed. It had been his design to harass them by constant assaults in order to reduce their numbers so much that they would fall an easy prey to his arms. This policy had proved successful at St. Elmo, and

would undoubtedly have answered equally well at the Bourg had the means at his command been sufficiently unlimited. His own forces, however, suffered so much from both sword and pestilence, that when the critical moment arrived he was unable to reap advantage from the weakness of the enemy.

The defence of Malta has justly been considered one of the most brilliant feats of arms recorded in the sixteenth century, and the historian naturally seeks to trace the causes of so glorious a victory. Foremost amongst these must be ranked the jealousy which existed between the military and naval commanders of the Turkish armament. Mustapha and Piali were each eager to prevent the other from reaping too large a share of the glory and reward to be anticipated from the capture of the fortress. They were therefore ill-prepared for that mutual concession and good-will so essentially necessary for the success of their arms. The engineering tactics of the Turks were, moreover, faulty in the extreme. Their oversight in permitting the defenders of St. Elmo to maintain uninterrupted communication with the Bourg detained them before its walls many weeks longer than would otherwise have been possible. Untaught by the results of that siege they subsequently neglected to complete the investment of the Bourg until after a considerable reinforcement had succeeded in making its way into the town from Sicily. Dragut, moreover, was undoubtedly right when he asserted that Mustapha should, in the first place, have made himself master of the Città Notabile. The defences of that town were comparatively insignificant, and it must, after a few days' investment, have fallen into his hands. His rear would then have been secure from disturbance, and the garrison cut off from the assistance derived from it during the early part of the siege.

Thus far the successful result of the struggle has been traced to the errors of the Ottoman tactics, but it would be a wanton robbery of the renown which had been so justly earned to deny that that result was mainly owing to the heroic and indomitable spirit of the garrison, led by so gallant and determined a chief as La Valette. It was indeed fortunate for Malta that, at a moment when its inhabitants were called on to maintain so desperate a defence, they were governed by a man who, from

his energy of disposition and determination of purpose, was eminently qualified to guide them through the crisis. The character of La Valette was one calculated to elicit respect and fear rather than love. There was a stern impassiveness in his temperament, a steady and firm resolution which marked how utterly he excluded all personal feeling from the guidance of his actions. His mind was cast in a mould so rigid and unflinching that he extorted an unwavering obedience from those who, perhaps, had they loved him more, would have followed his injunctions less implicitly. His cold and uncompromising sacrifice of the defenders of St. Elmo, in order to insure the prolongation of the siege, marks the character of the man; whilst the obedience to death which he extorted from that gallant band, even after they had broken out into open mutiny, proves the extraordinary ascendancy he had gained over them. The crisis required a man who could subordinate all considerations of feeling to those of duty. An utter disregard, not only of self, but also of others when the exigencies of the case demanded it, was imperatively called for, and in La Valette was to be found one capable of such sacrifice. He had also the comparatively rare faculty of arousing in others that deep religious enthusiasm which was the principal motive power of his own life; and the meanest soldier imbibed from his chief a lofty determination to conquer or to die, which was the great secret of their stubborn and successful resistance.

The Order was, moreover, most ably seconded and supported by the bravery and resolution of the Maltese inhabitants. It must be borne in mind that the bulk of the soldiery was composed of the native element. Had this help failed no amount of individual heroism on the part of the knights could in the long run have secured success. The Maltese, whenever they have been tested, have shewn themselves steady and resolute soldiers, and on this memorable occasion were not found wanting. No single instance is recorded throughout the siege in which they failed to do their duty, and on many occasions, notably when the Turks attempted to destroy the stockade of Senglea, proved themselves capable of the most devoted heroism. It is necessary to dwell somewhat strongly on this fact, because, as most of the histories of the siege have been compiled by

writers in the interest of the Order, everything has been sacrificed to add to its glory. The history of the struggle must, in justice, be indissolubly interwoven with that of the Maltese inhabitants, and they have cause to this hour to remember with feelings of pride and satisfaction the noble deeds of their ancestors in 1565.

The 8th of September, the day on which the siege was raised, was always subsequently celebrated with great rejoicings by the knights. It was already a high festival of the church, as the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but from the year 1565 it became to them the most important anniversary in the calendar. On that day a solemn mass was celebrated for the souls of those who had fallen. The names of such amongst them as had attained to any dignity in the fraternity were registered in the records of the conventual church. The following is the number of knights of the various *langues* who fell either at St. Elmo or subsequently :—

<i>Langue.</i>	Killed at St. Elmo.			Killed at the Bourg and Senglea.			Total.
Provence	...	12	...	...	17	...	29
Auvergne	...	9	...	...	4	...	13
France	...	14	...	...	16	...	30
Italy	...	31	...	...	48	...	79
Aragon	...	17	...	...	14	...	31
Germany	...	5	...	...	4	...	9
Castile	...	10	...	...	16	...	26

Only three Englishmen were present, viz., Edward Stanley, John Smith, and the knight Oliver Starkey; neither of these was killed. The total, therefore, was 217 out of 516 who are known to have been present, including the reinforcement which arrived under de Robles. Possibly some others had also found their way into the fortress during the siege of St. Elmo.

The heroic spirits who conducted the defence have long since returned to dust, and the names even of but too many of them have been lost to the world, but the memory of their great deeds remains as fresh and green as though it were a thing of yesterday; and the island of Malta is never mentioned even in

the present age without recalling to the mind the picture of the scenes enacted there during the summer of 1565. English hearts and English swords now protect those ramparts whereon the ensigns of the Order of St. John fluttered; and should occasion ever demand the sacrifice, the world would find that the blood of Britain could be poured forth like water in the defence of that rock which the common consent of Europe has intrusted to her hands.

CHAPTER XIX.

1565—1601.

General exultation at the successful defence of Malta—Rumours of a new Turkish expedition—Death of Solyman—Commencement of the city of Valetta—Disturbances in the convent—Death of La Valette—Accession of de Monte—Transfer of the convent to Valetta—Battle of Lepanto—Death of de Monte—Election of La Cassière—Seditions aroused against him—His deposition and restoration—His death, and election of Verdala—Arrival of the Jesuits—Death of Verdala—Close of the century.

EUROPE had looked on with breathless interest whilst the siege of Malta had been going forward. From time to time, as intelligence was brought of the continued maintenance of the fortress, a loud acclaim would arise, and prayers were offered in many a Christian congregation for the success of the Cross against the Crescent. When at last it became known that that success was indeed assured, the universal exultation knew no bounds. In the courts of Rome and Madrid these feelings found vent most freely. The island of Malta was looked upon as an advanced post by both these powers, and had Solyman been able to establish himself at that point, the kingdom of Sicily and the States of the Church would have been continually exposed to the piratical incursions of his Algerine subjects.

The king of Spain despatched a special ambassador to Malta with congratulations to La Valette upon the auspicious result of the siege. The envoy bore with him, as a present from Philip, a magnificent poniard and sword, the hilts of which were of chased gold studded with gems. At Rome a salute was fired from the castle of St. Angelo, whilst a general illumination of the city testified to the exultation of the inhabitants. Pope Pius IV., as a special mark of favour, offered La Valette a cardinal's hat, a dignity which had in previous years been

offered to, and accepted by, the Grand-Master Peter D'Aubusson. La Valette, however, considered, and with reason, that his position was already far more elevated than that of a cardinal. The offer of the pontiff was therefore graciously declined on the plea that the office of the Grand-Master involved functions so diametrically opposed to those of a cardinal, that he did not consider they could well be combined.*

Meanwhile the rage of Solyman, upon learning the disgrace which had befallen his arms, was such as might have been anticipated in one who throughout a lengthened career had hitherto been almost invariably the favoured child of victory. Tearing the despatch which contained the unpalatable intelligence into fragments, he pledged himself to lead in person a fresh expedition against Malta at the commencement of the ensuing summer, when he vowed that he would not leave one stone standing upon another. Preparations were instantly begun in the arsenals of Constantinople for the construction of a fleet large enough to carry out the project of the sultan, and every nerve was strained to collect such a force as should effectually wipe away the stain cast upon the military renown of the empire.

The position of the Order was at this moment critical in the extreme. It became, therefore, necessary for La Valette, in the midst of the general rejoicing, to consider what steps should be taken to avert the renewed attack as to the imminence of which his spies at Constantinople had given him early intimation. The state of the island was deplorable. The fortifications were more or less in ruins, the arsenals and storehouses empty, the treasury exhausted, and the ranks of the fraternity so fearfully diminished that an adequate garrison could not be provided even had the fortress been in a proper state of defence. The general feeling of the council leant in favour of an abandonment of the island, and the withdrawal of the convent to Sicily. La Valette, however, felt that his renown and that of his knights had become too intimately connected with Malta to brook such a sacrifice in the very hour of triumph. He expressed his

* La Valette at this time addressed a letter to the grand-prior of Germany, giving a short account of the siege, and appealing for help to restore the fortress. See Appendix No. 10.

resolution to bury himself beneath the ruins he had hitherto so successfully defended, rather than permit them tamely to fall into the hands of the infidel. The same strong will and inflexible determination which had so often before overruled the opinions of his council, once more gained the day, and it was decreed that they should stand or fall in the defence of the island where they had already achieved so brilliant a success.

The crisis was, however, imminent, and La Valette, feeling that he was unable to oppose force by force, decided on having recourse to stratagem to avert the danger. He availed himself of the services of some of his spies at Constantinople to cause the grand arsenal of that city to be destroyed by fire. Large stores of gunpowder had been accumulated for the purposes of the approaching expedition, the explosion of which utterly wrecked the dockyard and the fleet which was being equipped within it. This blow put a complete stop to the undertaking, and the death of Solyman, which occurred on September 5th, 1566, whilst invading Hungary, prevented any renewal of the attempt. Most writers, in narrating this event, have deemed it necessary to speak apologetically on the subject, and to lay great stress on the critical position in which La Valette was placed. There does not appear to be any real occasion for making excuses in the matter. The sultan was notoriously and ostentatiously preparing a large armament for the capture of Malta, and he had boasted that he would not leave in it one stone upon another. It seems, therefore, to have been a perfectly legitimate act of war to compass the destruction of the fleet whilst still lying in the arsenal of Constantinople, and La Valette was only exercising prudent foresight in averting a blow which he would otherwise have been powerless to resist.

All immediate danger of an invasion being thus happily at an end, the Grand-Master turned his attention to the restoration of his ruined defences. The siege had clearly demonstrated the importance of the fort of St. Elmo. La Valette determined, therefore, not only to restore and develop it, but also to carry out the project, so often before mooted, of occupying the entire peninsula with a new town, and surrounding it with fortifications of such strength as should render it safe from attack. Experience had shewn that the Bourg, or, as it was now called,

the Città Vittoriosa, was but ill-suited to be the head-quarters of the convent. Exposed on all sides to hills by which it was overlooked, the difficulty of maintaining it during a lengthened siege had been so clearly shewn that some change was imperative. No other spot within the island afforded so many advantages as Mount Sceberras. The expense, however, of such a design was undoubtedly enormous, and the treasury being utterly exhausted, it was necessary to look for foreign assistance to carry out the project. Ambassadors were therefore despatched to all the leading courts of Europe, furnished with plans of the proposed scheme, and requesting aid for carrying it out. The Order at this moment stood in very high favour throughout all the Catholic countries of Europe. The good services it had rendered to Christendom by averting the dreaded inroads of the Moslem were everywhere recognized and appreciated. La Valette received in consequence the promise of such liberal contributions that he was able at once to begin the realization of his project. The Pope guaranteed a subsidy of 15,000 crowns; the king of France, 140,000 livres; Philip, 90,000 livres; and the king of Portugal, 30,000 crusadoes. Whilst this assistance was being rendered from without, the members of the fraternity vied with one another in the extent of their gifts. Many of the wealthiest commanders, not satisfied with forwarding the entire revenues of their commanderies, stripped themselves of much of their personal property, which they cheerfully tendered in aid of the good work. Thus encouraged, La Valette summoned the most able engineers and architects then in Italy, and no longer delayed the commencement of the town. The Pope, not content with the contribution he had made in money, despatched his chief engineer, Francesco Laparelli, to aid the Grand-Master by his advice and professional skill. The design of most of the principal works of Valetta may be attributed to this officer, the general idea only having been sketched out by La Valette.

Matters being thus prepared, the 28th of March, 1566, was selected as the day on which to lay the first stone of the new city. The name to be given to it was Valetta, and the Grand-Master added thereto, as was the common practice in those days,

the epithet *Umilissima*. The Bourg, in memory of the recent triumph enacted within its walls, had received the proud title of Città Vittoriosa, and the Città Notabile, the ancient capital of the island, was from this time destined to sink into comparative insignificance under the name of Città Vecchia. The ceremony of inauguration was performed with the utmost pomp. The entire extent of Mount Sceberras was covered with pavilions, whose snowy whiteness shone clear in the bright sunlight, their gay pennons fluttering in the breeze. From every quarter strangers had flocked to the island, eager to witness the ceremonial, the brilliant scene forming a striking contrast to the sad tragedy enacted on the same spot in the previous year. At an early hour La Valette left the Bourg in solemn procession, accompanied by all the grand-crosses and other functionaries of the Order then at Malta. They were preceded by the clergy, at whose head was Dominick Cubelles, bishop of the island, the leading ecclesiastical dignitary of the fraternity. Arrived at Mount Sceberras, the Grand-Master took up his station beneath an ample pavilion erected for the purpose on the appointed site, and there performed the ceremony of laying the first stone at the corner of St. John's bastion. Loud rang the trumpets to announce the auspicious fact to the thousands crowding round the spot, but louder far than the shrillest note of the clarion burst forth the shout with which that enthusiastic multitude hailed the event.

The chivalric heart of La Valette must have glowed within him at this spontaneous note of acclamation. Well indeed might the noble veteran and those around him rejoice, for that shout was a knell to all the hopes the infidels might till then have entertained of ever seeing their banner floating in triumph over the fortress of Malta. It was the commencement of a new æra, during which the island was to rise in importance until it attained a foremost rank amongst the strongholds of Europe. Beneath the newly-laid stone had been deposited a number of coins in gold and silver, bearing on the one side a representation of the intended town with the motto *Melita renascens*, and on the other the date of inauguration. It is also recorded that a tablet was affixed to the stone bearing a Latin inscription, to the effect that the Grand-Master, La Valette, in memory of the late

siege, and for defence against future attacks, had determined to found a new city, which he had commenced on the 28th March, 1566. As a precisely similar tablet stood over the old Porta Reale, it seems probable that it had been moved there, when the gate was built, as being more conspicuous to public view than the original position, since none now exists on St. John's bastion. When the Porta Reale was rebuilt in 1853, this tablet was replaced on the new structure as an interesting relic of the foundation of the city. The inscription is an extract from the records of the council, which bear the following entry:—

“Die xxii mensis Martii MDLXVI Fr. Joannes de Valletta, Sacra Domus Hosp. Hier. M. Magister, periculorum anno superiore a suis militibus populoque Meliteo in obsidione Turcica perpefforum memor, de condenda urbe nova eaque mœniis arcibus et propugnaculis munienda inito cum proceribus consilio die Jovis XXVIII, Martii, MDLXVI. Deum Omnipotentem Deiparamque Virginem numenque tutelare D. Jo. Baptistam Divosque cæteros multa precatus ut faustum felixque religioni Christianæ fieret, ac Ordini suo quod inceptabat bene cederet prima urbis fundamenta in monte ab incolis Xeberas vocato jecit, eamque de suo nomine Vallettam, dato pro insignibus in parma miniata aurato leone, appellari voluit.”

It may be interesting to add the names of the dignitaries of the Order who were present on the occasion when this important decree was registered. They were as follows:—

Reverendus Dominus Magnus Magister Frater JOANNES DE VALLETTA.

Admodum Reverendus Dominus Episcopus Melitensis Frater DOMINICUS CUBELLES.

Reverendus Prior Ecclesiæ Dominus Frater ANTONIUS CRESSINUS.

Reverendus Marescallus Dominus Frater GULIELMUS COPPIER.

Reverendus Hospitalarius Dominus Frater JACOBUS DERQUEMBOURG.

Reverendus Magnus Conservator Dominus Frater PETRUS DE JUNYENT.

Reverendus Admiralus Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS BROGLIA.

Reverendus Prior Sancti Ægidii Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DU PONT.

Reverendus Prior Alverniæ Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE LASTIC.

Reverendus Prior Campaniæ Dominus Frater JOANNES AUDEBERT DIT LAUBUGE.

Reverendus Baiulivus Caspis Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE LALZEDO.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Commendatorii Dominus Frater JOANNES DE MONTAGU.

Locumtenens Reverendi Turcopolerii Dominus Frater OLIVERIUS STARCHI.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Baiulivii Alemanie Dominus Frater CONRAD SCULBACH.

Locumtenens Reverendi Cancellarii Dominus Frater DON FERDINANDUS D'ALASCON.

Locumtenens Reverendi Thesaurarii Dominus Frater CAROLUS DE LA RAMA.

The record of the ceremony of the 28th March follows immediately after the above decree, and runs thus:—

“Inchoatio Civitatis ad Montem Sancti Elmi. Die xxviii. Mensis Martii MDLXVI fuit incepta et inchoata Civitas ad Montem Sancti Elmi, cuiquidem civitati Vallette nomen impositum fuit, faxit Deus illud faustum et felix.”

Doubtless the pious aspiration with which it concludes found a warm response within the hearts of all present on the occasion. An amusing controversy has long raged in Malta in connection with these and other contemporaneous entries as to whether the name of La Valette should be spelt with one or with two *l*'s. These entries shew the letter doubled. In the few signatures by La Valette himself, not only the *l* but the *t* also is single. The explanation would probably be that in French the name was spelt with only one *l*, whilst in Latin and Italian, in accordance with the common practice, the consonant was doubled.

The foundation of the new city was not effected without considerable opposition, and for some time after, La Valette was frequently called on to defend the prudence of the work he had undertaken. On the 3rd of April the viceroy, Don Garcia, arrived in Malta, accompanied by several engineers and other officers whose judgment on such matters might be considered valuable. The opinion which they expressed was that the step

taken had been injudicious, and that the project as it stood was far too stupendous. They thought the scheme should have been restricted to the enclosure of a much smaller space, so as simply to cover fort St. Elmo. These objections were overruled by La Valette. He pointed out that the ground within the line as now proposed would be far too restricted, as it would be impossible to construct within it a town large enough for his requirements, since he not only contemplated the transfer of the convent to the new city, but also that a considerable portion of the inhabitants who were crowded into the Bourg and Senglea should move there as well.

The work now went bravely on; ditches were sunk, and with the material thus raised the ramparts were constructed. For the first year nothing was attempted except the fortifications, no one being willing to build within the town until its defence had become somewhat assured. As already stated, the Papal engineer, Francesco Laparelli, had the general control, assisted in all details by Jerome Cassan, the resident engineer of the Order. La Valette watched the progress of his favourite design with the warmest interest and the keenest anxiety. He took up his abode in a wooden hut on Mount Scieberras, and spent his days in the midst of his workmen. The example thus set was followed by other members of the fraternity, and each strove by precept and example to urge forward the progress of the work. All the leading towns of Sicily, and even Italy, were ransacked for artificers, at one time no less than 8,000 labourers being employed to assist the masons.

The original design had contemplated that the ridge of rock which formed the summit of Mount Scieberras should be cut down to a nearly level platform, on which the city was to stand, surrounded by its ramparts, the latter consisting to a great extent of the live rock scarped down to the water's edge. Before this work had become far advanced, rumour reached the island of a new expedition preparing at Constantinople, of which the destination was supposed to be Malta. Selim, who had succeeded his father Solyman on the Ottoman throne, was a man of pacific sentiments, and too much immersed in luxury and sensuality to take delight in those ambitious projects which had been so constantly cherished by the late

emperor. He ruled, however, over a nation eminently warlike in character, and with whom enmity to the Christian, and a craving for supremacy in the Mediterranean, had long become ruling passions. Unable entirely to restrain the aggressive propensities of his subjects, Selim was compelled apparently to meet their wishes, by fitting out expeditions without any fixed ideas as to their ultimate destination. False alarms were thus being constantly spread throughout his reign, and precautions taken on all sides to resist attacks which the sultan never seriously contemplated. The only result of the preparations he was now making was to destroy the symmetry of Valetta, which, instead of being on a comparatively level site, was hurried on, and built on the slopes as they existed, a small central strip only, upon which runs the present Strada Reale, having been levelled. Hence those interminable flights of steps which in the present day weary the pedestrian, and have invoked the metrical malediction of Byron.*

La Valette had not progressed far with his new city before the want of money began to make itself seriously felt. He had received promises of large amounts, but those pledges were very tardily fulfilled, and the funds upon which he counted from his own fraternity could only be paid in annual instalments, as the revenues of the commanderies fell due. Under the pressure of these difficulties he decided upon a measure, the successful working of which proved how high the credit of the Order stood in the eyes of the inhabitants. He caused a great quantity of copper money to be made, carrying a fictitious value. These coins bore on one side the symbol of two hands clasped, and on the other the words, "*Non æs sed fides*"—"Not money but credit:" they were freely accepted at their nominal value by the artificers, and passed current throughout the island. The treasury, as remittances were received from Europe, faithfully redeemed this fictitious money until it had been entirely withdrawn from circulation. When the island of Malta fell into the possession of England, there was a large quantity

* Adieu, ye joys of La Valette !

Adieu, scirocco, sun, and sweat !

Adieu, ye cursed streets of stairs—

How surely he who mounts you swears !

of similar false money circulating, which was reclaimed by the home government at considerable loss, the nominal value being nearly £17,000, whilst that of the copper was only £400. It was at the time generally stated that this coinage was a portion of that issued by La Valette, which had not been redeemed. A little consideration, however, should have shewn that it would be impossible for copper coins to remain in circulation for 260 years. The fact was that the experiment so successfully tried by La Valette was repeated by several of the later Grand-Masters. None resorted to it more freely than De Rohan, who circulated large quantities whilst he was erecting fort Manoel. There exists in the public library at Valetta a collection of dies from the local mint, and several of these, of different dates, shew the same symbol and legend as that described above, and were evidently used for a similar purpose.

When the ramparts had been raised and the streets of the town laid out, private individuals were invited to erect houses. As an incentive to members of the Order to join in the work, it was expressly decreed that any one building for himself a house within the city of Valetta, should have the power of disposing of it at his death, a concession not enjoyed by him with regard to the rest of his property. This privilege induced many knights to erect mansions in the new town. Such houses shew traces of having been originally designed for men who, not being permitted to marry, and consequently having no families, did not require much sleeping accommodation. In these houses we find a general stateliness of architecture; the apartments devoted to reception, which are spacious, lofty, and handsomely decorated, occupy by far the larger part of the building, whilst those intended for sleeping-rooms are narrow, confined, and far from numerous.

The aged Grand-Master continued, throughout the brief remainder of his life, to take the deepest interest in the new city which was thus springing up before his eyes. He was not, however, permitted to spend that limited period in the peace and quiet to which he had so justly entitled himself. The general exultation which had naturally followed on the repulse of the Turks rapidly degenerated into a spirit of license which La Valette found himself unable to check. This was especially the

case amongst the younger members, who seemed to consider that the heroic deeds so lately performed at the siege absolved them from all the other obligations of their profession. The wildest debauchery and the most reckless libertinism prevailed, and the orgies which constantly took place were a public scandal. In some of these, ribald songs were sung reflecting not only on the character of virtuous ladies in the island, but on the Grand-Master himself. Pasquinades and libels circulated freely, and nothing was too high or too sacred to be made a subject of ridicule. In one of these, which is still extant in Malta, La Valette is accused of cowardice during the siege, and of hiding himself behind a beam during one of the assaults on the post of Castile. Matters were at length brought to such a pitch that it became necessary to resort to strong measures of repression. A prosecution was instituted against the most notorious of the offenders, and they were summoned before the council. The insubordinate knights treated the entire affair with ridicule; they rushed into the council chamber in tumultuous array, the pen was plucked from the hand of the chancellor who was recording their sentence, and the inkstand thrown out of window. Then, feeling that they had compromised themselves so thoroughly that they were certain of the severest punishment, they hurried off to the harbour, and seizing upon one of the galleys, set sail for Sicily. Deprivation of habit was, of course, the natural consequence of this gross act of rebellion.

Meanwhile a dispute which threatened the most grave consequences sprang up between the fraternity and the court of Rome. For many years the pontiffs had arrogated to themselves the power of nomination to most of the vacant dignities in the *langue* of Italy. In his first outburst of gratitude after the successful defence of Malta the Pope had pledged himself to interfere no more in the giving of these appointments. Before long, however, this pledge was again broken, and he became as anxious as ever to claim the privilege he had so expressly renounced. La Valette, in consequence, addressed to his Holiness a letter of urgent remonstrance upon the subject, and at the same time despatched an envoy to Rome to seek reparation for the wrong which was

being inflicted. The Pope, irritated at the tone of the Grand-Master's letter—and indeed it must be admitted that he had expressed himself in no measured terms—was glad of an excuse to avoid receiving the envoy; using the objectionable letter as a pretext, he not only refused him an audience, but dismissed him from the court.

This marked slight deeply affected La Valette. The accumulated troubles which weighed upon him both from within and without the convent overcame the firmness of the gallant old man. He sank into a condition of the most painful despondency, from which it was impossible to rouse him. One day towards the end of July, 1568, with the object of distracting his mind from the anxieties preying upon him, he started on a hawking expedition in the direction of St. Paul's bay. The powerful summer sun overcame him, and he was brought home suffering from a sunstroke. A violent fever followed, and after an illness of nearly a month he died on the 21st of August, 1568.

His body was in the first instance placed in the chapel attached to the castle of St. Angelo, but four days later, namely, on the 25th August, his successor having in the meantime been elected, a grand funeral *cortège* was formed for its transport to a small chapel which he had built and endowed in the city of Valetta, and which was dedicated to Our Lady of Victory. The corpse was placed upon the deck of the great carrack, which, richly decorated and dismasted, was towed in solemn procession by two other galleys draped in black cloth. They bore at the stern the Turkish banners captured during the late siege, and which were now trailed ignominiously in the water. The body having been taken into the Marsa Muscetto was there landed when, the procession being reformed by land, it was conveyed with similar solemnities to the place of burial, where it was lowered into the grave amid the lamentations and regrets of all who witnessed the melancholy ceremony.

The memory of La Valette has always been held in the highest veneration by his fraternity. The Order had, during the five centuries of its existence, enrolled but few who could have the slightest claim to be compared with him in all those

qualities which should distinguish the leader of so powerful an institution. In his early life he had been present at the siege of Rhodes, under L'Isle Adam, and had borne an honourable part throughout that long and desperate struggle. From that hour he had followed the fortunes of his brethren in all their wanderings, and had raised himself step by step through the various dignities, until at length he was called to the supreme authority at a time of the most imminent public danger. History has shewn how fully qualified he proved himself to meet the crisis. In his public character he earned a reputation and a position such as has fallen to the lot of but few. Stern and inflexible, he was rigidly just and honourable. Throughout his long career he proved himself invariably the terror of evildoers, and the implacable enemy to disorder of every kind. By his brethren he was respected even more perhaps than he was loved; his character was undeniably such as to excite the former rather than the latter feeling. The crisis during which he was placed at the head of affairs demanded a man of iron will, and in La Valette that man was found; so long, therefore, as the necessity for such qualifications continued, he was pre-eminently the right man in the right place, and as such received the willing obedience and warm admiration of his fraternity. During the last two years of his life, when peace was once more assured to the convent, that austerity was no longer recognized as a virtue, so that at the time of his death, there were not a few, who having felt the rigidity of his rule to be very irksome, hailed the event as a relief; and, though outwardly mourning the loss of one who had been so brilliant an ornament, were at heart not ill-pleased to look forward to a new government, which might prove less stern and inflexible to their shortcomings.

The decease of La Valette having been expected for some weeks before it took place, various intrigues had been set on foot with reference to a successor. La Valette had himself named Antonio de Toledo, the grand-prior of Castile, but the influence of two grand-crosses, La Motte and Maldonat, secured the election of the grand-admiral Peter de Monte, of the *langue* of Italy. The lengthened services of this knight had fully entitled him to the post. Indeed, it seems somewhat strange

that he should not have been named by La Valette in preference to de Toledo, and it has been suggested that there was a little jealousy in the matter, an idea which seems not improbable, as the career of de Monte had up to this point been curiously similar to that of his predecessor. Like him the grand-admiral had served at the siege of Rhodes, and after that event had also established for himself a high reputation by his naval exploits. The Pope, in consideration of his services, had appointed him governor of the castle of St. Angelo at Rome. He had subsequently been named general of the galleys by the council, and had eventually become the conventual bailiff of his *langue*. It was whilst holding this office that he was selected by La Valette to conduct the defence of Senglea during the late siege. His services in that post were sufficiently brilliant to have ranked him in general opinion second only to La Valette himself. At the conclusion of the war he was sent as envoy to Rome, and when there, the Pope, as a mark of respect for his great services, would not permit him to kneel in his presence.

De Monte was strongly impressed with the value of the work going forward on Mount Scieberras. He had no sooner, therefore, assumed the reins of government, than he announced his intention of pushing forward to a speedy conclusion the labours of his predecessor. Towards the end of 1570, the fortifications being in a very advanced state, the Papal engineer, Laparelli, took his final departure, leaving the completion of the works to Jerome Cassan, the engineer of the Order, under the control of the commander de la Fontaine, to whom that branch of superintendence had been specially delegated. So eager was de Monte to bring his new city into a forward condition, that although it was still in an unfinished state, even as regarded the fortifications, he determined to move the head-quarters of the convent there as soon as possible, and on the 17th March, 1571, the transfer was effected. This event was celebrated with much magnificence, and may be considered as the date when the town of Valetta was first inhabited. It was, even at that time, far from ready for permanent occupation, and the Grand-Master's residence was as yet only a wooden structure, containing a hall and two rooms. It had been originally intended to build a palace for him upon the site where the *auberge* de Castile now

stands. The nephew of de Monte had, however, at about this period, erected a large pile of buildings in front of the Piazza San Georgio, which appeared well adapted for the purpose, and this was purchased from him, and appropriated as a palace. It is most probable that, when the young de Monte undertook this building, he contemplated its eventual appropriation as a palace for his uncle, since it is hardly conceivable that he should have required so extensive and palatial a pile for his own use.

When the line of fortifications around the new city had been sufficiently advanced, the usual division of posts was made for each *langue*. The land front consisted of four bastions. That of St. Peter, on the left, was told off as the post of Italy; St. James's bastion, containing a cavalier which dominated all the surrounding works, was the post of France; St. John's bastion, with a similar cavalier, was that of Provence; and St. Michael's bastion, on the right, that of Auvergne. To the right of this latter bastion, overlooking the Marsa Muscetto, was St. Andrew's bastion, which was allotted to the *langue* of Aragon. The line of ramparts from that point to St. Elmo was the post of Germany, whilst the corresponding line on the grand harbour side, from the St. Peter's bastion to St. Elmo was the post of Castille; St. Elmo itself was garrisoned by detachments from all the *langues*, as was also St. Angelo. The old posts of the various *langues* in the Bourg and Senglea were still retained by them, in addition to their new lines of defence. Each *langue* also constructed for itself an *auberge*, as they had done at Rhodes. The *auberge* of Provence stands in the Strada Reale, the main street of Valetta, and is now a naval and military club. The *auberge* of Auvergne, also in the Strada Reale, is a police office and court of justice. The *auberge* of France, in the Strada Mezzodi, is in the hands of the Commissariat department. The *auberge* of Germany was pulled down many years ago, and on its site the collegiate church of St. Paul was erected, through the munificence of Adelaide the late Queen Dowager, widow of William IV. The *auberge* of Aragon, which stood near that of Germany, was allotted as a palace to the bishop of Gibraltar, of whose see Malta is the head-quarters. The *auberge* of Italy

stands at the head of the Strada Mercanti, and is in the hands of the Royal Engineers. The *auberge* of Castile stands by the side of that of Italy, and is appropriated as a joint mess establishment for the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. This building possesses far more architectural pretensions than any of the other *auberges*, its magnificent site adding materially to its grandeur. Until of late it ranked indubitably as the finest structure in Malta, but some twenty years ago a grand opera house was erected in its immediate vicinity, in a very ornate and florid style, the result of which, whatever its own merits may be, has been greatly to injure the effect of the *auberge* of Castile. This opera house, which was utterly destroyed by fire, so far as its interior was concerned, in 1872, and since restored, stands on the site originally set apart for the *auberge* of England. From the time when that *langue* was suppressed by Henry VIII. until the latest days of the residence of the Order in Malta, hopes were entertained of its revival. Care was therefore always taken that everything connected with it should remain intact. Thus, when the general arrangements for the new city were being mapped out, a site, and that one of the best in Valetta, was set apart and religiously preserved for the use of the *langue* of England. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a new *langue*, called Anglo-Bavarian, was created, and for its use an *auberge* was erected facing the Marsa Muscetto, near St. Elmo. This structure, which, though extensive, is far plainer than any of the others, is now an officers' barrack.

Under the fostering care of de Monte the navy of the Order was greatly augmented. With the object of stimulating a spirit of enterprise, he gave permission to members of the fraternity to undertake cruises on their own responsibility and for their own benefit. This permission was largely taken advantage of, and many knights returned from their privateering expeditions against the Turkish corsairs laden with booty. In the midst of these private successes, a disgraceful disaster occurred. The general of the galleys, named St. Clement, whilst in command of four vessels laden with provisions, was overtaken by the Tunisian corsair Ucciali. St. Clement by no means distinguished himself; two of his vessels having been

captured, he ran aground the one on board which he himself was, and having reached the shore fled ignominiously. In this unfortunate engagement no less than sixty-two knights perished. St. Clement, as soon as he reached Malta, was brought before the council to answer for his conduct during the fight. The evidence adduced proved his cowardice too clearly, and the public indignation ran so high that he was stripped of his habit and then handed over to the secular power for further punishment. By its decree he was strangled in prison, and his body, enclosed in a sack, thrown into the sea.

The year 1571 was marked by the glorious victory which the combined Christian fleet gained over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto. In this action only three Maltese galleys were present, under Pietro Giustiniani, the whole expedition being under the command of Don John of Austria. The action was fought on the 7th of October, and after a desperate struggle, ended in the complete rout of the Ottoman fleet. The three Maltese galleys were on the extreme right of the centre division of Don John's line-of-battle. Aluch Ali, the viceroy of Algiers, who had been manœuvring against the right wing, had succeeded in penetrating between it and the centre, and had thus gained the rear of the Christian line at a point in the immediate vicinity of Giustiniani's galleys. Perceiving that they flew the White Cross banner, he at once dashed at them. The undying hatred to the Order common to the corsairs of Algiers was burning fiercely in his bosom, and he thought that he now saw his enemies delivered into his hands. The three Maltese vessels were no match for the division he was leading, and for the moment they were cut off from support. The struggle was fierce, for the knights fought with their usual impetuosity. Maxwell, in his life of Don John, gives a most graphic account of this incident. He says:—"The knights and their men defended themselves with a valour worthy of their heroic Order. A youth named Bernadino de Heredia, son of the Count of Fuentes, signally distinguished himself, and a Zaragoza knight, Geronimo Ramirez, although riddled with arrows like another St. Sebastian, fought with such desperation that none of the Algerine boarders cared to approach him until they saw that he was dead. A knight of Burgundy leaped alone into

one of the enemy's galleys, killed four Turks, and defended himself until overpowered by numbers. On board the prior's vessel, when he was taken, he himself, pierced with five arrow wounds, was the sole survivor, except two knights, a Spaniard and a Sicilian, who, being senseless from their wounds, were considered as dead."*

Aluch Ali succeeded for the moment in capturing the prior's galley, and having secured its banner he took the vessel in tow, hoping to make his way out of the battle, which, by this time, he saw was lost. Fortunately his manœuvre was perceived by the squadron of reserve, which had not yet been engaged, and its commander at once bore down on him to intercept the movement. Aluch Ali felt that if he remained encumbered with his prize he must inevitably be captured; so, cutting the galley adrift, he left the wounded prior to be rescued by his friends. They found on board of her the bodies of no less than 300 Turks who had been killed whilst boarding. There were also a few living Algerine sailors and Turkish soldiers, who had been put on board to assist in the navigation.

The results of the victory were so great that for many years the naval power of the Turks in the Mediterranean was almost annihilated. De Monte had in his last years felt himself so oppressed by the responsibilities of his office, that he earnestly besought the Pope to permit him to resign it. Pius V., however, persuaded him to remain, which he very reluctantly consented to do. He died on the 27th of January, 1572, at the age of seventy-six years.

It was during his rule that the Spanish convent of Dames Chevalières, or Hospitaller ladies, became once more united to the Order of St. John. This establishment, which was situated at Sixena, a small town midway between Saragossa and Lerida, had been founded by Sancha, daughter of Alphonso II., king of Aragon. Her mother, also called Sancha, surnamed the Chaste, had previously created a convent for noble ladies of the Order of St. John, at the time when the loss of Palestine had deprived them of their homes. The establishment at

* "The Life of Don John of Austria," by Sir William Stirling Maxwell (vol. i. p. 417). I have quoted the writer's words, as they bear such signal and unbiassed testimony to the gallantry of the knights.

Sixena was formed on a scale of princely magnificence, and resembled a palace rather than a religious house. Sixty noble young ladies of the kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia were admitted into this institution without dower, and the munificence of its foundress, as well as that of the kings of Aragon, soon raised it to a high position. It was subjected by Pope Celestin III. to the rules of the Augustine Order. The ladies wore a scarlet robe with black mantle, bearing the white eight-pointed Cross, and in honour of their royal foundress they each carried a silver sceptre during Divine service. For many years the sisters remained associated with the Order of St. John, acknowledging the Grand-Master as their superior, and the prioress of the convent took her seat at all provincial chapters, next in rank to the castellan of Emposta. Towards the close of the fifteenth century they withdrew their allegiance from the fraternity and placed themselves under the direct authority of the Pope. This secession lasted until the time of de Monte, when, in 1569, Hieronyma d'Olibo, then grand-prioress of the convent, at the request of her nuns, signified their desire to become once more attached to the Order. Her demand was acceded to, the schism was healed, and from that date the ladies of Sixena annually presented a silver vase to the convent at Malta in token of fealty.

The vacancy caused by the death of de Monte was filled by the election of John L'Évêque de la Cassière, conventual bailiff of the *langue* of Auvergne, and consequently grand-marshal of the Order. The rule of this Grand-Master was an æra of turbulence and confusion from beginning to end. Although he was a man who, by dauntless courage and many gallant actions, had gained a high reputation amongst his *confrères*, still, from his arrogant temper and the violence and obstinacy of his character, he proved himself but ill-suited for the dignity to which he was now raised. Ere long he became involved in so many disputes, and had created such a host of enemies, that the island was thrown into a state of the utmost confusion. An altercation which he had with the bishop of Malta touching the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the latter, led to the introduction into the island of an accredited member of the

Inquisition, who, under the title of grand-inquisitor, became ever after a source of discord and uneasiness. This official was originally despatched in consequence of an appeal made by La Cassière to Gregory XIII. against the bishop. Differences had before this sprung up between the Grand-Masters and the bishops of Malta, as the functions and powers of the latter had never been very clearly defined, and were often the cause of a collision between themselves and the government. The intervention of the grand-inquisitor, so far from alleviating this evil, added yet another most fertile source of quarrel to those already existing. Instead of two there were now three heads in the island, and although both the bishop and the inquisitor acknowledged the supremacy of the Grand-Master, yet, by their acts, they almost invariably proved that that recognition was more nominal than real.

At the time when this new ecclesiastical authority was first despatched to Malta, the Pope had, at the request of the council, directed that he was not to act independently, but that in all matters affecting church discipline a tribunal was to be formed, in which he was to be associated with the Grand-Master, the vice-chancellor, the bishop, and the prior of the church. It was not long, however, before the ambitious grand-inquisitor, supported, as he was, by the Pope, gradually usurped for himself an independent and separate tribunal. With the object of extending his authority, and to free it from all control on the part of the Grand-Master, he adopted the following method. Any Maltese who desired to throw off his allegiance was given a patent, issued from the office of the inquisitor, by which he became a direct subject of the Inquisition, and was no longer liable to any of the secular tribunals of the island. The bishop of Malta, in his turn, gradually adopted a similar measure, and by a simple tonsure freed even laymen from all other control than his own. These abuses did not, of course, spring into full vigour at once, but they became by degrees so glaring that it appeared as though the chief of the Order would eventually lose all authority in the island of which he was the nominal sovereign.

Whilst La Cassière was contending with these rival functionaries the external relations of his government were at the same time giving him much cause for uneasiness. A dispute broke

out with the republic of Venice upon the question of some property of Venetian Jews, which had been seized by the cruisers of Malta. This very nearly led to the confiscation of their possessions within the territories of the republic, and was only accommodated by the most ample concessions and complete reparation on the part of La Cassière. Another source of dispute arose from the nomination, through the interest of the king of Spain, of the archduke Wincelas of Austria to the grand-priory of Castile and the bailiwick of Lora immediately after his reception into the fraternity. Remembering the powerful assistance which that monarch had invariably accorded to the Order, it was practically impossible to refuse any request when strongly put forward by him. Still this appropriation of the leading dignities in the *langue* of Castile naturally gave the greatest possible dissatisfaction to its members, and a sedition sprang up which was only quelled by the interposition of the Pope. The mutinous knights were by his decree condemned to present themselves before the Grand-Master, in council, with wax tapers in their hands, and there publicly ask pardon for their turbulent behaviour.

The spirit of insubordination having once broken out, was not to be permanently quelled by a mere decree from the papal court, nor was the conduct of La Cassière, during these troublous times, such as to conciliate the brethren or restore a spirit of obedience to their ranks. His arrogance and haughty bearing only rendered matters worse, and multiplied the number of his enemies until, in the year 1581, the mutinous feeling once more shewed itself openly. The knights of the *langue* of Aragon had again become jealous of the influence which the numerical superiority of the French invariably gave them, and in this discontent they were joined by the Italians and Germans. The former had not, in their opinion, supplied to the roll as many Grand-Masters as their numbers would warrant, whilst the latter *langue* had never furnished a chief at any time. They now, therefore, joined the Spanish malcontents in plotting for the deposition of La Cassière. To veil their real designs they intrigued with a French knight named Romégas, who held a high position in the estimation of the convent, and had been nominated to the dignities of grand-

prior of Toulouse and general of the galleys. Being an ambitious man he was seduced from his allegiance under the idea that he would be named La Cassière's successor. That Grand-Master had issued a decree banishing all women of loose character from Valetta and the neighbouring casals, with a view to checking, if possible, the gross and open licentiousness then prevalent at the convent. This decree was alleged as one of the causes for dissatisfaction which they entertained against their chief. Such a complaint in itself marks the very low tone of morality which must at that time have been prevalent in the fraternity.

All being at length ripe for the movement the mutineers openly declared themselves. They held a public meeting, in which they stated that the Grand-Master was, from age and infirmity, unable to continue in the active exercise of his functions. They therefore proposed that he should be called on to nominate a lieutenant to assist him in his duties. La Cassière, who, although old, was still in full vigour, both of mind and body, rejected the suggestion with the utmost disdain, on which the mutineers once more met together, and, taking the law into their own hands, nominated Romégas to the post of lieutenant. By selecting a French knight they evaded the suspicion which would have attached to their proceedings had they chosen a member of one of their own *langues*, and thus induced a considerable number of French knights to join the cabal. Not content with this appointment, they further decreed that La Cassière should be placed in close confinement in fort St. Angelo. This resolution was at once carried into effect, and the aged Grand-Master, surrounded by his rebellious *confrères*, was conveyed through the streets like a criminal to his appointed place of imprisonment. During the journey he was assailed with the grossest abuse, not only by the knights, but also by the frail ladies who had been banished from the city, and who now, on the subversion of his authority, had returned thither in great numbers.

These turbulent proceedings were insidiously fomented by the king of Spain. Trusting to support the mutineers, that monarch had despatched a fleet to Malta ostensibly to protect the island from a supposed invasion by the Turks, but in reality

to render assistance to the Spanish faction in the disturbance then raging. An appeal was made to the Pope, both by the insurgents and the Grand-Master, the latter of whom also informed the French ambassador at Rome of the situation in which he found himself. The greatest indignation was excited in the papal court at the lawless proceedings of the Spaniards, and the Pope instantly despatched an envoy to Malta to prosecute an inquiry into the causes of the insurrection. The French king also took the matter up warmly, and directed his ambassador to see the Grand-Master righted, and the intrigues of the Spanish faction thwarted.

The papal envoy, Visconti, as soon as he reached Malta, commenced an investigation into the causes and results of the disturbance. He had received directions from his Holiness to reinstate La Cassière in his dignities, provided he found that step could be taken without endangering public tranquillity. A very brief insight, however, into the state of popular feeling led Visconti to perceive that such a measure would be fraught with the greatest possible danger; he therefore contented himself with procuring the release of the imprisoned chief, and summoning him, as well as the leaders of the malcontents, to Rome, that the dispute might be settled by the pontiff in person. He also succeeded, after some negotiation, in inducing the Spanish fleet to leave the island, and trust the settlement of the question entirely to the hands of the Pope.

The entry of La Cassière into Rome, which took place on the 26th October, 1581, was attended with great pomp. Gregory seemed determined to mark, by the cordiality and magnificence of his reception, the sense he entertained of the ill usage to which the aged chief had been subjected. Romégas, on the other hand, was treated with such studied neglect, that his proud spirit sank beneath the insult, and he died on the 4th of November of a fever, brought on by agitation of mind. The Pope decreed the immediate restoration of the Grand-Master to his office, but at the same time privately cautioned him to act with greater moderation, and with more urbanity in the future governance of his fraternity. La Cassière, however, did not survive to resume the active duties of his station. The cares and anxieties of the last year had proved too much for

his feeble frame, and he died at Rome on the 21st of December, 1581, aged seventy-eight years.

It was during his rule that the church of St. John the Baptist was erected in the new city of Valetta, and became the conventual cathedral. The expense of its construction was entirely defrayed by La Cassière out of his magisterial revenues, and he further endowed it with an annuity of 1,000 crowns. By a decree of the first chapter-general, held after the erection of this church, a separate chapel was assigned within its precincts to each *langue*. These chapels form the side aisles, and are filled with stately monuments erected in honour of members of the respective *langues*. The entire pavement is one of the most beautiful specimens of mosaic work in Europe. It is composed of a succession of records to the memory of the most celebrated among the bailiffs, grand-crosses, and commanders. It glistens with an endless variety of coloured marbles, representing the blazonry of the arms of the illustrious deceased; jasper, agate, and other similar valuable stones being plentifully introduced. The treasury of the church was enriched with numerous costly gifts in gold and silver, the quinquennial offerings of the Grand-Master and other leading dignitaries. In addition to the magnificent reliquary enclosing the hand of St. John, there were statues in silver of the twelve apostles, an exquisite golden chalice presented by Henry VIII. to L'Isle Adam, the sword and poniard given to La Valette by Philip of Spain, numerous crosses and censers in gold and silver, together with several very large candelabra of the latter metal. The chapel of the Virgin was lighted with a lamp of solid gold, suspended by a massive golden chain, and several of the altars were richly decorated and adorned with costly vessels. The whole of this treasure was plundered by Napoleon when he seized the island in the year 1798, and carried off to Egypt. It had been placed on board the French man-of-war, *L'Orient*, and was all lost with that vessel when she blew up at the battle of the Nile. Below the church La Cassière caused a crypt to be constructed, to which he transferred the remains of L'Isle Adam and La Valette, and it is there that these two heroes now rest, beneath handsome monuments erected at his cost. It was his

intention, in designing this crypt, that his own body should lie by the side of those two great men, who had reflected such glory on the title of Grand-Master, and he prepared everything, including his tomb, accordingly. His death at Rome seemed at first to render it unlikely that his wishes would be carried out. It was, however, ultimately decided to transport the corpse to Malta for interment in the sepulchre he had constructed, and he now lies in the place he himself desired. At the foot of the tomb of La Valette lie the remains of Oliver Starkey, his faithful Latin secretary, and the last Englishman who held the Turcopoliership and the bailiwick of the Eagle before the suppression of the *langue*. The Latin inscription on the tomb of La Valette is from the pen of Starkey :—

*"Ille Asiæ Libiæque pavor tutelaque quondum
Europæ et domitis sæva per arma Getis
Primus in hac alma quam condidit urbe sepultus
Valette æterno dignus honore jacet."*

The heart of La Cassière was removed from the body and embalmed before his remains were taken to Malta, and it is still preserved at Rome. As soon as the death was notified to the Pope he despatched a mandate to the council at Malta prohibiting any steps being taken in the election of a successor until the members should have received further instructions from him. He intended originally to take the nomination entirely into his own hands, considering himself the head of the Order, and as the Grand-Master had died within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction that he should be entitled to that prerogative. A little thought, however, led him to adopt a middle course. He therefore sent one of the knights then at Rome to his nuncio Visconti, intrusted with two separate briefs, and with full instructions how to make use of them. The messenger having arrived at Malta, the first of the briefs was presented to the council by the nuncio. In this the Pope averred that the peculiar circumstances attending the death of the late Grand-Master had left him the right to nominate a successor, but that from friendship for the Order he waived his claim to the privilege, and desired that the election should proceed in the usual manner. The *langues* were therefore

convoked according to custom, and the electors nominated. Thereupon the nuncio presented his second brief, which simply restricted their powers to the choice of one out of three candidates named by the Pope. These were Chabrillan, bailiff of Manosque; Verdala, the grand-commander; and Panissa, the grand-prior of St. Gilles. The papal mandate, irregular and unauthorized though it was, received no opposition, and Hugh Loubenx de Verdala was elected to the vacancy.

Although the death of La Cassière had brought to a close the dispute of which he was the subject, the king of France was well aware that the sedition had originally sprung from the ambition and jealousy of the *langues* of Aragon and Castile, fomented and encouraged by the king of Spain. He therefore directed his ambassador at the court of Rome to insist that the memory of the late Grand-Master should be vindicated from the aspersions which had been cast upon it. The Pope readily complied with this request, and nominated a commission, consisting of five cardinals and some of the leading lay officials in Rome, to investigate the accusations brought against La Cassière by Romégas and his party. Visconti having returned to Rome from Malta with the results of the inquiries which he had there made, the congress gave judgment. This was to the effect that the accusations against the late Grand-Master were malicious and unfounded; that all the proceedings taken against him were, from their manifest injustice, to be annulled, and that he was to be considered honourably acquitted of all the crimes laid to his charge. They at the same time recommended to his Holiness that he should pronounce a decree that the Order did not possess the power of deposing its chief, that authority being vested in the Pope alone. On the 3rd of September, 1582, this sentence having been ratified, was published in the consistory. Thus closed a schism which had, whilst it lasted, created a great disturbance within the convent at Malta.

The character of Verdala was eminently suited to the temper of the time which witnessed his elevation. Gentle, mild, and affable, an earnest lover of peace and concord, he strove hard to soften the bitterness which recent events had caused, and to reconcile those differences through which a spirit of disunion was still kept up in the convent. In this, however, he was not

very successful. During the whole of his career as Grand-Master—a period of thirteen years—he was constantly troubled and harassed by the dissensions fomented against him. No conciliation on his part availed to appease the angry feelings that were aroused, and every decree which his sense of justice compelled him to promulgate, was cavilled at, and made the subject of seditious opposition. In 1587 the grand-marshal Sacconai dared to rescue by open force one of his valets who had been arrested on a charge of theft. The punishment which this audacious act brought down on him created such a ferment that Verdala deemed it advisable to proceed in person to Rome and request the intervention of the Pope against his mutinous fraternity. He was received with every mark of approval by Sextus V., who, to mark his sense of the undeserved attacks made on him, presented him with a cardinal's hat, trusting that this accession of dignity would induce the turbulent knights to receive their chief with greater respect. It is to be doubted, however, whether the honour was a judicious one either for him to offer or for Verdala to accept. The position of a Grand-Master was such as entitled its holder to rank far higher than a mere cardinal, and when a similar proposal had been made to La Valette he declined it for that reason. Be this as it may, the cardinal's rank did not in any way tend to improve the position of Verdala; he became so harassed by the factious conduct of the knights that he once more returned to Rome, where he expired on the 4th of May, 1595.

It was during his rule in 1592 that Gargallo, bishop of Malta, hoping to strengthen his power and gain additional support in the constant warfare he was maintaining against the authority of the Grand-Master, summoned the Jesuits to the island. There they speedily established themselves, and in their turn endeavoured to form a separate jurisdiction of their own. Malta was from this time destined to be the seat of four distinct religious powers—the bishop, the inquisitor, the Jesuits, and the Grand-Master—a source of endless dispute and jealousy, and one which much aided in aggravating the discord between the rival nationalities of France and Spain. Pope Gregory XIII. had already decreed that the offices of the bishop of Malta and prior of the church were to be held exclusively by conventual

chaplains. As most of these were natives of the island, who had no opportunity of attaining to the dignities monopolized by the various *langues*, this decree was received by them with the greatest favour, since it reserved to Maltese ecclesiastics two of the leading offices in the gift of the Order. It had, however, the effect of rendering both the bishop and the prior somewhat less amenable to the authority of their chief than they would have been had they been members of other *langues*.

Verdala has left several memorials of his sway in the fortifications which he constructed in the island of Gozo, and also by the erection of a country residence near the Città Vecchia for the use of the Grand-Masters, and which has ever since borne his name. This tower, on the acquisition of the island by the English in the year 1800, was for some years used as a place of confinement for French prisoners of war, after which it was left unoccupied until Sir William Reid, when governor of Malta, restored it as a summer palace. He added much to the ornamental grounds which surround it. In its immediate vicinity is the Boschetto, a grove which, owing to the scarcity of trees in Malta, is much prized by the inhabitants. Verdala was the first Grand-Master who bore the dignity of Turcopolier in connection with that office. The Pope felt that all immediate prospect of a return of the English nation to Roman Catholicism was at an end, and that, in consequence, there was no further hope of an early revival of the English *langue*. To prevent the ancient dignity belonging to the conventual bailiwick of England from becoming altogether lost, he attached it to the Grand-Mastership, so as to preserve it intact until brighter days for the *langue* should arise. It was also in Verdala's time that the compilation of an authorized history of the Order was intrusted to Bosio, the materials having been collected by Anthony Fossan, who had died in the midst of his labours. Bosio's work is very voluminous, and, therefore, somewhat tedious; it is, nevertheless, the most trustworthy and authentic narrative extant as far as it extends. The author was nephew to the Anthony Bosio whose able services as a negotiator prior to the last siege of Rhodes have already been detailed.

The successor of Verdala was the castellan of Emposta, Martin Garces. He was seventy years of age at the time of his

election, and during his brief rule of six years, no event of importance occurred. His death, which took place on the 6th of February, 1601, closed an epoch in the annals of the Order marked by a glorious succession of heroic deeds. From the year 1476, when Peter D'Aubusson was elected Grand-Master, down to the last years of the century just expired, the fraternity had maintained its position in the eyes of Europe with the most brilliant success. During this period of its existence it had witnessed the rule of three chiefs, whose names have attained a European renown. The history of that time could record no names more distinguished than those of Peter D'Aubusson, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, and John de La Valette. That age had now, however, passed away, and though, during the two centuries through which the Order yet struggled, it could boast of many a chief whose skill in administration and talents in the council chamber were of a high class, still the deeds of these later times will bear no comparison with those that had gone before, which must be always considered as the golden age of the institution.

CHAPTER XX.

Political position of the Grand-Master—His revenues—Ceremony of election and installation—Details of his household—Ceremonials of the table—Festivals—The lieutenant—The navy—The land forces—The chancery—The conservatory—The revenue—Details of the European property—The expenditure—The Hospital.

BEFORE entering into the history of the Order of St. John for the last two centuries of its existence as an organized fraternity—a period marked by but few events of real importance—it will be well to break off the chain of the narrative, and discuss with some detail its social habits and observances at the time of its greatest prosperity.

The institution, though under the rule of a Grand-Master, partook rather of the nature of an oligarchy than a monarchy. Very little of the actual control was left in the hands of the chief alone, all legislative powers being vested in the chapter-general, and all executive functions appertaining to the council. Over this latter he presided, and in it he possessed a double vote, with a further casting vote in case of equality. Whilst, however, his powers were thus jealously limited by the constitution, he practically exercised more influence than such restrictions would seem to render possible. No subject of debate could be introduced, except by himself or his lieutenant, nor was any enactment valid until it had received his sanction. He was thus able to exclude even from discussion any measure to which he was opposed, and as the council consisted of grand-crosses, the nomination to which dignity lay in his gift, he could at any time by fresh creations secure a majority at the board.

The position and powers of the Grand-Mastership had gradually become much changed and enlarged from what had been contemplated in earlier years. Peter Gerard,

the first "*Custos*," or Master of the Hospital, was nothing more than the superior of a monastic establishment of but little consideration and less wealth. Under Raymond du Puy the dignity of the office was greatly raised. Much wealth had poured into the coffers of the institution, and extensive territorial possessions in most of the countries of Europe had materially increased the consideration in which the Order was held, and consequently improved the social and political status of its head. The change which Du Puy introduced by adopting a military character added also to the political importance of the *Custos*. He was no longer merely a monk, the superior of a body of monks; he was the leader of a select band of warriors, a corps which comprised in its ranks all that was knightly and noble. The chief of such a fraternity must naturally have held a very different position in the feeble monarchy of Jerusalem to that of the cowed monk who preceded him. Ere long the Master of the Hospital of St. John became a personage of no mean importance, consulted and courted by the monarch, and treated with the most deferential respect by the people. As time rolled on, and grant after grant was made to the Order, its wealth, numbers, and political consideration increased, until in the later days of the unfortunate kingdom the chiefs of the Hospital and Temple occupied the highest position in the state next to the monarch himself. It was in these times that the simple appellation of Master was exchanged for the more ambitious and high-sounding title of *Magnus Magister*, or Grand-Master. The change was in itself of trivial importance, but it marks the gradual advance the office had made in social distinction.

The expulsion of the fraternity from Palestine, and its retirement to Cyprus, seemed at first likely to reduce, if not utterly to annihilate the political importance of its chief. For some years its fate for good or ill hung in the balance. The bold and successful conception of Villaret determined favourably the doubtful question, and from that time we find the Grand-Master occupying a far more influential position than even in the most palmy days of Christian domination in the East. The acquisition of the island of Rhodes, without divesting him of any of the prestige, which as the head of a powerful military

body had been his, gave him, in addition, the dignity and privileges of a ruling prince. Though his dominion was but small and his subjects few, the military colony at Rhodes was not unimportant. The powerful navy which the brethren organized, and with which they scoured the Levant to the terror and hindrance of the Ottoman pirates with whom those waters swarmed, rendered most valuable assistance to the commerce and general interests of Europe. The knights ere long, therefore, raised themselves to a far higher position than they had held in Palestine, and the Grand-Master, in his new rank of sovereign prince, entered into communication with the various courts of Europe very much on terms of equality. The transfer of the convent to Malta, and the terror inspired on all sides by the establishment of the Algerine corsairs upon the northern shores of Africa, enhanced this consideration. The island, when garrisoned by the knights of St. John, became an advanced post and bulwark of Christianity. Sicily and Italy were protected by this barrier from the aggression of the Moslem. The Pope and the Spanish monarch, both feeling the importance of the services rendered, invariably held out the right hand of friendship to its ruler, and treated him with a consideration and respect which his position would scarcely otherwise have warranted.

Having thus assumed sovereign functions and dignities, we find that he also, by degrees, surrounded himself with much of the state usually attendant on royalty. The revenue attached to his office during the last century of its existence at Malta amounted to upwards of £40,000 a year. This sum was derived from the following sources:—

1st. In every priory one commandery was set apart for the benefit of the Grand-Master, and was called the magisterial commandery. He was entitled to nominate its holder without reference to seniority, and its revenues for the first two years after each appointment were appropriated to him, and a pension therefrom afterwards.

2nd. He was entitled to nominate to a commandery in every grand-priory once in each five years, and the first year's revenue of such commandery, termed an *annate*, was paid to him.

3rd. He received customs, excise, and stamp duties to the amount of upwards of £20,000 a year.

4th. He was paid a table allowance from the treasury of £600 a year.

The election of a Grand-Master took place on the third day after the occurrence of a vacancy. The reason for this prompt action was that the Pope assumed the right of nomination so long as the post remained vacant, but his claim lapsed as soon as a successor had been duly appointed by the Order. The Pope also possessed the privilege of vetoing the candidature of any knight, provided such veto were announced before the election had been completed, but not otherwise. Immediately on the death of a Grand-Master a lieutenant was nominated, and in his hands the government was vested during the interregnum. The qualifications for a voter at the election were, that he must be eighteen years of age, and have resided in Malta for three years, that he had performed three caravans, and that he was not in debt to the treasury for a larger sum than ten crowns. Lists of such members as had complied with these conditions were prepared for each *langue* separately, and affixed to the door of St. John's church for verification and general information. A board of three knights was also named by the council to receive payments on behalf of the treasury from those who, being in its debt, were desirous of freeing themselves of liability in time to participate in the coming election.

On the third day the proceedings commenced by the celebration of mass in St. John's church, the whole of the electors being present. After this the members of the various *langués* retired into their respective chapels; with the exception of the one to which the lieutenant of the Mastery belonged, and that remained in the body of the church. Each *langue* then elected by ballot three of its members, into whose hands it confided the further conduct of the election. The three thus selected were all bound to be knights of justice. The only exceptions to this rule were the bishop of Malta and the prior of the church, who, although belonging to the class of conventual chaplains, were, nevertheless, permitted, on account of the dignity of their offices, to join with the knights on this occasion. Should the lieutenant of the Mastery be selected as one of the electors for

his *langue*, he resigned the lieutenancy, and the council immediately proceeded to a new nomination for that office, it being a fundamental principle in the Order that its government should never be without a duly constituted head. It was considered necessary that each elector must have received a clear fourth part of the votes given. Should no candidate have gained that majority fresh ballots were held until the required qualification was attained. After the suspension of the *langue* of England, the three electors who were to represent it were selected in the following manner. Each of the others, in addition to its own three representatives, nominated a fourth to act for England. The twenty-one electors then assembled, and chose from amongst the seven candidates thus put forward, three who were to act for the dormant *langue*.

The twenty-four knights thus selected then assembled together and appointed from their number a president, who thereupon assumed the duties of the lieutenancy, the knight who had previously held the office surrendering it to him. Under his guidance the electors proceeded to name what was called the triumvirate, consisting of a knight, a chaplain, and a serving brother. These three having taken the regulated oaths were invested with the further conduct of the election, the original twenty-four electors being relieved of all further connection therewith. The triumvirate then nominated a fourth member to join them. Should they be unable to come to an agreement as to the nominee within an hour, they summoned the original twenty-four electors, and submitted the three names that they had respectively brought forward, one of whom was chosen by ballot. The fourth member took the oaths, and in concert with the original triumvirate nominated a fifth, the five a sixth, and so on until the original trio had been increased to the number of sixteen, there being no restriction as to *langue*. These sixteen then elected the Grand-Master, and should there be an equality of votes between two candidates, the knight of the election who was the senior member of the triumvirate had a casting vote. The nomination having been duly made, the original trio advanced towards the general body of electors, who were assembled in the nave of the church; the knight in the centre with the chaplain

on his right hand and the serving brother on his left. The senior member then asked whether all were prepared to ratify the nomination that had been made, and the assembly having answered in the affirmative he thereupon announced the name of the new Grand-Master.

If the knight so chosen chanced to be present he immediately placed himself beneath the magisterial canopy and took the following oath, which was administered by the prior of the church:—"I swear solemnly before God to observe the established and ancient laws of our Order, and to act in all state affairs by the advice of the members of the council, so help me God." He then received the homage of all present, and was conveyed in triumphal procession to the palace. The complete council was convoked as soon afterwards as possible, when the new chief was invested with the sovereignty of Malta and its dependencies. By an old custom the house of the late Grand-Master had been given up to pillage. Of later years this concession was found most inconvenient and objectionable. Its discontinuance was purchased by an issue from the treasury of three crowns to every member of the fraternity on the event of every fresh accession.

The statutes are very particular in defining the nature of the obedience to be rendered to the Grand-Master. After having, in a flowery preamble, laid down the main proposition, "That every member of the Order of Jerusalem, of whatever condition or quality he may be, is bound to obey the Master for the love of Our Saviour Jesus Christ," the following qualification is made in the next clause:—"Should the superior give the brother any direction which does not seem to him in accordance with the statutes and the customs of the fraternity, he shall be permitted to demand the judgment of the court of Égard. It is thus that the obedience which has been vowed is to be understood; it is not to be held binding against the statutes and customs, which the superior is equally bound to obey. If he break his oath he cannot constrain the fraternity to continue its obedience to him." The powers of the Grand-Master in granting privileges, and in pardoning offenders, were also strictly defined and limited by the same statute. He might give members leave to go on a pilgrimage, to dine privately in their own

houses instead of at the *auberge* of their *langue*, to quit the convent, to bestow the habit of the Order, or to assemble the several *langues*. He could also confer on the conventual bailiffs the power of restricting the drink of any member to cold water. This penalty, however, having been once imposed, no one except the Grand-Master could revoke it after the clock had struck. His powers of pardon ceased as soon as the sentence of the council had been pronounced. Afterwards the power was transferred to that body. In the case of a knight stripped of his habit for life, no authority short of a chapter-general could reinstate him. The Grand-Master was, as an exception to this rule, permitted to commute the sentence of total deprivation when inflicted as a punishment for fighting a duel, in which the opponent had not been injured, into the loss of seniority for a year or more, according to the circumstances of the case. Immediately after his election the Grand-Master was bound to provide a leaden seal bearing on one side his effigy, and on the other the arms of the Order. This seal was to be used in all documents requiring his authority or attestation. Such were the principal regulations laid down in the statutes on the subject of the Grand-Master.

His household was superintended by twelve knights, who held various posts in the different departments, and over whom was a dignitary termed the seneschal. This officer acted for the Grand-Master in all cases where the latter did not choose to appear in person. He was commandant of the militia of the island, and in that capacity held an annual review of the forces under his command. In time of war two grand-crosses were appointed to aid him in this department of his duties, under the title of lieutenants-general, but they were strictly subordinate to him, and bound to obey his orders implicitly. Should the Grand-Master at any time be taken seriously ill, it became the duty of the seneschal to secure his official seals, and retain them until either the recovery or the death of his chief. In the latter event the sacrament of extreme unction was administered by him. He ranked as a grand-cross, *ex officio*, even though he should not have attained to that dignity. Both his table and equipage were furnished at the cost of the Grand-Master. Next in rank to the seneschal were the maître d'hôtel,

the master of the horse, and the treasurer. The maître d'hôtel had the entire management of the internal economy of the palace, and regulated all its ceremonies. The master of the horse controlled the stable department, and was in command of the cavalry. No horse, mule, or donkey could be exported from the island without a permit from him. He also took possession, on behalf of the Grand-Master, of the equipages of all knights dying in Malta, the disposal of which was superintended by him. The treasurer had charge of the finances, and made all payments. The remaining officers of the household were of inferior rank. They were the chamberlain, the deputy maître d'hôtel, the under cavalierisse, the falconer, the captain of the guard, the three secretaries for France, Italy, and Spain, and the deputy maître d'hôtel for the country palaces. The falconer was intrusted with the charge of the preservation of game. No one was allowed the privilege of shooting without a written permit from him, and this did not extend to either partridges or hares, the shooting of which was strictly forbidden under pain of the galleys; he was bound to proclaim the close of the shooting season at Easter, and its opening at the feast of the Magdalen; he had charge of the Grand-Master's preserves, and reared and trained the falcons which it was the custom to present annually to the kings of Spain, France, and Naples. At the commencement of the shooting season he was instructed to send presents of such game as the island produced to the grand-crosses, the members of the council, the officers of the household, and the inquisitor. The duties of the three secretaries embraced the carrying on correspondence in the three several languages of their respective nationalities, all Latin documents falling under the cognizance of the secretary for Italy.

The Grand-Master was attended by sixteen pages, who were received as knights of justice at the age of twelve instead of the ordinary limit of sixteen. Their term of service was three years, during which time they were entirely maintained by their friends. Although the expenses of the post were large, there were always numerous candidates awaiting vacancies, owing to the seniority gained by being professed at so early an age. Their service as pages counted towards the time

of residence in Malta, which every member was obliged to complete before he could become eligible for office. Two of these pages were in daily attendance at the palace, and accompanied the Grand-Master wherever he went. Should he return after dark, six others lined the staircase with torches. When he dined in public they waited on him at table, and one of them performed the duties of taster. The guests were permitted to give them sweetmeats from the board, but no other kind of food. During the carnival, which was always observed with great magnificence, these youths formed one of the most attractive features of the display. They were mounted on a splendidly decorated car, drawn by six richly caparisoned mules, and preceded by two trumpeters and a kettle-drummer on horseback.

The ceremonial of the table, when the Grand-Master dined in public, was very elaborate, the grandest occasions being at the festivals of Christmas and Easter. The private invitations to these banquets were given two days beforehand, but on the morning itself the principal maître d'hotel gave a public invitation during the celebration of high mass at St. John's church. For this purpose, immediately after the collection of the offertory he rose, staff in hand, and saluting the members of the council, invited them to partake of a repast which the Grand-Master proposed to give on that day in honour of the Order. At half-past ten a.m. the guests proceeded to the palace, where they were ushered into the audience-chamber; here they found their host waiting to receive them. The dinner was served at eleven o'clock. At the entrance to the dining-hall the cup-bearer tendered a basin in which the Grand-Master washed his hands, the seneschal holding the towel. Whilst this ceremony was proceeding, the prior of the church advanced to the head of the table and said grace. He then retired into the ante-chamber, where the guests were also washing their hands, in readiness to return with them as soon as his Eminence was seated. That dignitary, having completed his ablutions, took his place at the head of the table, upon a couch of crimson velvet, beneath a canopy. The guests then entered the apartment, seated themselves according to rank on either side, placed their caps on their heads, and the dinner commenced. It was a point of etiquette that no one should drink until the Grand-

Master had set the example. As soon, therefore, as the soup was removed, his eminence called for wine, and rising, cup in hand, bowed and drank to the health of those who sat at table with him. The guests thereupon also rose and removed their caps, remaining in that position until he had finished his draught, when he once more bowed around and reseated himself. The guests then in their turn drank to their host, rising as they did so and bowing to him. The second toast given by the Grand-Master was that of the officers of the household, and the guests took this opportunity of pledging one another. At the conclusion of the repast the Grand-Master gave the health of the Pope, which was the signal for the close of the banquet.

The public *levées*, which were frequently held at the palace, resembled in their etiquette that usually adopted in the courts of Europe, and need no special description. The religious ceremonials in which the Grand-Master took part were very numerous, and the rules laid down for their conduct minute in the extreme. This was probably owing to the bickerings and jealousies which had gradually sprung up between the principal functionaries and the ecclesiastics, the latter considering themselves exempted from the authority of the Grand-Master, and under the control of the Pope alone. Most of these solemnities were in honour of the ordinary anniversaries of the church, and had no particular connection with the Order itself. There were, however, two functions held in peculiar veneration, a description of which is interesting as a type of the religious ceremonials adopted in the island. One of these was the festival of the Virgin Mary, on the 8th of September, being also the anniversary of the raising of the siege of Malta by the Turks. The other was St. John the Baptist's day, the 24th June. This, as being the feast of the patron saint of the Order, was held in high esteem.

On the 8th September, all the grand-crosses then in Malta assembled in the palace at eight o'clock in the morning in full dress, with their mantles *à bec*, and accompanied the Grand-Master in solemn procession to St. John's church. The street between the palace and the church, a distance of about 200 yards, was lined by a double file of militia dressed in the

ancient Maltese costume, which, from its gay colours, added much to the effect of the scene. Arrived at the church, high mass was celebrated by the prior of St. John's. At the close of the epistle the service was interrupted by the arrival of the grand-standard. It was the privilege of the *langue* of Auvergne to have charge of this banner, and the knights of that *langue* took their turn in regular succession as standard-bearers during those festivals in which it made its appearance. In time of war, however, no such roster was preserved, but the grand-marshal selected any member of his *langue* whom he pleased for the honour. Upon the present occasion, the standard-bearer entered the church arrayed in full armour, with scarlet sopra vest and a silver helmet, surmounted by a nodding plume, forming, as the manuscript from which this account is taken says, "a magnificent spectacle." He was accompanied by one of the Grand-Master's pages, bearing the sword and poniard presented to La Valette by the king of Spain, and was followed by the whole *langue* of Auvergne, headed by the grand-marshal carrying the rod of justice in his hand. The standard-bearer and page proceeded up the church until they arrived at the high altar, which they saluted three times; they then turned towards the Grand-Master, who was seated on his throne, and also saluted him the same number of times, after which they mounted the daïs, and placed themselves, the standard-bearer on his right, and the page on his left. The mass was then proceeded with, and whilst the gospel was being read, the Grand-Master took the sword and dagger from the hands of the page, and unsheathing them, held them aloft till the gospel was concluded. This ceremony was a relic of the ancient custom (which had fallen into disuse before the close of the sixteenth century) of the knights to draw their swords during the reading of the gospel, as a token of their readiness to fight in its behalf. When the host was elevated, the standard-bearer knelt and embraced his banner, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, it was borne to the chapel of Our Lady of Victory, built by La Valette, after which it was again taken to the palace, accompanied by the Grand-Master. On the occasion of this festival, ten young women received a dowry of forty crowns each from the treasury. Upon its vigil

a solemn mass was celebrated for the repose of the souls of those who had fallen in the siege. Visits were on that day paid to the tomb of La Valette in the crypt of the church, as well as to that of a Spaniard named Don Melchior de Robles, who had greatly distinguished himself at the post of Castile, and fell gloriously at that point. Although not a member of the Order, a monument was erected to his memory by the Grand-Master Raphael Cottoner, in the chapel of the *langue* of Auvergne.

During the afternoon of this vigil, the 7th September, the ceremony of uncovering the celebrated picture of Our Lady of Philermo took place. This relic has been frequently mentioned in previous pages, and it maintained its ancient renown to the last. When L'Isle Adam left Rhodes he carried it away with him, and on the arrival of the Order at Malta it was placed in the church of St. Laurence. On the completion of St. John's cathedral it was removed thither, and lodged in a magnificent chapel prepared for its reception. Until 1598 it remained always covered with a thick veil, but in that year it was for the first time exposed to view on the festival of the Virgin, and for long afterwards continued to be uncovered on that day only. Latterly it remained constantly visible, but in order to preserve the old custom, a transparent veil was placed over it. This was solemnly withdrawn by the Grand-Master, in presence of the members of his council, on the evening of the 7th September, and replaced at sunset on the following day.

The other ceremonial to which allusion has been made, was the exposure to public adoration of the hand of St. John the Baptist. This precious relic, which was given to the Grand-Master D'Aubusson by the sultan Bajazet, had been brought from Rhodes by L'Isle Adam, and was deposited by La Cassière in a chapel of St. John's church called the Oratory. It was enclosed in a magnificent silver *custode*, or casket, secured by eight locks, one of the keys of which was deposited in the hands of the Grand-Master in his capacity of Turcopolier, the other seven being held by the remaining conventual bailiffs. On the vigil of the feast of St. John these keys were all collected by the master of the horse, who, in the presence of the Grand-Master

and council, opened the *custode*. The prior of the church then took the relic with great state to the high altar, where it remained throughout the next day, except whilst being carried in procession. The hand itself was contained in a gold reliquary richly studded with diamonds and pearls. It also bore a magnificent diamond ring, presented to it by the grand-prior of Burletta.

It was contrary to etiquette for the Grand-Master to pay any visits; this rule was seldom broken, and then only on most important occasions. He was, however, sufficiently gallant to pay a visit of congratulation to the three convents of St. Ursula, St. Catherine, and St. Magdalen, both at Christmas and Easter. He also called upon the Benedictine nuns of the Città Vittoriosa, when he took formal possession of that city upon assuming the magisterial dignity. He was bound to inspect the Hospital of the fraternity periodically, and on these occasions he tied an apron round his waist and personally distributed the portions of food to each patient. He was supposed in this manner to fulfil his duties as a knight Hospitaller.

Should the Grand-Master fall dangerously ill, the prior of the church was informed of the fact, and the host was brought into the palace. During this time the great bell of St. John's church tolled forth at intervals; and, as the palace was not far from the church, the dying chief could plainly hear his own passing bell. After his death the body was embalmed, and lay in state until the burial. The funeral procession was thus formed:—First the governor of the city, followed by the battalion of guards, with drums and fifes playing a dirge; then the clergy of the island according to their respective grades; after them the corpse, borne by the senior knights of justice, the conventual bailiffs holding the pall, and four pages with standards surrounding the coffin; then followed the officers of the household, the grand-crosses, and other dignitaries, the procession being closed by the members of the Order and the public generally. The funeral service over and the body lowered into its last resting-place, the seneschal advanced, and breaking his wand of office, threw it upon the coffin, exclaiming, "Gentlemen, our Master is dead." The master of the horse followed in the same manner, breaking the spurs of the deceased, and after him the treasurer, who

threw a purse into the grave. With these incidents the service closed. All the details of these ceremonials have been taken from a manuscript work now in the public library of Malta, drawn up in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and purporting to lay down, by authority, all necessary rules for the etiquette of the Magisterial court.

The Grand-Master had the right, should he desire it, of naming a lieutenant to whom he might delegate such of his functions as, from age or disinclination, he was unwilling to exercise in person. This nomination rested entirely with himself, the council merely receiving intimation of the fact. It was customary for him, whenever he fell seriously ill, to appoint a lieutenant, whose authority lasted until either his recovery or his death. Some, however, named lieutenants in permanency, to relieve them of all the more onerous duties of government, retaining in their own hands only such authority as was necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. As an example of the petty squabbles fomented by the ecclesiastics, it may be mentioned that to the lieutenant was allotted a seat in St. John's church, above the seneschal, and with a carpet. The bishop, to whom also was allotted a seat above the seneschal, had no carpet. Being unwilling to admit the precedence of the lieutenant, even in this trifling matter, he never attended church when such a functionary was present.

The navy was under the command of the bailiff of Auvergne as grand-marshal, the bailiff of Italy being the second in command with the title of grand-admiral. These two dignitaries had charge of the land forces as well as the navy; indeed, the two services were so mixed up that it would be difficult to draw any line between them except that neither the militia of the island nor the battalion of the guard served on board ship. The other troops were used indiscriminately ashore or afloat as they were required. Every knight, during his residence at Malta, was bound to complete four caravans, which involved cruises at sea of at least three months in each caravan. During this time he was attached to one of the battalions either of the galleys or ships. As the two above-named dignitaries (the grand-marshal and the grand-admiral) held their offices *ex officio* as heads of their respective *langues*, the actual duty of

governance and superintendence of the navy would often have been but ill-performed had it been left solely to them. An officer was consequently selected who, whilst subordinate to their authority, had the real control in all naval questions. This knight was called the general of the galleys. He was elected by the council after ballot, on the nomination of the Grand-Master. That body thus possessed the power of veto only. The general of the galleys was always a grand-cross. If he had not attained that dignity prior to his appointment, it was at once conferred upon him.

As soon as his election was decided, the newly-appointed general named an officer to serve under him as commander of the capitan-galley, or flagship. This appointment was decided in the same manner as his own, the nomination resting with him, and the veto with the council. He also appointed a *padrone*, or sub-officer, to his galley, who, in case of a vacancy whilst cruising, would succeed to the post of captain. The general of the galleys was invested with absolute authority on board his fleet when at sea. He had uncontrolled power of life and death over the crews, and was permitted to suspend any officer from duty, even though appointed directly by the council. He received the title of excellency when absent from the convent, as well from members of the fraternity as from strangers, and had also the privilege, when attending the council, of appearing in red with sword and cane, whilst all the other members were robed in the "*cloccia*," or black mantle of the Order, and were not permitted either a weapon or stick when in the council hall.

Until near the latter end of the seventeenth century the fleet consisted exclusively of galleys. It was with a navy thus composed that the knights earned that brilliant reputation which gained for them the supremacy of the Mediterranean, with the privilege that the flag of every other nation upon those waters saluted theirs. Even Louis XIV., a monarch most unyielding in questions of ceremony and precedence, admitted the right of the Hospitaller galleys to a salute from his vessels. About the close of the above-named century, an addition was gradually made of vessels of other types. These eventually became sufficiently numerous to warrant a division in the

organization and duties of the marine force, as also in its superintendence. For this purpose an officer was appointed in the same manner as the general of the galleys, whose title was commandant of the ships and lieutenant-general of the galleys. He was, as the name infers, subordinate to the general, and when that officer was present the direction of the ships as well as of the galleys was in his hands. As, however, the two rarely acted together, the commandant usually enjoyed complete power. He was not necessarily a grand-cross, but should he be one, he was accorded the same privilege as his chief, of appearing at council in red with sword and stick. The control of these two branches of the navy was vested in two boards, named respectively the congregation of the galleys and that of the ships. The former, which was the most important, was composed of the conventual bailiff of Italy as grand-admiral (or his lieutenant), the general of the galleys, and four commissioners, knights of the four nations; these were France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. The other board, which was subordinate, was presided over by a grand-cross, deputed to that duty by the council, together with the commandant of the vessels and four commissioners, also knights of the four nations. The number of galleys varied greatly according to circumstances. During the warlike times of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had been very numerous. Of later years they gradually dwindled, until at length only four were left. The fleet of ships had at first consisted of three, to which a fourth was afterwards added, and eventually, besides these, three frigates were also built.

It has been pointed out that the supreme control of the naval and military forces being under the conventual bailiffs of Auvergne and Italy *ex officio*, it was found necessary to appoint a skilled officer under them to undertake the actual duties. In the same way, we find that, although the conventual bailiff of Castile was grand-chancellor, the most important and responsible portion of the duties attached to that office was performed by the vice-chancellor; this officer becoming, in fact, the secretary of state to the Order. He was in the first instance selected by the grand-chancellor. That official was not restricted in his choice to the members of any particular *langue*,

still, being himself either a Castilian or a Portuguese, he generally appointed a knight of one of those nationalities for the post. The name thus chosen was submitted to the Grand-Master for approval, and he laid it before the council, where the candidate was balloted for. The vice-chancellor was not necessarily a grand-cross, but usually had attained that dignity. Indeed, the emoluments and patronage of the office were so considerable that it was much sought after, even by knights of the highest position. It is undoubted that in the roll of Grand-Masters several may be found who had attained that position solely from the great facilities they had enjoyed of ingratiating themselves with the electors whilst holding the office of vice-chancellor.

We also find the bailiff of Aragon, as grand-conservator, relieved of the most arduous of his duties by the conventual conservator. The seven *langues* took it in turn to supply the holder of this office, the tenure of which was for three years. Six months before the expiration of each term the bailiff of the *langue* whose turn it was to supply the next vacancy, submitted to the Grand-Master a list of such of his members as he considered most eligible for the post. Grand-crosses were not admitted into the number, but in the event of the conventual conservator attaining that dignity during his term of office, he nevertheless retained his position until the three years had expired. The Grand-Master selected from the list whoever he chose, and submitted the name to the council, with whom, as in all the cases before mentioned, the power of veto rested. The duties of the conservator embraced the taking charge of all gold and silver, whether plate or jewellery, left by a knight at his death, either at the convent or in any of the provincial commanderies. He held the treasury chest, and all payments therefrom were made by him. In fact, all the pecuniary transactions of the Order passed through his hands. Although he had no seat in the ordinary council unless he were a grand-cross, he was admitted into the complete council by virtue of his office.

The revenues of the Order were controlled by a committee called the *camera*, or chamber of the treasury. This consisted of the bailiff of Provence, the grand-commander, as president,

three procurators, one of whom was appointed by the Grand-Master, and the other two by the council, the conventual conservator, two auditors, and two secretaries. In the absence of the grand-commander, his lieutenant took his place. No discussion could be carried on without the presence of one of them; they could, therefore, at any time close a debate by the mere act of leaving the chair. The revenues of the Order consisted of the following items, whence its ordinary income was derived:—

1. *Responsions*.—The nature of these payments has already been fully explained; the proportion to the rental of each commandery, and consequently of each grand-priory, had been fixed by chapter-general; but in the event of war, or other pressing necessity, power had been reserved to the council to raise the amount. It was usually fixed at about one-third of the net income of the commandery.

2. *Mortuary and Vacancy*.—Whenever a commander died, the entire net revenue of his commandery, from the day of his death till the 1st of May following, was paid into the treasury. This was termed the *mortuary*. The revenue of the next year was also devoted to the same use, and was termed the *vacancy*. Whenever the finances of the Order required extra support, a second year's *vacancy* was appropriated to its aid. During the last century of its existence at Malta, this additional tax became permanent.

3. *Passages*.—This was a sum paid to the treasury by candidates for admission into the Order. It was of two kinds, the majority and the minority. The amounts payable had varied greatly at different times. During the eighteenth century the majority *passage* which was paid by knights at the age of sixteen, or by pages at the age of twelve, was £100; a chaplain paid £80; a servant-at-arms (or esquire) £92. Donats, or brothers *d'étage* paid £26 8s. The minority passage was an increased rate paid for the privilege of entering the Order at an earlier age than laid down by law. It was originally devised in the middle of the seventeenth century, as a means of raising money to build additional accommodation for the convent at Malta. It was, however, never appropriated to that use, and gradually became a recognized and continuous source of revenue. Its amount for the first class was £388, and for either of the two other classes £330.

4. *Spoils*.—This consisted of the produce of the effects of a deceased knight, which fell to the treasury, except only one-fifth part, which, with the sanction of the Grand-Master, the owner was permitted to dispose of by will.

5. *Priory Annates and Priory Presents*.—These were trifling items. The former consisted of the first year's revenue of a commandery, the nomination to which was made by the grand-prior, who had that privilege once in each five years. The latter was the commutation of the gift which every grand-prior was bound to make to St. John's church once at least during his tenure of office. The commutation had been fixed at £40 for priories of the first class, and £32 for the smaller ones. It also included gifts by knights.

6. *Timber*.—The timber on every commandery belonged to the treasury, and was paid direct thereto when sold. At one time this item realized a large annual amount, but it fell off very considerably during the latter days of the Order's existence.

7. *Renounced pensions*.—Many commanderies were encumbered with pensions. These were subject to the *vacancy* and *mortuary* like the general revenue of the commandery. In order to avoid the inconvenience of the loss of two years' pension on every vacancy, many of the pensioners commuted the loss by the annual payment of ten per cent. of their pensions to the treasury, thereby insuring the continuous payment of the remainder in spite of vacancies.

8. *Rents*.—This item arose from property held in Malta.

9. *Foundations*.—Various foundations had at different times been established by members towards the maintenance of the Hospital, fortifications, galleys, etc., and as in process of time the funds allotted to this purpose became no longer sufficient to meet the end proposed, the treasury undertook the cost, receiving the amount of the foundations in part payment.

10. *Sundries*.—These consisted of *lazaretto dues*, *ransom of Turkish slaves*, *fees for permission to eat eggs and butter in Lent*, *interest on money lent*, *secret restitution money*, and other trifling payments, none of which require special description.

It is difficult to form any opinion as to the totals of these various items, the records not being such as to shew them. The following was the annual amount averaged in the last decade

of the residence of the Order in Malta, of which the figures are forthcoming, as given by the commander Ransijat:—

1. Responsions	£47,520
2. Mortuary and Vacancy	21,470
3. Passages	20,334
4. Spoils	24,755
5. Priory annates and presents... ..	723
6. Timber	4,798
7. Renounced pensions	161
8. Rents	3,428
9. Foundations	8,986
10. Sundries	4,300

—making a total of £136,475. The reader may perhaps be inclined to smile at the idea of a revenue as small as this. It must, however, be borne in mind that these figures only represent the amount available for expenditure at Malta, and even then without including the civil list of the Grand-Master, which was derived direct from the commanderies. It will be seen that the whole of the provincial property of the Order only contributed £47,000 to the exchequer. This was the balance available for that purpose after the due maintenance of all the members of the fraternity not at the convent, including the provincial dignitaries. The gross income of the fraternity must probably have reached nearly a million sterling.

The European property was divided in the following manner:—

The *langue* of Provence consisted of the two grand-priories of St. Gilles and Toulouse and the bailiwick of Manosque. The grand-priory of St. Gilles contained fifty-three, and that of Toulouse thirty commanderies.

The *langue* of Auvergne consisted of the grand-priory of Auvergne and the bailiwick of Lyons, the priory containing fifty-two commanderies.

The *langue* of France consisted of the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne, the first containing fifty-eight, the second thirty-one, and the third twenty-four commanderies.

The *langue* of Italy comprised seven grand-priories and five

bailiwicks. The priories were Lombardy, containing thirty-six commanderies, Rome nineteen, Venice twenty-eight, Pisa sixteen, Capua twenty, Burletta twelve, and Messina eleven. The bailiwicks were St. Euphemia, St. Stephen, Holy Trinity of Venousa, St. John of Naples, and St. Sebastian.

The *langue* of Aragon comprised the three grand-priories of Aragon (commonly called the castellany of Emposta), Catalonia, and Navarre. The first was divided into thirty commanderies, the second into twenty-nine, and the third into eighteen. There were also the bailiwicks of Majorca and Caspa, and the alternate patronage with the *langue* of Castile to the bailiwick of Negropont.

The *langue* of Germany comprised the three grand-priories of Germany, Bohemia, and Dacia, or Hungary, containing between them fifty-six commanderies.

The *langue* of Castile and Portugal was divided into the three grand-priories of Castile, Leon, and Portugal, containing between them seventy-five commanderies.

The *langue* of England was, as will be hereafter described, combined with that of Bavaria, under the title of Anglo-Bavaria, in the year 1782. Although coupled in name with England, it was practically exclusively Bavarian. Its two grand-priories of Ebersberg and Poland were divided into twenty-nine and thirty-two commanderies respectively. It had also the bailiwick of Neuberg.

It will thus be seen that the European property of the Order contained nearly seven hundred distinct estates, each of which maintained several members of the fraternity, afforded a liberal income to its commander, and contributed its quota to that of its grand-prior. The balance only, after all this had been extracted from its resources, fell to the treasury of Malta.

Having dealt with the question of revenue, it will be well to give a brief glance at the expenditure, which may be classed as under:—

1. *Embassies*.—This charge not only included the salaries of the envoys themselves, but also of their secretaries and establishments. Once more taking the figures of Ransijat, we find the annual charge under this head averaged the sum of £3,800.

2. *Receivers*.—As already stated, the Order had found it necessary, from an early time, to appoint special receivers, whose duty it was to collect and remit to the treasury the responsions as they fell due from the commanderies and priories. Including travelling and law expenses, they figured in the estimates for £6,600.

3. *Churches*.—The expenses connected with the conventual churches of St. John, St. Anthony, and the Conception amounted to £1,160.

4. *Alms*.—A sum of £1,700 was expended under this head.

5. *Hospitals*.—The grand Hospital, the hospital for women, and the foundling establishment were maintained at a joint cost of £10,400.

6. *Navy*.—The charge under this head was £47,500, which was thus divided: galleys, £22,500; ships, £23,600; and other charges, £1,400.

7. *Land Forces*.—The land forces cost £17,000, of which the Maltese regiment took £12,600; the artillery, £1,000; the staff £280; the ordnance, £1,500; the fortifications, £1,300; sundry other minor amounts making up the balance. In considering the charges for both navy and land forces, it must be remembered that they were officered by knights, and that nothing accrued for the pay or maintenance of these. Also that dock-yard work and repairs to fortifications were carried out at very slight cost by the labour of the slaves who swarmed in the island.

8. *Table money*.—The tables kept at the *auberges* cost the Order £5,400, which sum included the £600 allowed to the Grand-Master for his own table. It will be remembered that the conventual bailiffs drew an allowance or ration for each person entitled to dine at the table of the *auberge*. The sum here charged formed but a small part of the actual cost of the tables; the remainder came from the bailiffs themselves.

9. *Offices*.—The expenses of the treasury and of the chancery amounted to £1,050.

10. *Slaves*.—The maintenance and clothing of the slaves, when employed on shore, cost nearly £3,000, exclusive of those who, having embraced Christianity, were kept separately, and were supported at an expense averaging about £1,000. About

£500 a year was also spent in the purchase of slaves from members of the Order.

11. *Aqueducts*.—The maintenance of the public aqueducts, cisterns, fountains, etc., caused a charge of £300.

12. *Postage*.—The postage of letters for those persons who were exempted from such payments, cost the treasury £2,000. The persons thus privileged were the Grand-Master, his receiver-general, his three secretaries, the inquisitor, the members of the ordinary chamber, six in number, the commissioner of the post-office, and all the ambassadors of the Order resident at foreign courts.

13. *Pensions*.—The pension list, chargeable to the treasury, varied greatly at different periods. At the close of the eighteenth century it had been reduced to £1,100.

14. *Loans*.—The interest of loans contracted by the fraternity amounted to £5,000. This interest was at different rates, commencing at 2 per cent., and rising to $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, up to 3 per cent., which was the highest paid for any loan.

15. *Stores*.—The establishment for stores was chargeable to the amount of £18,000.

There were also sundry minor charges which swelled the total to a sum ranging between £120,000 and £130,000, thus nearly balancing the income.

The next point of interest in connection with the Order was its Hospital establishment, and as regards this it will be necessary to enter into some detail. As the fraternity originally owed its existence to the Hospitaller functions established by the charitable merchants of Amalfi, and as it was to the exercise of hospitality they owed their name, it was but natural that it should take a high place amongst the duties inculcated by their statutes. We find it thus spoken of under the heading of Hospitality:—"It is very certain that by common consent of all Christian people, hospitality holds the first place amongst works of piety and humanity as that which embraces all others. If, therefore, it be thus observed and revered by all well-disposed persons with such zealous care, how much the rather ought those to practise it, who honour themselves with the title of knights Hospitaller, and who wish to be regarded as such? Since the thing of all others which we ought to

desire should be to carry into full effect that of which we bear the name."

In accordance with the views thus laid down, the earlier chiefs of the fraternity spared no pains and no expense to render themselves entitled to the name they had assumed. Even in the midst of the bloody wars in which the Order found itself constantly involved, and at times when its reverses had almost threatened its utter annihilation, the doors of the convent were ever open for the reception of the worn and weary wanderer, and the pilgrim found there a ready welcome. Should his health have given way under the hardships and toil to which he had been exposed, he received within the walls of this charitable institution every care and attention that Christian benevolence could suggest. The knight returned from his deeds of daring on the battle-field, and regardless of the renown which he and his brethren had there gained, doffed his harness, laid aside his trusty sword, and assuming the peaceful black mantle of his Order, proceeded to devote himself to those acts of charity which were ever being carried on within his convent walls.

As long as the brethren remained in Palestine did this state of things continue. During that period they had amassed from the donations and bequests of the pious enormous and ever-increasing wealth. This had undoubtedly brought in its train many evils and much degeneracy. It had made them many bitter enemies, and rendered indifferent many of their warmest friends; still, we never hear among the numerous crimes laid to their charge, even by the most rancorous of their foes, that of negligence in the fundamental obligation of their profession. After their expulsion from Palestine, no doubt, a change took place; established in the island of Rhodes, the great demand which had once existed for this charity and hospitality fell off. There were no longer sick and weary pilgrims to cheer on their way; the requirements of their Hospital in the island home they had adopted soon became only what the slender population in the midst of which they were living demanded. Thus we find the noble establishment, which in previous ages had called forth the enthusiastic admiration of all Christians in the Holy Land, dwarfed down to a very limited charity. Members of the

fraternity, and indeed strangers of every description, could still, when sick, procure needful assistance from the Hospital of the Order, and care was taken to render that service as perfect and convenient as possible. It will be remembered that a description of its present condition has already been given, as quoted from Newton, in Chapter XII. This shews that it was but a pigmy affair compared with the comprehensive and extensive establishment the knights had originally reared within the precincts of the sacred city.

The translation of the fraternity to Malta produced no great change in this respect. Mindful of their old traditions, one of their earliest measures, when establishing their convent upon the rocky islets of their new home, was to found a Hospital. There was already existing at Città Vecchia a small establishment, which doubtless sufficed for the limited wants of the island population prior to their advent. This was at once adapted to suit their temporary requirements. It was afterwards entirely rebuilt by the Grand-Master Manoel de Vilhena. In addition to that Hospital they founded another in the Bourg. This building exists, and is now part of the monastery of St. Scholastica, the chapel being still used for ecclesiastical purposes. On it is the date 1533, with the arms of L'Isle Adam. It must therefore have been completed within three years after the arrival of the Order in the island.

On the transfer of the *chef-lieu* of the convent to Valetta, the main Hospital followed it. The selection of the new site was most unwise, being at the lower extremity of the promontory of Mount Seeberras, not far from the fort of St. Elmo, where it is sheltered from all the cooler breezes, and exposed to the south-east or scirocco wind, which, in Malta, is most trying and deleterious to the sick. It has received the unqualified condemnation of modern sanitary scientists, and although we do not look for the same knowledge in the sixteenth century as now prevails still it does seem strange that such elementary errors should have been committed in the selection of a site, the more so when it is remembered that the city was as yet unbuilt, and therefore any part of the entire promontory available. The Barrack and Hospital Commission of 1863 thus reports on the matter:—"The hospital is situated on the south-east side of

Valetta, close to the great harbour. The site is the lowest on that side of the town, and all the ground falls towards it. There is an apparent advantage of position derived from the proximity of some of the sick wards to the sea, but in a climate like that of Malta, where sanitary condition depends so much on the nature of the winds, this advantage is neutralized and converted into a disadvantage by the circumstance that all healthy winds are cut off from the building partly by its bad construction, partly by its being enclosed on three sides by a densely-packed neighbourhood of lofty houses. (This latter objection may probably not have been foreseen when the site was originally selected.) Also because the lofty works of St. Elmo intervene between the site of the hospital and the north and north-westerly winds, which are the really healthy ones. The only wind that blows directly on the sick wards is the scirocco, a well-known cause of indisposition at Malta, and the effect of which is immediately perceived by the sick. The site is hence exposed only to unhealthy winds, and at all other times there is more or less stagnation of air about it, unless there is stormy weather." This building, which has been used by the military as a hospital ever since the island was transferred to England, remains very much what it was when originally constructed. It consists of two squares or courts, one on a much lower level than the other. The far side of the lower square is prolonged in one direction until it reaches a length of upwards of 500 feet, with a width of thirty-five feet. One of the other sides of the square is also a single ward, at right angles to this. The lower square with the long ward was probably the first portion of the Hospital constructed. The Rev. W. Bedford, in his preface on the Great Hospital at Valetta, says:—"The first erection seems to have been the great hall, now divided by partitions, which do not reach more than half its height, but containing under one roof a room 503 feet long, 34 feet 10 inches broad, and 30 feet 6 inches high. The beams of the roof appear to be red deal, although common report states Sicilian chesnut to be the wood employed in their construction. The apartment at right angles also formed part of the same great hall, though now divided by another partition of about twelve feet in height. There seems to have been a communica-

tion with the sea by means of a vaulted passage, a portion of which, cut off by rough masonry, was brought to light last spring during the sewerage excavations. At the end of this large apartment is a small oratory, and there are traces of an altar, above which now hangs a large picture, representing the reception of the hand of St. John by the Grand-Master D'Aubusson. All down the wall on the sea side of the apartment are little recesses, which were used as latrines in former days. The windows were high and small, so that the apartment was (and is even with its additional windows) very dull and somewhat close. The dreariness of the room was relieved in former times by tapestries and pictures, the work of Matteo Preti and others. To those who look at sanitation with the eyes of the seventeenth century there is nothing but admiration to be given to the costly, nay lavish, arrangements and service of the hospital. The buildings were extended in 1662, and again by the Grand-Master Perellos in 1712. In Perellos' time also the chapel of the Holy Sacrament was erected opposite the ward for the dying."

Such was the Hospital of the Order in Malta. It now remains to discuss the statutes relating to its maintenance. Supreme in its governance was the conventual bailiff of the *langue* of France, who held, *ex officio*, the post of grand-hospitaller. He nominated from amongst the knights of his own *langue* an overseer of the infirmary, under whose immediate charge the whole institution was placed. The statutes thus define his duties:—"The infirmarian is a professed knight, to whose zeal the care of the sick is intrusted, for whom he must provide beds according to their condition and need. He resides in a separate apartment in the infirmary. Early in the morning he has the bell rung for the visitation, at which he is present to see that the sick are carefully attended by the physicians, and that what is necessary is ordered for them. The time for dining arrived, he has the dinner bell rung to summon all the officials, and he is present to make sure that each bed is supplied with the proper allowance, and that each of the subordinates does his duty. He does the same in the evening at the visitation and supper. Above all, he must have perfect quietness observed, and therefore he must often visit the wards by night, to see after

the ward keepers, lights, etc. It is his duty to see that the doors and great gate of the Hospital are locked at the usual hour at night, and to take care that all the officers on duty have retired."

The religious functions of the establishment were performed by a prior, a vice-prior, and eight priests of obedience. Of these the vice-prior was always a native of Malta. A Greek pope also received an annual gratuity to administer the sacrament to such of the sick as belonged to the Greek church. The medical staff consisted of three physicians, two assistant-physicians, three surgeons, two assistant-surgeons, a lecturer on anatomy, and six medical students called "*barberotti*;" also a barber-surgeon for phlebotomy, and an experienced female nurse for cases of scurvy. The physicians and surgeons were each on duty for one month in three, residing during that time in the Hospital. The assistants were also on duty each alternate month. The statutes lay down that "Physicians shall be employed for the cure of the sick, experienced and talented, who shall be bound to take a vow before the eight brethren of the *langues* that they will watch over the sick with great care and according to the prescribed rules of medical science; that they will visit them twice daily; that they will order such things as are necessary for their cure, and will do everything without delay in spite of all obstacles. They shall receive their salaries from the funds of the common treasury, and are strictly forbidden to receive any remuneration for their services from the sick."

As a committee of inspection over all these officials, the Grand-Master in council appointed two "*prud'hommes*," or controllers of the infirmary, who were held responsible for its proper management. Their duties were thus laid down:—"They must attend to the wants of the sick, looking after the quality and quantity of the allowances, the distribution of the medicines and all necessary provisions and food. They must also note the daily expenses and consumption of articles in the infirmary, signing with their own hand the vouchers for payments. They assist with daily alms many poor incurables who are incapable of providing for themselves, and distribute to others, in addition to what remains in the cauldrons, a large quantity of soup and macaroni which is cooked expressly every day. They also give away

to poor women old sheets and coverlets, as well as bandages and crutches to cripples." Among the inferior officials were a secretary to the "*prud'hommes*," a "clerk of the habit," or steward, a "*linciere*" to take charge of the linen and furniture, a "*botte-gliere*" for the wine, bread, oil, etc., two cooks, one purveyor, and fourteen ward servants. Also an "*armoriere*," who had charge of all the silver plate. This latter was considerable in quantity, most of the utensils being of that metal, less as a matter of ostentation than of cleanliness. The following list shows of what the plate of the hospital consisted in the early part of the eighteenth century:—250 bowls, 356 dishes, 1 large dish, 167 cups, 3 large basins, 12 basins, 256 spoons, 10 large spoons, 10 forks, 43 quart measures, 4 drinking cups, 1 drinking vessel, 1 casket, 13 lamps, 8 pots in sizes, 4 jugs, 1 salver. The whole weighed nearly 15,000 ounces. The following is a list of the wards:—

A ward for knights and members of the Order.

Two good rooms for the wounded of the Order.

A ward for laity, priests, and pilgrims.

A large ward for fevers and other mild cases.

A small ward for very serious cases, and for the dying.

A ward for those suffering from dysentery, and for lithotomy cases.

A ward for the wounded not of the Order.

A large ward for galley slaves.

A ward for maniacs.

Two wards for patients undergoing mercurial treatment.

A ward for those who take hot baths outside the infirmary.

In every ward a chapel was fitted for the celebration of mass, in addition to the chapel of the Holy Sacrament.

The beds numbered 370 with curtains, and 375 without curtains; total, 745. The average total of sick in the hospital was about 400 at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

For the comfort of the invalids in winter, the walls of the wards were hung with woollen curtains (evidently in utter ignorance of all sanitary knowledge). In summer these were taken down, and pictures placed on the walls, "representing the history of the Holy Religion." There were eighty-five of such pictures. The regulations about food were as follow:—"The

‘*prud’hommes*’ look after the good quality of the materials used in the preparation of the food, selecting always the best of everything. The sick, therefore, are given the best soup made of fowls, herbs, vermicelli, rice, etc., and every sort of meat that had been ordered for them, such as chicken, pigeons, poultry, beef, veal, game, hashes, fricassees, stews, sausages, etc., in such quantities as are necessary; also fresh eggs, pomegranates, plums, and grapes, and every kind of refreshment allowed to sick people, such as biscuits, apples, fruit, sugar, and all sorts of confectionery, each one according to his wants. Members of the Order receive a double portion.”

The following regulation shewed that the duties of the Hospital were considered incumbent on all members:—“The training of the brethren of the Order prescribes religious hospitality; therefore, at the dinner hour, they must come to wait on the sick, and bring to their beds the portions prescribed for them from the place where the food is issued, and if the sick do not fancy what has been prepared for them, they exchange it with the sanction of the physician. They must also warm up the portions, and render all necessary assistance. But as all being present together might create confusion, each *langue* has a day assigned to it for the service of the Hospital.

“Sunday for the *langue* of Provence.

“Monday for that of Auvergne.

“Tuesday for that of France.

“Wednesday for that of Italy.

“Thursday for that of Aragon.

“Friday for that of Germany.

“Saturday for that of Castile and Portugal.

“The novices are bound to assist in the Hospital as above, each on the day fixed for his *langue*, and that none may omit such a proper work of charity, a check is kept by the grand-cross, master of the novices and by two commissaries, his colleagues, of different *langues*, who bring with them a clerk to note the names of those who fail to come, so as to admonish them. On Holy Thursday the grand-hospitaller, with all the knights of the *langue* of France, assemble in the room where the sepulchre is represented, and with exemplary charity wash the feet of twelve poor men, to whom large alms are afterwards given.”

The burial of such as died within the establishment was decently and carefully ordered. Four men dressed in mourning robes carried the corpse to the grave, and with a laudable economy, it was especially provided that these robes, which were kept for the purpose, "should be preserved for another time." No mourning was permitted to be worn at the funeral of any member of the fraternity, either by the knights themselves, or even by strangers attending the ceremony. The corpse was buried in the mantle of his Order, as it was considered proper that in his grave he should wear the distinctive costume with which he had been invested during his life.

The regulations proceed :—"Summing up the charities of the Hospital, these will be found considerable for quality and quantity. In the first place, it is the duty of the *prud'hommes* to provide daily allowances to all the poor, blind, lame, leprous, scrofulous people, and other sick persons, which amount at present to 100 scudi a month. Soup and macaroni are distributed morning and evening to the beggars and invalids; and bandages, crutches, sticks, linen, and old coverlets are given away freely to every one. Deserted children are taken in and provided with wet nurses, who receive a monthly allowance, and are also given clothes. If the girls remain till they are grown up, seven of them are settled in marriage every year, receiving fifty scudi as dowry; others are placed in the *conservatorio*, and others in private service. Besides these there are a large number of poor children, left without relations, or unable to be supported by them, who are helped like the foundlings, and eventually sent back to their homes. To the sick of the Capuchins is given as much as they want in the way of food, and also to those of St. Theresa, in the Borgo. All Maronites, Greeks, and pilgrims from the Holy Land are lodged till they embark again. To all missionary Capuchins, Theresians, and Franciscans, bread and eggs are given, and also assistance for the journey both ways. Fifty scudi are also given every year to the poor of Burmola, and in Holy Week, at the supper, various other doles are dispensed. Including all these charities, it is calculated that the expenditure of the Hospital costs the Order 60,000 scudi annually."

The Hospital of St. John had, from its earliest foundation,

been esteemed a sanctuary within which fugitives from justice might escape the fangs of the law. The exceptions to this right of sanctuary became, however, by successive decrees, so numerous that it is difficult to conceive what crimes remained for which it continued to afford shelter. The exceptions were these:—"No assassins shall find protection there, nor those who pillage and ravage the country by night, nor incendiaries, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor conspirators, nor those who have been found guilty of having caused the death of any one, either by secret treachery, or in cold blood, or by poison, or by treason. No servant of any of the brethren shall find sanctuary there, nor those who have offered any violence either to them or to our judges or other ministers of justice, nor debtors, nor such malicious persons as may have committed crimes within the infirmary under an idea that it was a sanctuary; nor, lastly, lawyers or witnesses convicted of perjury, nor murderers who infest the roads to rob and kill the passers by."

It has already been pointed out how objectionable the site of the Hospital was from a sanitary point of view. The internal arrangements evidently were also not all that could be desired. Howard, the philanthropist, in his "*Lazarettos in Europe in 1789*," thus speaks of it: "The pavement is of neat marble or stone squares. The ceiling is lofty, but being wood, now turned black, the windows being small, and the walls hung round with dusty pictures, this noble hall makes but a gloomy appearance. All the patients lie single. One ward is for patients dangerously sick or dying, another for patients of the middle rank of life, and the third for the lower and poorer sort of patients. In this last ward (which is the largest) there were four rows of beds, in the others only two. They were all so dirty and offensive as to create the necessity of perfuming them, and yet I observed that the physician, in going his rounds, was obliged to keep his handkerchief to his face. The use of perfume I always reckon a proof of inattention to cleanliness and airiness; and this inattention struck me forcibly on opening some of the private closets with which this hall is very properly furnished. The patients are twice a day, at eight and four, served with provisions, one of the knights and the under-physician constantly attending in the two halls and seeing the distribution. From

the kitchen, which is darker and more offensive than even the lower hall to which it adjoins, the broth, rice, soup, and vermicelli are brought in dirty kettles, first to the upper hall, and there poured into three silver bowls, out of which the patients are served. Those who are in the ward for the very sick and those of the middle rank of life are served in plates, dishes, and spoons of silver; but the other patients (who are the most numerous) are served on pewter.* I objected to the sweet cakes and two sorts of clammy sweetmeats which were given to the patients. The number of patients who were in this hospital during the time I was at Malta (29th March to 19th April, 1786) was from 510 to 532. These were served by the most dirty, ragged, unfeeling, and inhuman persons I ever saw. I once saw eight or nine of them highly entertained with a delirious dying patient. The slow hospital fever (the inevitable consequence of closeness, uncleanness, and dirt) prevails here."

Such is the description given of the arrangements of the Hospital by a man who was far before his age in all that appertained to sanitary knowledge. No doubt that at the time when Howard made his visit, viz., 1786, matters had greatly degenerated. Discipline had become very lax, and as one of the consequences institutions like the Hospital had been neglected and left to the sole charge of officials, many of whom were very sparing of their time and trouble. Still, with all its faults, and they were faults common to the time and not peculiar to the institution, the Hospital of the Order of St. John was freely open to all who sought its shelter, and the kindly ministrations of its officials. Patients flocked to it from Sicily, Italy, and other countries whose shores were washed by the Mediterranean. None who craved admission were ever turned from its doors, and although many of the arrangements were rough, and its sanitary appliances rude, still they were equal in efficiency to what was usual at that period. They must be judged, not by the knowledge of the nineteenth century, but by that of a former age. Men lived in those

* This remark of Howard's is the result of a misapprehension. A large number of the patients of the hospital were galley slaves, and it was these only who were served on pewter.

times a harder life, and expected less in the way of comfort and luxury than now. They found in the Hospital at Malta certainly as much, and probably far more, care and attention than they would have received elsewhere. It consequently maintained to the last a very high reputation, and reflected great credit on the fraternity.*

* For further details of this Hospital the reader is referred to a work entitled "The Regulations of the old Hospital of the knights of St. John at Valetta," by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford.

CHAPTER XXI.

The punishments of the fraternity—List of prohibitions—Criminal records—
Local government of the Maltese—The bailiwick of Brandenburg.

IN a previous chapter a description has been given of the various tribunals held at the *chef-lieu*, one of which was the criminal council or council of state. The name of this court naturally leads to an account of the crimes and punishments common amongst the fraternity.

The punishments to which a member of the Order was subject were as follow:—First, the *Septaine*. This penalty obliged the offender to fast for seven successive days, on the Wednesday and Friday of which his diet was restricted to bread and water only. He was not permitted to leave his dwelling during the period except for the purpose of attending Divine service. The statutes laid down that on the Wednesday and Friday he was to receive corporal discipline at the hands of a priest (usually the vice-prior) in the conventual church during the recitation of the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri*, etc., but this latter portion of the punishment fell into disuse after the sixteenth century. The *Quarantaine* was similar to the *Septaine*, excepting that it lasted forty consecutive days, the restrictions as to food being the same. In both cases the culprit was forbidden to wear arms. If a more severe measure than either of the above were required, imprisonment was resorted to, no limit in duration being affixed by the statutes. Loss of seniority was another penalty to which offending members were frequently sentenced, and if a still more severe punishment were necessary they were deprived of their habit either for a certain definite time or for ever. The latter sentence was, of course, equivalent to expulsion from the ranks of the fraternity.

No sentence of death was recognized in the code, but if a knight were guilty of a crime so heinous as to require such a penalty he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then being no longer a member of the Order, he was handed over to the civil power, and treated like an ordinary criminal. The records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention several instances of capital punishment which had been inflicted in this manner on quondam members of the fraternity. The method most usually adopted for carrying out the last sentence of the law was borrowed from the Turks, and consisted in fastening up the condemned criminal in a sack, and throwing him alive into the Marsa Muscetto. The application of torture was not expressly authorized by the statutes, but, at the same time, it was nowhere forbidden, and the criminal records show that it was resorted to very frequently for the purpose of extorting confessions from suspected persons. No rank was so elevated as to save a prisoner from this cruel test. It will be remembered that during the second siege of Rhodes the chancellor D'Amaral was subjected to the question in order to elicit a confession of traitorous correspondence on his part, and that this was by no means a solitary instance may be seen by a study of the criminal documents now in the Record Office at Malta.

The eighteenth division of the statutes is devoted to an enumeration of the various acts forbidden to the brotherhood, and the punishments which were to follow their perpetration. No member was to make a testamentary disposition of more than the one-fifth part of his property, the remainder reverting to the public treasury. He was never to become a partisan in the quarrels of secular persons, whether princes or private individuals. He was not to interfere in the administration of justice by interceding for an offending brother. He was not to wander from his commandery, or priory, so as, in the words of the statute, "to make a vagabond of himself." This regulation prevented members from leaving the precincts of their own commanderies or priories, except on good cause shewn, and then only with the written permission of the commander in the case of a simple knight, of the grand-prior in the case of a commander, and of the Grand-Master himself in the case of a grand-prior. Any person connected with the Order

finding an offender against this statute “enacting the vagabond” was bound to secure him and give notice of his imprisonment to the grand-prior under whose jurisdiction he was. The same regulation held good in the convent at Malta.

Members were strictly prohibited from making use of letters of recommendation, either to the Grand-Master or to members of his council, with a view to secure priority of nomination to any office or dignity, under the penalty of the loss of ten years’ seniority. No privateering expeditions against the infidel were permitted without sanction having previously been obtained from the Grand-Master and council. This sanction was, however, always readily granted, and the time spent in such cruises allowed to count as part of the necessary caravans to be fulfilled by each knight during his stay at the convent. No safe conduct was to be given to any infidel or corsair except by the Grand-Master and council, who alone were authorized to establish truces with the natural enemy of the Order. No member was to intermeddle in the wars of Christian princes, or to take any part therein, even on the side of his own native country.

Any member appearing in public without the distinctive dress of his profession—that is, the Cross in white linen sewn upon his robe—was for the first offence to undergo the *quarantaine*, for the second to be imprisoned for three months, and for the third to be stripped of his habit. The following decree was made against turbulence in the *auberges*:—“If any of the brethren behave insolently and in a turbulent manner in the *auberges* where they dine, and if amidst the tumult and noise they break the doors, the windows, the chairs, or the tables, or any articles of that nature, or if they upset or disarrange them with reckless audacity, they shall be punished by the Grand-Master and council in such manner as may be decreed, even to the loss of their seniority. If they conduct themselves still more outrageously, and beat the pages, the servants, or the slaves of the conventual bailiffs, for the first offence, if no blood be spilt, they shall be punished with the *quarantaine*, for the second they shall be imprisoned, and for the third they shall lose two years’ seniority. If, on the other hand, blood shall have been spilt, no matter how slight the wound may have been, for the first offence they shall undergo

six months' imprisonment, and if the wound be serious and dangerous they shall lose seniority. If any member shall insult another in the palace of the Grand-Master, he shall lose three years' seniority if he has it already, or if not, then as soon as he shall have attained it; for an insult in an *auberge* he shall lose two years. If the disputants come to blows they shall be stripped of their habit, and if either party be wounded they shall lose their habit without remission, and if he be killed the survivor shall be handed over to the secular power."

The following are the crimes for which the statutes decreed the loss of habit in perpetuity:—"Those convicted of being heretics, guilty of unnatural offences, assassins, or thieves; those who have joined the ranks of the infidel, amongst whom are to be classed those who surrender our standard or other ensign when it is unfurled in presence of the enemy; also those who abandon their comrades during the fight, or who give shelter to the infidel, together with all who are parties to, or cognizant of so great a treason." Privation of habit for one year was to be inflicted upon any one who, "when under arms, shall have left the ranks to plunder, also upon any one who brings an accusation against another without being able to substantiate his charge." "A knight who has committed a murder shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity and kept in prison in order to prevent others from becoming so hardened as to commit a similar crime, and that the company of our brethren may be quiet and peaceable. Whoever wounds any person treasonably in secret or by *malice prepense* shall lose his habit in perpetuity."

The question of duelling was rather curiously dealt with in the statutes and customs of the Order. It was strictly forbidden by the former, and the severest penalties were attached to any infringement of the law which ran thus:—"To check the impiety of those who, neglecting the safety of their souls, invite others to a duel and expose their bodies to a cruel death, we decree that if one brother provoke another, or if he defy him either by speech or in writing, by means of a second, or in any other manner, and that the one who is called out does not accept the duel, in addition to the penalties decreed by the sacred council, and by the constitution of Gregory XIII. of blessed memory,

the appellant shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity without any remission. If his antagonist accept the challenge, even if neither party appear on the ground, they shall nevertheless both be deprived of their habits without hope of pardon. But should they both have proceeded to the place of assignation, even though no blood should have been spilt, they shall not only be deprived of their habit, but shall afterwards be handed over to the secular power. In addition, we decree that whoever shall have been the cause of any such duel or defiance, or who shall have given either advice, assistance, or counsel, either by word or deed, or who upon any pretence whatever shall have persuaded any one to issue a challenge, if it shall be proved that he accompanied him to act as his second he shall be condemned to lose his habit. The same penalty we likewise attach to those who shall be proved to have been present at a duel, or of having posted or caused to be posted a cartel of defiance in any spot whatever."

The above law relates only to a regular premeditated duel, but brawls and fracas are punished under the following statute:—"If a brother strike another brother, he shall perform a *quarantaine*; if he strike him in such a manner that blood be drawn elsewhere than from the mouth or nose, he shall be stripped of his habit; if he shall have attempted to wound him with a knife, a sword, or a stone, and has not succeeded in doing so, he shall perform a *quarantaine*." This statute was moderated by a subsequent one, passed at a chapter-general during the rule of La Cassière, giving the Grand-Master and council authority to mitigate the rigour of the penalty.

The laws against duelling were, in practice, found to be so severe, and the difficulty of checking the evil so great in a fraternity which embraced in its ranks so many young and hot-headed spirits—men keenly alive to an affront and ever ready to resent it, and who regarded personal courage as the first of all human virtues—that some modification or evasion was absolutely necessary. It became gradually tacitly recognized that duels might be held in a particular locality set apart for the purpose without incurring the above-mentioned penalties. It had been expressly stipulated that no fighting was permitted either upon the ramparts or without the town. There exists,

however, in the town of Valetta, a street so narrow as to be called, *par excellence*, the “Strada Stretta,” and this was the spot marked out as a kind of neutral territory in which irascible cavaliers might expend their superfluous courage without fear of incurring the severer penalties of the law. The fiction which led to this concession was that a combat in this street might be looked upon in the light of a casual encounter—the result of some jostling or collision brought about by the extreme narrowness of the road. The Strada Stretta consequently became eventually the great rendezvous for affairs of honour. The seconds posted themselves one on either side at some little distance from their principals, and, with their swords drawn, prevented the passers-by from approaching the scene until the conflict had been brought to a conclusion. The records of the criminal council in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries teem with entries of stabbing, wounding, and killing, most of which were the result either of premeditated duels or of casual encounters. When they were the former the punishment depended greatly upon whether or not the duel had taken place at the authorized spot, and if so the penalty was comparatively trifling, being either a *quarantaine* or two months’ imprisonment.

The punishment for duelling being thus severe, it was necessary for the statutes to provide some protection to the peaceably disposed from the violence of passion and ill-temper and from the insult of hatred or jealousy. We consequently find the following decree under the head of insults:—“If a brother, in the heat of his anger, whilst quarrelling with another brother, shall make use of insulting language, he shall be punished by the *quarantaine*, even though he shall subsequently admit that he has spoken falsely and shall apologize for the insult. If he shall boldly give him the lie direct, he shall lose two years’ seniority, and if he strike him with a stick or give him a blow with his hand, he shall lose three years.”

The questions of quarrelling and duelling having been disposed of, the statutes proceed to provide against the nuisance to respectable and steady-going householders of midnight revellers disturbing their slumbers. The following regulation proves that fast young men in the middle ages were as great a nuisance to their neighbours, and committed much the same

class of follies, as in the present day :—"Whoever shall enter into the house of a citizen without being invited, and against the wish of the head of the family, or who shall disturb the social gatherings of the people during their festivals, dances, weddings, or other similar occasions, shall lose two years of seniority without hope of pardon; and if, either by day or by night, they do any damage to the doors or windows of the people, then, in addition to the above-named penalties, they shall suffer a rigid imprisonment for as long as may be decreed by the Grand-Master and council. Any member of the Order joining in masquerades or ballets shall suffer loss of seniority." This statute was still further defined by an addition made by the Grand-Master Claude de la Sangle, probably in consequence of the prevalence of the practices alluded to:—"If any one shall be so bold as to damage doors or windows by night, or shall stop them up with plaster or stain them with dirt, or shall throw stones at them, shall lose three years of seniority, leaving it to the discretion of the Grand-Master and council to decree, if they see fit, a severer punishment."

The original profession of a member of the Order of St. John having included the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, the statutes, after having decreed such penalties as were necessary to check any transgression of the two first of these vows, proceeded to deal with the last. The question of chastity was one not so easy to legislate for in an institutions constituted like that of the Hospital. On the one hand, as a religious fraternity devoted to the service of God and the practice of charity and all good works, it was impossible to recognize any license or infraction of the strictest laws of continence and chastity. The monk, in his cloistered retreat, mortifying all sensual appetites by constant fasts and ever-recurring vigils, was not supposed to be more free from earthly passions than the knight of St. John. We all know, however, how widely even the secluded inmates of the monasteries constantly strayed from the strict paths of virtue, and it was not to be anticipated that the members of the military Orders, surrounded as they were with such vastly increased temptations, could have maintained themselves more free from vice and immorality. Even Raymond du Puy, in his original rule,

drawn up at a time when religious enthusiasm and monastic austerity were at their height, dealt with this question somewhat tenderly. He first of all strove to guard his members from temptation. "Whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually protect one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their (the brethren's) hands or their feet, or make their beds, and so may the God that dwelleth on high watch over them in that matter. Amen." Afterwards he deals with the sin when committed, and it will be observed that punishment is awarded not for the commission of the sin, but for the being found out. "If any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flesh, which God forbid, if he have sinned in secret, let him repent in secret, and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance; if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly and beyond contradiction, let him in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged and beaten most severely with thongs or rods by his superior, or by such other brethren as the superior shall depute to perform this duty, and then let him be expelled from our institution. Afterwards, however, if God shall have enlightened his heart, and he shall return to the Hospital, and shall confess himself to have been a guilty sinner, and a transgressor of the laws of God, and shall promise amendment, let him be again received, and a suitable penance be imposed upon him, and for a whole year let him be considered as on his probation, and during this period let the brethren observe his conduct, and afterwards let them act as seems best to them in the matter." If such were the rules made in the first years of the Order's existence, when the monastic element greatly overpowered the secular, we may suppose that, as time went on, more and more latitude was allowed. Composed as the fraternity was of the youth of high and noble families, not secluded, like their predecessors of the days of du Puy, from female society, but mingling with the gayest of either sex, taught to look upon military renown rather than ascetic piety as the rightful adornment of their profession, it was not

to be expected that they would, or even could, act up to the strict letter of the vow they had taken. The statutes of the later times do not, therefore, attempt to forbid a dereliction of chastity; they content themselves with checking all open display of immorality. "It has been very rightly ordained that no member of our brotherhood, of whatever position or rank he may be, shall be permitted to support, maintain, or consort with women of loose character either in their own houses or abroad. If any one, abandoning his honour and reputation, shall be so barefaced as to act in opposition to this regulation, and shall render himself publicly infamous, after having been three times warned by his superior to desist from this vice, we decree, after the expiration of forty days from the date of his first warning, he shall, if a commander, be deprived of his commandery, and if a simple brother of the convent, he shall lose his seniority. If any member of our Order shall be so barefaced as to recognize and publicly to adopt as his own a child who may be born to him from an illegitimate connection (such as is not recognized by law), and attempt to bestow on him the name of his family, we decree that he shall never hold either office, benefice, or dignity in our Order. We further decree that all associates of loose women who may be ranked as incestuous, sacrilegious, and adulterers shall be declared incapable of possessing any property or of holding any office or dignity in our Order. And we designate as an associate of loose women not only those who are notorious evil livers and have had judgment passed on them as such, but also any one who, without sense of shame or fear of God, and forgetting his profession, shall entertain and support a woman of doubtful character, notorious for her bad life and evil conversation, or who shall reside with her constantly."

These statutes were so ambiguously worded, and left so many loopholes for evasion, that it is not surprising they should gradually have become a dead letter. The presence of a large number of women of light character within the convent became a public scandal at a very early period, and many Grand-Masters, even during the residence of the Order at Rhodes, sought by the most rigorous measures to mitigate the evil. Their efforts were, however, fruitless, and as the fraternity lost more and more of the

religious enthusiasm which had stimulated its first members, so did the dissolute conduct of the knights become more outrageously opposed to the principles of their profession. After the successful termination of the siege of Malta had left the brethren in undisputed sovereignty of that island, and had raised their military renown to the highest possible pitch, they appear to have become intoxicated with the admiration they had excited throughout Europe, and throwing off all restraint, to have abandoned themselves to the most reckless debauchery. At this period the city of Valetta was positively teeming with women of loose character. The streets were thronged with the frail beauties of Spain, Italy, Sicily, and the Levant, nor were the dark-eyed houris of Tripoli and Tunis wanting to complete an array of seduction and temptation too strong for aught but a saint to resist. Saints, however, there were but few in the convent in those days, so that the *demireps* and their supporters had it all their own way. We have seen that during the governance of La Cassière the attempt of that Grand-Master to check the evil led to an open revolt, and his own imprisonment, a sentence which was carried into effect amidst the derisive jeers of crowds of flaunting Cyprians whom he had in vain endeavoured, for decency's sake, to banish into the neighbouring casals.

This period may be noted as the worst and most openly immoral epoch in the history of the fraternity. The evil, to a certain extent, brought with it its own remedy, and after a while the knights became themselves scandalized at the notoriety of their licentiousness. Still, the morality at Malta remained at a very low ebb, and up to the latest date of the Order's residence there its society abounded with scandalous tales and sullied reputations. The vice prevalent in the island was probably no more than that of any other locality where the bulk of the population was young and unfettered by the obligations of marriage. The error lay in supposing that a vow of chastity, rendered compulsory upon all seeking admission, could by any possibility act as a check upon the natural depravity of youth, unrestrained as it was in any other manner.

The following extracts from the records of the criminal council during the sixteenth century have been selected as

samples of the various sorts of crimes brought before that tribunal. Many of them were of frequent occurrence, the most constant being those of homicide from duelling and stabbing. Indeed, the entries of these two crimes seem interminable, and mark a most disorderly and quarrelsome spirit. This is, perhaps, not surprising when it is remembered that youths of so many different nations were congregated together, who could ill brook even an idle jest when uttered by a member of a rival *langue*.

Cav. Giugliochico Bois Langue, for the theft of a golden chalice of the value of 360 ducats and other jewels from the sacristy of St. Laurence Church, which he pledged with the Jews, was sentenced, in 1526, to be deprived of his habit in perpetuity.

Cav. Giovanni de Cerdan, for stabbing Cav. Galcerano Torres, was sentenced, in 1531, to be deprived of his habit.

Cav. Galcerano Palan, for deserting from the convent, was sentenced, in 1532, to be deprived of his habit.

Cav. Carlo de Piscie and Cav. Godofredo Regnault, for killing four men in a galley (*vide* Chapter XV.), were sentenced, in 1533, to be deprived of their habits and handed over to the civil power.

Com. d'Orleans and Com. Antonio de Vareques, for being concerned in the same tumult, were sentenced to be simply deprived of their habits.

Cav. Ferncino Cheron, for sacrilege and the theft of pearls and a ring from the chapel of Our Lady of Philermo, was sentenced, in 1536, to be deprived of his habit.

Cav. Pietro de Onaya and Cav. Sanchio Longa, for creating a disturbance during the eve of Christmas day, by disguising themselves as ladies and mixing with the ladies during the midnight mass, were sentenced, in 1536, to be imprisoned until the arrival in Malta of the Grand-Master (D'Omedes).

Clement West, Turcopolier of England, for want of respect to the Grand-Master and council (*vide* Chapter XXII.), was sentenced, in 1539, to be placed in close arrest until the arrival of the Grand-Master (D'Omedes), who added four months to the sentence.

Cav. Pietro Neglia, for breaking into a nunnery in the night time, was sentenced, in 1539, to be banished to Gozo for six months.

The Marshal Gaspar La Vallier, Cav. Simon de Losa, captain of cavalry, Cav. Pietro de Ferrere, treasurer, and Cav. Antonio Fuster, for the loss of Tripoli (*vide* Chapter XVI.), were sentenced, in 1551, to be deprived of their habits, and the marshal to be further handed over to the civil power.

Cav. Oswald Massingberd, for the theft of a slave (Chapter XXII.), was sentenced, in 1552, to be imprisoned for two months.

Cav. Filippo de Arnico, for the theft of a silver salver from the palace of the Grand-Master, was sentenced, in 1553, to be deprived of his habit.

Cav. Alfonso de Madrigal, for the falsification of letters from the Grand-Master, for a sum of 3,050 scudi, was sentenced, in 1554, to be deprived of his habit.

Cav. Emanuel Villaframe, for murder, was sentenced, in 1555, to be deprived of his habit and handed over to the civil power.

Cav. Pietro Dalspone and Cav. Ludovico Marsilla, for stabbing, were sentenced, in 1555, to undergo the *quarantaine*.

Cav. Carlo Fleury, for the rape of Gerolama Olivier, wife of Agostino, was sentenced, in 1555, to imprisonment for one year.

Cav. Giacomo Sandilandes, for suspected theft and sacrilege in the church of St. Antonio, was sentenced to undergo torture till the crime be confessed, and then to be deprived of his habit and handed over to the civil power.

Com. Vincenzo Lobello, for abandoning the convent and entering another Order (just prior to the siege of Malta), was sentenced, in 1565, to be deprived of his commandery.

Cav. Giovanni de Pegna and Cav. Gaspar de Samano, being suspected authors of libels against the Grand-Master (La Valette, *vide* Chapter XIX.), were sentenced, in 1567, to ten years' imprisonment, with immunity to whoever betrays the author.

Cav. St. Clement, for the loss of two galleys to the Turks, (*vide* Chapter XIX.), was deprived of his habit in 1570.

Cav. Antonio Melo, Cav. Emilio Fossati, and Cav. Giovanni Perea, for introducing themselves in disguise and under feigned names to Cav. Giorgio Correa, attacking and treacherously

killing him, were sentenced, in 1577, to be deprived of their habits. This was the first punishment carried into effect in the new conventual church of St. John at Valetta.

Cav. Pompeo Marmillo and Cav. Mugio Delizorri, for passing false money, were sentenced, in 1584, to be deprived of their habits.

Fr. Vincenzo La Monti, priest of obedience, for incest, was sentenced, in 1602, to serve on board the galleys for four years.

Alexander Price, servant-at-arms, for clipping money, was sentenced, in 1609, to be deprived of his habit and handed over to the civil power.

Cæsar Russo, servant-at-arms, for becoming a Moslem, was deprived of his habit in 1611.

Sister Mary Grazia Grisoni, of the Order of St. John at Florence, for poisoning Sister Porgia de Bartolini of the same Order, was sentenced, in 1583, to be deprived of her habit and handed over to the civil power.

Of course in some instances these punishments were mere formal decrees, the delinquents being out of reach at the time. Whenever the conduct of a member once professed became such as to render him unworthy to continue on the roll, he was, as a matter of form, arraigned before the council and stripped of his habit, even though he had previously absconded.

Before the islands of Malta and Gozo fell into the possession of the Order through the act of donation granted by Charles V., they had been an appanage of the Spanish monarchy, and attached to the viceroyalty of Sicily. Their local government had consisted of a *hakem*, or governor, who was commandant of the military within the islands, and intrusted with ample power to maintain public tranquillity. Under him were four *giurati*, who acted as a council on all questions of finance, and two *catapani* for all matters relating to food, the bulk of which was imported from Sicily. An officer, called *il secreto*, received the duties payable on imports, and another, called *il portolano*, was the superintendent of the harbours. Once a year an assembly, or parliament, was convened, which was divided into the three classes of nobles, clergy, and commons. This assembly prepared lists of

candidates for the various above-mentioned offices, the viceroy selecting from such lists the persons by whom they were to be filled.

When the Order of St. John superseded the government of the emperor, the leading features of the former administration were retained. The assembly, it is true, soon became a dead letter, and the nomination to the various offices was made direct by the Grand-Master in council; still the selection was invariably from among the Maltese, and their ancient customs and privileges were interfered with as little as possible. Their code of laws remained in force, and was recognized by the fraternity, the duty of carrying it into effect being left almost entirely in the hands of the inhabitants. There were three legal courts, each presided over by a native judge, the first for criminal causes, the second for civil causes, and the third for appeals from the other two. A knight was appointed to preside over the entire department, which was called the castellany, but he in no way interfered with the administration of justice. He was replaced every second year by a fresh nomination. No member of the Order was, as such, amenable to the native tribunals, but in cases where the crime rendered it advisable that he should be punished by the sentence of those courts, he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then handed over to their jurisdiction as a secular person.

Throughout the residence of the knights in the island, a broad line of demarcation was drawn between themselves and the native population. The Maltese had always been a highly aristocratic community, many of their families having been ennobled at a very remote period, and the whole power of government was vested in the hands of this upper class. No more exclusive or oligarchical a body existed anywhere throughout Europe, and traces of this state of things may still be perceived. The Order of St. John, eminently aristocratic though it was in its own constitution, and naturally jealous of all encroachments upon that privileged class from which its members were recruited, and whence all its power and wealth had been drawn, appeared, in its connection with Malta, to have been actuated by more liberal ideas and views than its predecessors. The Grand-Master and council no sooner

assumed the reins of government than they materially enlarged the basis of power by extending the area from which they selected their native *employés*. One natural result of this policy was a slight coldness and alienation on the part of the class which had hitherto monopolized the entire government of the island, and this, coupled with the natural reserve of the Maltese character, always acted to prevent any real amalgamation between the two parties.

The Maltese, as such, were not admitted into the highest class of the Order. Those of them who could bring forward the necessary proofs of nobility, and were otherwise eligible, could, it is true, be received as members of the *langue* of Italy. In a few cases this was permitted, exceptionally, even after marriage, on the condition that the ladies should retire from the island for the period of their accouchement. The number, however, who availed themselves of the privilege was but trifling; and even they were not ranked in the same category as the other members of the *langue*, being incapable of becoming either Grand-Masters or conventual bailiffs. The Order was, consequently, always regarded by the natives as a foreign body, and but little friendship or cordiality was to be traced in their social intercourse. It must not be inferred from this that the Maltese were really dissatisfied with the rule of the knights. That government was certainly a despotism, and one of the strongest kind; still, it was well suited to the habits of the people, and usually maintained with equity and moderation. Those cravings for liberty and freedom of personal action which characterize the Anglo-Saxon temperament are not so strongly felt in southern latitudes. The decrees, therefore, of the Grand-Master and his council met with ready and cheerful obedience from those who felt no very urgent desire to undertake the responsible duty of their own control. The knights placed themselves on a decided eminence over those they governed, and when the interests of the two parties clashed, it was but natural that the Maltese, being the weaker should be compelled to give way. Still, on the whole, they had not much cause for complaint, and there can be no doubt that the transfer of the island to the Order of St. John had brought many very solid advantages to its inhabitants.

Instead of a few officials and a slender garrison, they now

saw Malta made the nucleus and the head-quarters of the most powerful and wealthy fraternity in Europe. Every land contributed its quota to the stream of wealth which from that day began to flow thither. The hamlet of the Bourg became a considerable town, and its suburbs extended themselves over the adjacent peninsula and the intervening mainland. Ere long a new city sprang up, exceeding in extent and magnificence anything which the wildest flight of imagination could have pictured in bygone years, adorned with *auberges*, churches, and other public buildings, by a brotherhood whose ample revenues enabled it thus to beautify its capital. Stores of grain accumulated in the public magazines; ramparts and forts sprang up to protect the island from the piratical descents of the Algerine corsairs, and Malta gradually rose from the insignificant position into which she had for so many years sunk, to be ranked as the most important fortress and the most flourishing community in the Mediterranean.

These were not slight benefits nor small privileges. The Order which had conferred such advantages on its subjects might well stand excused for some display of arrogance and despotism. After all, it was only with the highest class, the exclusive Maltese nobility, that the new government brought itself into anything approaching unpopularity, and even then it was not so much the despotism of the ruling power as the liberalism which had opened the way to office in favour of a lower grade than its own, which had engendered the dislike. Below it there was a rising class containing much of the talent and ambition of the island, and it was amongst these that the council sought for candidates to fill the posts hitherto invariably monopolized by the nobility. With them, therefore, the Order stood in high favour, and whilst, on the one hand, the old aristocracy held itself aloof, and, on the other, the lower class bowed in uncomplaining submission to the sway of a power sufficiently energetic to compel its obedience, this section, comprising all the energy and activity of the country, became faithful adherents to the system by which their own emancipation from the dictation of the aristocracy had been secured.

Into this portion of Maltese society the knights of St. John

found a ready and welcome admission. Even here, however, there were distinctions drawn between the various *langues*, some of which were far more popular than others. The French members did not find much favour with the ladies who swayed the empire of fashion within this coterie. They were too arrogant, self-sufficient, and boastful ever to be received as chosen favourites, or to find a ready welcome into the domestic privacy of the Maltese. More than one case had occurred in which this braggart tendency on the part of Frenchmen, ever ready to suppose their attractions irresistible, had led to unpleasant results, and had clouded the fair fame of ladies whose only fault had, perchance, consisted in permitting rather too free an offering of adulation on the part of their knightly admirers. Whilst the French were thus neglected, there were other *langues* the members of which were more fortunate. The Germans, in particular, seem to have borne the palm of popularity. Their natural reserve and phlegmatic temperament prevented them from falling into the errors of their more vivacious *confrères*, and they were generally admitted to a footing of intimacy and freedom which the latter were never permitted to attain. The Spaniards were also great favourites, for much the same reason, and unless the tales recorded on this point are false, they were most successful in their intercourse with the dames of the island.

With the lower class the rule of the knights was very popular. The works of fortification on which they were always engaged for the strengthening of their position yielded a continuous source of employment to the labouring population, whilst the ample stores of food retained in the magazines of Valetta and Vittoriosa secured them from the miseries of famine which in olden times had so frequently been the scourge of the island. The Grand-Master also sought to ingratiate himself by constantly providing them with amusements. Their privileges in this respect were very numerous, and always maintained with the utmost regularity. Indeed, even at the present time, nearly a century after the departure of the Order, distinct traces remain of this fact in the numerous *festas* which on every conceivable occasion are held in all the towns and casals. The expenditure for these *festas*, principally caused by the

elaborate illuminations which invariably form their greatest attraction, is now defrayed by collections and offerings from the public in the vicinity. In the time of the knights the money was to a large extent provided from the public treasury.

The most entertaining of these festivals was the carnival, always observed in Malta with much splendour and variety of costume. The privilege of holding a carnival was granted by the Grand-Master not only on the three days immediately preceding the commencement of Lent, but at any other time when the Order desired to celebrate an event of unusual importance. These extra carnivals were called *Babarro*. On Shrove Tuesday a *Cocagna* was given to the people. This was a vast wooden structure reared in St. George's Square, in front of the Grand-Master's palace, and decorated with flowers, ribbons, and flags. The *Cocagna* was hung with provisions and fruits of all kinds. Live poultry, ham, eggs, sausages, joints of meat, etc., were mixed with wreaths of flowers and clusters of fruit, the whole presenting a most tempting display to the assembled multitude. At a given signal there was a general scramble, and the good things became the property of those sufficiently active and fortunate to seize upon and carry them off. A master of the ceremonies was appointed to superintend on this occasion, and to give the signal for onslaught. He was termed *Il Gran Visconti*, and for the day the administration of the police was intrusted to his care.

The great festival of the Order, St. John's day, was naturally observed with much rejoicing. In the afternoon horse races were held for prizes presented by the Grand-Master. The singularity of these races consisted in the course selected for the purpose. The main street of Valetta, the *Strada Reale*, extends in a straight line from Fort St. Elmo to the *Porta Reale*, a distance of upwards of half a mile. This was the course over which the races were run, and as it was in the heart of the town all traffic had to be stopped during their continuance. They differed from those run in the Corso at Rome and in other cities, inasmuch as the horses were not riderless. On the 1st of May the old custom of the greasy pole was introduced, which the Maltese were very expert in mounting. This was erected in the square in front of the Grand-Master's palace.

In short, every effort appears to have been made by the executive power to render the people contented with their lot, so far as that could be insured by a plentiful supply of amusement and festivity. In this they acted with a due discrimination as to the peculiar temperament of the Maltese. Docile and tractable in the highest degree, they merely required the excitement of a little innocent recreation to quell any feeling of discontent that might have arisen against a government in which their interests were invariably compelled to yield to those of the fraternity, and where they had scarcely any voice in the legislation. That that government was exercised beneficially, as a general rule, the rapid progress made by the island clearly proves; still, there were doubtless many laws enacted which pressed hardly on the population. The character of the Maltese is very simple and attractive. Frugal, sober, and industrious, they seem to possess more virtues, and to be afflicted with less vices than any other of the races of southern Europe, so that a little liberality in the matter of sports and holidays prevented any ebullition of discontent at their political disadvantages. It must not, however, be imagined that this docility on their part arose from any spirit of craven fear or from want of resolution. The events which marked the close of the eighteenth century, during the brief rule of the French, shew clearly that the islanders are not wanting in firmness or courage, and that when roused by real wrongs and oppressions, they are capable of the noblest exertions and the most heroic constancy in their struggles for freedom.

There yet remains to describe a curious offshoot of the fraternity, which, although it seceded from the parent stem at an early date, always kept up a connection with it, and which exists and flourishes at the present time. This is the Bailiwick of Brandenburg.

The earliest establishment of the Order of St. John in that part of Germany seems to have dated from the year 1160, when the Margrave Albert the Bear returned thither from his pilgrimage in Palestine. Its possessions at this time, which were inconsiderable, were situated between the rivers Elbe and Weser. They were superintended by a vice-preceptor, under the supreme control of the grand-prior of Germany. That

priorate, in addition to Germany proper, included all the countries in which the German language was spoken, viz., Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Denmark. On the suppression of the Templars in the early part of the fourteenth century, their possessions in Germany were transferred to the Order of St. John, as had been the case in England and elsewhere. The property of the latter Order was thus greatly augmented in the provinces of Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. The knights in those districts soon became restless at the subordinate position which they occupied in the grand-priorate, and eventually sought to form themselves into an independent unit. After a long struggle, in which they were warmly supported by the Margraves of Brandenburg, they definitely seceded from the priorate, and erected themselves into a bailiwick, under the title of Brandenburg. For many years they were treated by the Order as rebels, as they refused to pay any responsions or to be under control. The schism continued until the year 1382, when a reconciliation was effected. The treaty was made between Conrad von Braunsberg, as grand-prior of Germany, and Bernedt von der Schulenburg, the bailiff of Brandenburg, and was in the same year confirmed by the Grand-Master Ferdinand d'Heredia. In this agreement it was decided that the knights of the bailiwick should be allowed to select their own Master, provided the choice were confirmed by the grand-prior of Germany. On the other hand, responsions to the amount of 2,400 gold florins were to be paid to the treasury of the Order in their *chef-lieu*. Things continued in this state till the Reformation, when the members of the bailiwick, having embraced the Protestant religion, once more seceded and placed themselves under the protection of the Margrave of Brandenburg. Many attempts were subsequently made to bring about a new reconciliation, for a long time ineffectually. At last Frederick the Great, wishing to aid his brother Ferdinand, who was the then bailiff of Brandenburg, succeeded in effecting a reunion. The chevalier Manchon, an officer in the Prussian service, was appointed negotiator in 1763. He proceeded to the grand-priory of Germany, under commission to demand the confirmation of Prince Ferdinand in his dignity,

and to settle the dispute as to the discontinuance of payments by the bailiwick of Brandenburg. It was then agreed that the ancient connection between the Order and the Lutheran knights should be renewed, and that the latter should once more pay responsions into the general treasury, in the same manner as the Roman Catholic commanderies. From that time the knights of Brandenburg were treated as brethren by the Order, and recognized as knights of St. John.*

Things continued in this state until the French Revolution and the expulsion of the Order from Malta shattered its organization. The bailiwick of Brandenburg underwent the same fate as the other branches of the fraternity. By an edict of the 30th October, 1810, it was ordained that in Prussia all monasteries, chapters, commanderies, and bailiwicks should be treated as the property of the state, and be gradually secularized. With regard to the bailiwick of Brandenburg the king had resolved to postpone the execution of the decree until the death of the *Herren Meister*, who was then in his 81st year, being the same Ferdinand, brother of Frederic the Great, already referred to as Master of the bailiwick in 1763. That prince, however, declared that for the sake of example he would not avail himself of the royal grace. A compact was accordingly entered into between the commissioners of the state and the Master, by which the details of the transfer were settled. By deed signed in Berlin on the 12th January, 1811, the prince ceded and renounced to the state the Mastership of Sonnenberg and its commanderies. The king accepted this act on the 23rd January, 1811, and by a further deed, dated 23rd May, 1812, ratified the complete dissolution and extinction of the bailiwick of Brandenburg, and the sequestration of all its property to the state. He at the same time founded a new and royal Order of the knights of St. John, making himself its sovereign protector,

* These particulars will be found fully recorded in Boisgelins' "Malta," vol. i., where the authorities for the statements are quoted. They include a letter from the grand-prior of Germany to Prince Ferdinand, and one to the chapter-general, both dated 16th May, 1763, a letter from the procurator of the treasury to the receiver of the Order in Germany, dated 11th September, 1763, and a magisterial edict of the Grand-Master Emanuel Pinto, dated 9th May, 1764.

and the aged Prince Ferdinand its Grand-Master. Into this Order he received all who had been knights of the bailiwick of Brandenburg.

The Royal Prussian Order of St. John existed in this form till the year 1852, when King Frederick William IV., by a mandate dated on the 15th October, restored the original bailiwick of Brandenburg as far as the cancelling of the edict of his predecessor could effect that purpose. Corporate rights were bestowed on the revived bailiwick, and its internal constitution was regulated by statutes. On the 13th February, 1853, the king, as patron and sovereign of the institution nominated as commanders the eight oldest knights surviving of those who had received the accolade at Sonnenberg. These commanders assembled for the election of a *Herren Meister*, two candidates having been named by the king, between whom the selection was to be made. The choice fell unanimously upon Prince Charles of Prussia, and his nomination was confirmed by the king on the 17th May, 1853. The reception of the prince by the Order, and his installation as *Herren Meister*, took place in the presence of the sovereign in the royal chapel at Charlottenburg. The old custom of informing the grand-prior of Germany of the election of a new *Herren Meister* was observed so far as practicable. The priorate of Germany and its grand-prior no longer existed, consequently the new *Herren Meister* addressed a letter to the lieutenant of the Grand-Master, Count Colloredo, at Rome, informing him that the bailiwick of Brandenburg was restored, and that he, Prince Charles, had been elected *Herren Meister*. Since then correspondence has always been maintained between the bailiwick and the authorities of the Order at Rome. This revived branch has since become well known throughout Europe under the name of the "Johanniter." It has performed noble service on the lines of the parent institution by rendering aid to the wounded in the German campaigns of 1866 and 1870, and it took an active part in carrying out the Geneva convention.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE "LANGUE" OF ENGLAND.

Foundation at Clerkenwell—Introduction of the fraternity into Scotland and Ireland—Destruction of priory at Clerkenwell by Wat Tyler—Restoration by Docwra—St. John's Gate—Lease of Hampton to Wolsey—Suppression of the *langue* by Henry VIII.—Revival by Queen Mary—Ultimate suppression by Elizabeth—Subsequent fate of the Priory, Church, and Gate—Revival of the *langue*—Its objects and present state—Brief biographies of important members of the old *langue*.

BEFORE again reverting to the political and general history of the Order during the remainder of its residence in the island of Malta, it may not be uninteresting to enter into some details more particularly affecting the *langue* of England.

There can be no doubt that amongst the members of Godfrey de Bouillon's crusading army who joined the establishment of Gerard on the capture of Jerusalem in the year 1099, there must have been a considerable British element, since very early in the next century we find the Order spreading itself over England. The first establishment of the fraternity in this country was certainly that founded by Lord Jordan Briset. The actual date of this foundation is not clear. It has generally been assumed to have taken place in 1101. This year is fixed by the fact that in the first charter of donation by the same benefactor to the adjacent nunnery of St. Mary at Clerkenwell, which was not later than the year 1102, it was expressly stated that his gift was free from all encumbrances, *so that the Hospitallers might claim nothing from them*. On the other hand, the Register of deeds and titles to the possessions of the Order in England, dated in 1443, records that Lord Jordan Briset, in the reign of Henry I., *about the*

year of our Lord 1110, founded the house and hospital of St. John of Clerkenwell. No separate deed can be traced for the foundation, as in the above-quoted register the first charter is only a recapitulation of that for the nunnery of St. Mary. No record has been preserved of the erection of the first buildings, nor of how the funds were procured for the purpose. The register, after quoting the charter as above, proceeds at once to record the dedication of the priory church by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem:—"In ye yere of Christ 1185 ye vj of the Ides of Merche, ye dominical lettre being F ye chyrche of ye Hospitall of S^t. Johns of Jerusalem was dedicatyd to ye honor of S John Baptiste by ye worshipful fader Araclius Patriarke of ye ressurection of Christe; ye same day was dedycated ye high Altre, and ye Altre of S John Evangelist by ye same Patryarke."

Clerkenwell was then at a little distance from London, and was quite suburban. Fitz Stephen, in his "Description of the most noble City of London," written in the time of Henry II., speaks of it as having "fields for pasture, and a delightful plain of meadow land, interspersed with flowing streams, on which stand mills, whose clack is very pleasing to the ear." Two of these mills appear to have belonged to the Order, as we find the following entry, under the heading Clerkenwell, in the report of Philip de Thame, referred to in Chapter VII.: "Et ij molendina aquatica dimissa ad firmam Ffrancisco Bache tempore fratris Thome Larcher pro C's." As poor Thomas Larcher was accused of having wantonly made away with the property of the priory without due value received, we may presume that the rental of £5 for these two mills was a very good bargain for Francis Bach. Fitz Stephen refers to the "fons clericorum," or clerks' well, as one "frequently visited as well by the scholars from the schools as by the youth of the city when they go out to take air in the summer evenings." Its name arose from the fact that the parish clerks of London were in the habit of acting miracle plays there.

The sisters of the Order were established at Bucklands in Somersetshire. William de Erlegh had founded at Bokeland a house of "Regular Canons," which was suppressed by Henry II. on account of their turbulence, the canons having, amongst other offences, murdered one of his officials. In 1180 the king

granted the forfeited lands to the Order of St. John, on condition that the knights should there establish all the ladies attached to the fraternity.

Philip de Thame, in his report (already referred to in Chapter VII.), states that the institution at Bucklands was at that time a house for fifty sisters. They were entitled to the services of a brother of the Order to act as seneschal, two chaplains, and a lay assistant for their churches. Their property consisted of three manors at Buckland, worth £6; one at Thele, in Devonshire, worth £2; one at Pruneslee, worth £2; and one at Kynemersdon, worth £2 10s. Also a *redditus assisus* (or rent paid by freeholders) of 90 marks. They further held three churches, one at Pederton, which was worth 50 marks; one at Kynemersdon, worth 20 marks; and one at Bromfeld, worth £10. The report adds that these possessions are not enough for the support of the sisters, and that they have to look for help to friends, and to *confraria* or charitable collections.

The establishment was suppressed by Henry VIII., and its lands granted to the earl of Essex and James Rockby.

The first introduction of the fraternity into Scotland was due to the generosity and zeal of king David I., who, shortly after his accession to the throne in the year 1124, established a sacred preceptory of the Order of St. John at Torpichen, in Linlithgowshire, which continued to be the *chef-lieu* of the knights in Scotland until their suppression in the sixteenth century. In the year 1153, just before his death, he confirmed, by a royal charter, the possessions, privileges, and exemptions with which the Order had become endowed in Scotland. He looked with so great favour on this institution, as well as on that of the Temple, that the author of the "Book of Cupar" records that "*Sinctus David de præclara militia Templi Hierosolomitani optimos fratres secum retinens eos diebus et noctibus morum suorum fecit custodes.*" His successor, Malcolm IV., increased the privileges of the Hospitallers within his kingdom, and incorporated their possessions into a barony freed from most of the imposts levied on the laity. William the Lion also followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, and made sundry additions to the munificent foundation which they had established.

The Order was first introduced into Ireland through the

liberality of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke, who, almost immediately after the conquest of that country by the English, endowed them with a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which in after years became their *chef-lieu*. This donation was made in the year 1174. Its property in that country grew gradually in extent, and at the time of the suppression of the *langue* of England, in 1546, it consisted of twenty-one commanderies, viz:—In the county of Dublin, Kilmainham and Clontarf; in the county of Kildare, Kilbegs, Kilheel, and Tully; in the county of Carlow, Killergy; in that of Meath, Kilmainham-beg and Kilmainham-wood; in that of Louth, Kilsaran; in Down, Ardes; in Waterford, Kilbarry, Killara, Crook, and Mincrioch; in Cork, Morne or Mora; in Tipperary, Clonmel; in Galway, Kinalkin; in Sligo, Teague Temple; and in Wexford, Kilelogan, Bally-Hewk, and Wexford. The latter commandery had been the seat of the grand-priory until it was transferred to Kilmainham. There are no records of the value of this property, most of which had originally belonged to the Templars, and was transferred to the Order of St. John on the suppression of the former fraternity.

The priory of Clerkenwell meanwhile grew apace. Many additions were made in the time of Edward I. Between the years 1274 and 1280 Joseph de Chauncy, the grand-prior, built a chapel for the use of the lord-prior in their house, and William de Henley, who was made prior in 1280, erected a cloister. The buildings went on developing in extent and grandeur until the insurrection of Wat Tyler, in 1381, when the priory was destroyed by fire. Grafton, in his “Chronicle,” says:—“They went streight to the goodly hospital of Rhodes, called St. John’s beyond Smythfield and spoyled that and then consumed it with fyre causing the same to burne for the space of seven days after.” At this time, “the building, in its widely-varied decorations, both internally and externally, is said to have contained specimens of the arts both of Europe and Asia, together with a collection of books and rarities the loss of which in a less turbulent age would have been a theme for national lamentation.” The grand-prior himself, Sir Robert Hales, was beheaded by the mob.

The magnificent pile thus ruthlessly destroyed had witnessed

many a gay pageant and sumptuous entertainment, and the great hall of the priory was several times used for royal councils. On these occasions the grand-prior of England occupied a position between the spiritual peers and the barons, being considered either the last of the former or the first of the latter. One of the earliest of these councils was held in the year 1185. The king of Jerusalem had sent the Grand-Masters of the Hospital and Temple, with the patriarch Heraclius, to Europe, to solicit a new crusade (*vide* Chapter II.). The Grand-Master of the Temple died on the way, but the Hospitaller Roger des Moulins and the patriarch Heraclius came to England. The king (Henry II.) went as far as Reading to meet them, and conducted them to the priory at Clerkenwell, where he summoned the barons of the realm to hold a council. Speed thus describes in his chronicles what took place:—"At this meeting he (the king) declared that Heraclius (then present) had stirred compassion and tears at the rehearsal of the tragical afflictions of the eastern world, and had brought the keys of the places of Christ's nativity, passion, and resurrection, of David's Tower, and the Holy Sepulchre, and the humble offer of the kingdom of Jerusalem with the standard of the kingdom, as duly belonging to him, as grandson of Fulk of Anjou." The barons in council determined that the king should not risk his person in the crusade, but should content himself with a donation in aid. Heraclius thereon lost his temper, and with the arrogance common to ecclesiastics in those days, broke out into abuse of the king, winding up by exclaiming, "Here is my head; treat me, if you like, as you did my brother Thomas (meaning à Becket). It is a matter of indifference to me whether I die by your orders or in Syria by the hands of the infidels, for you are worse than a Saracen." The Master of the Hospital was greatly hurt at the insolence of the patriarch, but the king passed it by without notice.

In the year 1212 king John stayed at the priory during the whole month of March, enjoying the hospitality of the prior, and on a Sunday in Lent he there knighted Alexander, son of the king of Scotland. The following record of this transaction has been preserved in the roll of the fourteenth

year of king John :—"The expenses of Alexander, son of the king of Scotland, which he incurred at Clerkenwell when he was made knight on Sunday in Mid-Lent, 4th March, 1212, amounted to £14 4s. 8d."

"In 1237," Matthew Paris records, "the Hospitallers sent their prior Theodoric, a German by birth and a most clever knight, with a body of other knights and stipendiary attendants and a large sum of money, to the assistance of the Holy Land. They, having made all arrangements, set out from their house at Clerkenwell, and proceeded in good order with about thirty shields uncovered, with spears raised, and preceded by their banner, through the midst of the city, towards the bridge, that they might obtain the blessings of the spectators, and bowing their heads with their cowls lowered, commended themselves to the prayers of all."

In 1265 Prince Edward and his wife, Eleanora of Castile, were entertained at the priory.

In 1399, only eighteen years after the destruction of the buildings by Wat Tyler and his mob, we find that Henry, duke of Lancaster, on the eve of his accession to the throne as Henry IV., was entertained at the priory for a fortnight. Of this fact there are two records, one,—“The Duke entered London by the chiefe gate and rode through the Cheape to St. Paules where he was after lodged in the bishops palace five or six days and after at St. Johns without Smithfield where he remained fifteen days right willingly.” The other record is metrical, and in French :—

“Quant le Duc Henry arrive
Fu à Londres nouvellement
A Saint Pol alla droitement
Et puis à Saint Jehan apres
Que est hors des murs assez près
C'est un hospital des templiers
La fu le Duc moult voulntiers
Quinze jours tous plains sans partir.”

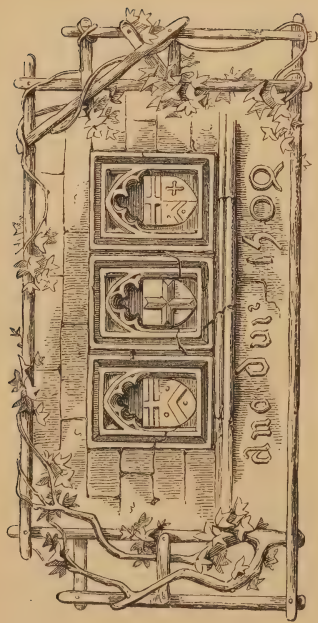
It is evident from these entries that a portion of the grand pile had already been restored, enough, at all events, to admit of princely hospitality being exercised.

In 1411, Henry V. resided in the priory for some time, according to the "Grey Friars Chronicle" of London, which records that "kynge was lyvinge at Sent Jones." In 1485, Richard III. held a royal council in the great hall of the priory for the purpose of disavowing all intention of marrying his niece, Elizabeth of York, a rumour of which had become prevalent.

These later entries all shew that the grand-priory had been greatly restored since the calamity of 1381. It remained, however, for Sir Thomas Docwra to complete the work, and in addition, to erect the gate, now almost the only part of the structure remaining. Camden, speaking of the priory in Docwra's time, says "that it resembled a palace and had in it a very faire church and a towre steeple raised to a great height with so fine workmanship that it was a singular beauty and ornament to the city."

St. John's Gate, above referred to, still remains a monument of the grandeur of the fraternity before their suppression by Henry VIII. The following description of it is given by Pinks*:—"This building, the grand south gate of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, was erected on the site of an older structure by Sir Thomas Docwra, who completed the splendid work in which he was engaged, viz., that of restoring the ruined priory, by the edification of St. John's Gate in 1504. The characteristics of its architecture are those of the perpendicular style, which the obtusely-pointed windows, Tudor-arched doorways, embattled parapets, and the more minute details of rib, boss, and moulding serve strikingly to exemplify. The materials used in the construction of this beautiful edifice were brick and freestone. The south, or principal front of the gate, that facing towards the city, with its double projecting towers, when in its pristine state, before the furrows of time had been traced upon its surface, must have presented a very imposing aspect, especially as it was loftier than it now is, the accumulation of the soil around it having lessened the height of the building. The gate and its flanking towers are pierced by numerous windows, the principal one being a wide, obtusely-pointed arch,

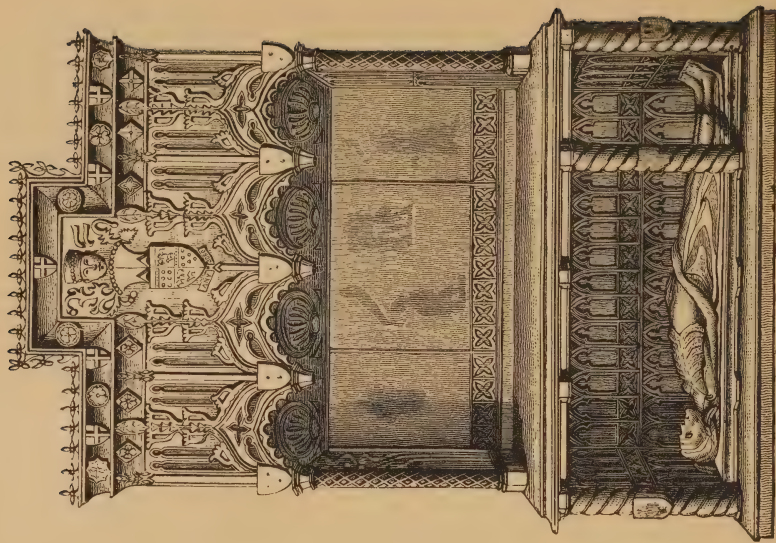
* "History of Clerkenwell," by Pinks. The author is indebted to the antiquarian researches of this writer for much of the matter he has quoted referring to the priory of Clerkenwell.



ARMS ON THE NORTH FRONT ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.



ARMS ON THE SOUTH FRONT ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.



MONUMENT OF SIR WILLIAM WESTON, FORMERLY IN ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

glazed with diamond panes, disposed by mullions of wood into three lights. Beneath this window are several shields in gothic niches. That in the centre is emblazoned in relief with the arms of France and England, surmounted by a crown; this is supported by two other shields, those of the priory bearing the ensign of the cross; right and left of these are two others, that on the right bearing the arms of the founder, impaling the arms of England, the same as appear on the central shield. The shield on the left emblazons the insignia of Sir Thomas Doewra in full. Underneath this series were formerly carved in relief, the initials, T. D., separated by Maltese cross and the word PRIOR. On the north side of the gate, facing the square, are three shields in gothic niches the device on the centre one is the cross, that on the left has the chevron, roundels, and cross in chief, that on the right the same blazon with a cross moline as an impalement; beneath, in low relief, are the words, ‘ano dni 1504.’ The last three figures of the year can be clearly discerned, particularly the five and four; both these numerals are of ancient form.”

Whilst referring to Doewra, allusion may be made to a lease granted by him to Cardinal Wolsey. In the year 1211, Joan Lady Grey left by her will the whole manor and manor house of Hampton to the Order. This manor, which contained about 1,000 acres of land, according to the return given by Philip de Thame, was on the banks of the Thames, and, owing to the proximity of the duke of Cornwall, was heavily charged under the item of hospitality. The lease to Wolsey is dated January 12th, 1514, for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rental of £50. It runs thus:—“This Indenture made between Sir Thomas Doewra priour of the hospitall of Seynt John Jerusalem in England and his bredern knights of the same hospitall upon that oone partie and the moost reverend fader in God Thomas Wuley Archebissshop of Yorke and Primate of England upon that other partie Witnessith that the said priour and his bredern with their hole assent and auctorite of their Chapitur have graunted and letten to fferme to the said Archebusshop their manor of Hampton courte in the countie of Midd with all landes and tenementes medowes lesnes and pastures rentes and services vewe of ffranciplegis perquisites of courts ffishing

and ffishing weres and with the waren of conys and with all manner proufites and commodites and other thinges whatsoever they be in any manner of wise to the foreseid manor belonging or apperteigning. To have and to holde the foreseid manor with the appurtenaunces to the foreseid most reverend ffader in God Thomas Wulcy Archebisshop of Yorke and to his assignes ffro the ffest of the Nativite of Saint John Baptist last past before the date hereof unto thend and terme of lxxxxix yeres than next folowing and fully to be ended and paying therfor yerely to the seid priour and his successours in the tresoury of there hous of seynt Johns of Clarkenwell beside London fifty poundes sterling at the ffestes of the purification of our Lady and of Seynt Barnabe thapostle by even porcions." The lease goes on to make an allowance of £4 13s. 4d. for the maintenance of a priest for the chapel and continues with provisions for due repair of the buildings, wears, etc., and penalties in case of non-payment of rent, etc. The schedule attached to the lease is interesting:—"In the Chapel First a chalette of silver, a pix of copur for the sacrament, ij alter clothes, a corporaxe, ij candlestikes of laton, a masse booke, a porteux, a pewterbotil for wyne, a crewet of pewter, a crosse of tynne, a paxbrede of tree, an alter clothe of whyte and blue lyke unto armyn, an ymage of our lord of tree, an ymage of our lady of tree, an ymage of saint John, an ymage of saint Nicholas, an ymage of the crosse paynted on a borde, ij alterclothes, ij pewes with a chest of wynscott, an holy waterstok of laton with a stryngel of laton, ij bells in the toure one of them broken. Of bedsteddis in all xxti, eleven toured chyars. In the parlour a table of Estriche bourde with ij tristells. In the haule ij tables dormant and oon long table with ij tristells, a close cup board, iiij fourmes, iiij barres of yron about the harthe. In the kechen a pot of bras cont v galons, a cadron sett in the founace cont xx galons, a spyt of yron, ij awndyrons a trevet, ij morters of marbil, a cawdron of iiij galons, a stomer of laton, a flesshe hoke, a frying pan, ij pailles, a barre of iron in the kechen to hange on pottes, a grete salting troughe, a steping fatte, an heire of the kyln of xxiii yerdes, ij gretebynnes in the kechyn, a bynne in the buttry, a knedyng troughe. In the stable a pitchfork, a dongfork. A

presse in the towrechambre a great coffar in oon of the toure chambres a parclose in the toure, a parclose in the parloure." On securing this lease, Wolsey pulled down the manor house and chapel and built a palace on the site.

It has already been recorded that in the year 1546 the priory of Clerkenwell was suppressed, and the estates of the Order in England confiscated to the crown. In the statute 32 Henry VIII., c. 24, it is enacted that "the Kinges Majestie his heirs and successours shall have and enjoye all that Hospitall, Mansion house, Church and all other houses edificions buyldinges and gardienes of the same belonging being nere unto the cite of London in the Countie of Midd called the house of St. John of Jerlm in England."

The reason given for this confiscation was that they had "Unnaturally and contrarie to the duety of their allegaunces sustayned and maynteynid the usurped powere and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome and have not only adhered themselves to the said Bishop being comon enemy to the King our souvraine Lord and to his realme, untruely upholding, knowleging, and affirmyng maliciously and traiterously the same Bishop to be supreme hed of Christes Church by Godds holy wourde, intending thereby to subvert and overthrow the good and godly lawes and statutes of this realme their naturall contrey made and grounded by the auctoritie of the Holy Church by the most excellent wisdom and polyce and goodness of the Kinges majesty." The members of the *langue* were forbidden to wear the dress of the Order, or to assume any of its titles or dignities, as to which it said, "they shall be callid by their awne propre chren names and surnames of their parentis without any other additions towching the said religion;" and the bill rescinded "all priveleges of Sainturies heretofore used or claymed in mansion houses and other places coenly called Sainte Johnes's holde." The following pensions were awarded out of the confiscated property:—To Sir William Weston, the grand-prior, £1,000; Clement West, £200; T. Pemberton, £80; G. Russel, £100; G. Ailmer, £100; J. Sutton, £200; E. Belingam, £100; E. Browne, £50; E. Huse, 100 marks; Ambrose Cave, 100 marks; W. Tirel, £30; J. Rawson, 200 marks; to A. Rogers Oswald Massin-

berg and eight others, £10 each, amounting in the whole to £2,870.

On this subject, Fuller, in his "Holy War," records:—"The suppression of the Hospitallers deserveth especial notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolution of other religious houses, for manfully they stood out to the last in despite of several assaults. The Knights Hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at Clerkenwell, nigh London), being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present to Henry the Eighth such puling petitions and public recognitions of their errors as other Orders had done; wherefore, like stout fellows, they opposed any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and stood on their own defence and justification. But Barnabas-day itself hath a night, and this long-lived Order, which in England went over the grave of all others, came at last to its own . . . Their deare friends persuaded them to submit to the king's mercie, and not to capitulate with him on conditions, nor to stop his favour by their own obstinacy. This counsel, harsh at first, grew tunable in the ears of the Hospitallers, so that, contented rather to exchange their clothes for worse than be quite stript, they resigned all into the king's hands."

The bulk of the knights retired to Malta; out of those who remained several were executed. Sir Thomas Dingley, Sir Marmaduke Bowes, and Sir Adrian Fortescue were attainted together of high treason, for denying the king's supremacy, on the 29th April, 1539, and were all beheaded. Sir David Genson, for the same reason, was condemned to death, and having been drawn on a sledge through Southwark, was hanged and quartered at St. Thomas Watering, on the 1st July, 1541.

A few years afterwards the king granted to John Dudley, Lord Viscount Lisle and Lord High Admiral of England, "as well in consideration of his service as for the sum of £1,000 sterling, the site, circuit, and precinct of this hospital or priory of St. John, only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, iron, and other things of the church were specially reserved for the king's majesty." Stow records that "the priory church, and house of St. John were preserved from spoil or pulling down so long as Henry VIII. reigned, and were employed as a store-

house for the king's toils and tents for hunting and for the wars." Edward VI. granted to his sister, the Princess Mary, by letters patent, in the year 1548, "the scite, circuit, ambit, precinct, capital messuage and house, late of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell." In the following year, viz., 1549, the greater portion of the church of St. John was blown up, and the materials used in the erection of Somerset House. No doubt this was an arbitrary act of the Protector Somerset during the minority of the king.

On the accession of Queen Mary, the prospects of the suspended *langve* seemed once more to revive. By royal letters patent, dated April 2nd, 1557, the bailiffs, commanders, and knights of St. John were once more incorporated by and under the name and title of the "Prior and Cobrethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England," giving them, as a corporation, a common seal, and ordaining for the crown, its heirs and successors, that the knights of the Order in England should for ever have and enjoy their name, style, and dignity, with all their ancient privileges and prerogatives. Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton, was appointed grand-prior of St. John *Anglice*.

It has been said above that Somerset had destroyed the greater portion of St. John's church for the sake of the building materials. He, in fact, left only the chancel standing. As soon as Queen Mary had decreed the revival of the *langue*, Cardinal Pole effected such repairs as were necessary to render the church once more available for ecclesiastical purposes. This he did by enclosing the space left undestroyed with a new west wall. There is a fine crypt beneath, which is much in the same condition as when abandoned by the Order. It is a very handsome Gothic structure, and originally seems to have been above ground, as in Hollar's view of it, as it appeared in 1661, the entrance is shewn from St. John's-street up some steps. It is thus described by Pinks in his "History of Clerkenwell":—"The crypt comprises a central avenue 16 feet 3 inches in width, and 12 feet in height to the crown of the arch, with corresponding side aisles extending from east to west, and of the same length as the present church above. The west end of the crypt, at present bricked up, was found, when an excavation was made in front of the church in the year 1849, to have

extended much farther westward than it at present does. The central portion of the crypt consists of four severeys or bays; two are simple and plain, being semi-Norman, and two (towards the east) are early English, and very perfect, the details and mouldings being worthy of a careful examination. The ribs of the early English bays spring from triple clustered columns, 3 feet 9½ inches high, in each angle of the bays with moulded capitals and bases. The upper moulding is horizontally fluted, similar to some Greek Ionic bases. The central shafts of the clustered columns are pointed, and the diagonal ribs have three mouldings; the centre one is pointed, and the outer are rolls. This pointed bowtell occurs frequently in semi-Norman and early English work, and is coeval with the introduction of the pointed arch. Suspended from the keystone of each is an iron ring. On each side of the two western bays of the centre aisle is a deeply recessed pointed window opening." This crypt was the scene of the celebrated Cock Lane ghost excitement, in the year 1763. It is supposed by competent authorities that the original church of St. John was about 300 feet long, extending westward over the area of the present St. John-square, and that its transepts stood in a direct line with the great south gate and the north gate or postern.

The death of Queen Mary ended all hope of a revival of the *langue* of England. One of the earliest acts of her successor, viz., Statute 1, Elizabeth, c. 24, annexed to the crown all the property of the Order in England, without, however, enacting the dissolution of the corporate body established by the charter of Mary. The old priory now fell to the basest uses, and became the head-quarters of the Master of the Revels to the queen. The office of this functionary "consistethe," says Edmund Tylney, "of a Wardropp and other several Roomes for Artificers to work in viz. Taylors Imbrotherers Propertimakers Paynters Wyredrawers and Carpenters together with a convenient place for ye Rehearsalls" (doubtless the great hall that had been the scene of so many royal councils and other splendours) "and settinge forthe of Playes and other Showes for those services." This Edmund Tylney was appointed Master of the Revels on the 24th July, 1579, and the priory was used as an office by him until 1607. It does not seem to have been

well adapted for the preservation of theatrical properties, since there is a charge in the accounts for "ayringe," represented to be necessary in order "to keepe the same in redynes for service wch els wold be mowldy mustie motheten and rotten by meanes of the dankenes of the howse and want of convenyent Presses and places requysite."

By letters patent dated May 9, 1607, "the scite or house of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, etc., having therein one great mansion and one great chapel, etc., containing by estimation five acres," was granted by James I. to Ralph Freeman and his heirs, "in free and common soccage." It subsequently came into the possession of William Cecil Lord Burleigh and earl of Exeter, whose countess, says Fuller, "was very forward to repair the ruined choir." The church then became a private chapel, and as such passed into the hands of the earl of Elgin, on his marriage with Diana, the daughter of the earl of Exeter. Fuller thus describes it in 1655:—"At this day, though contracted, having the side aisles excluded (yet so that the upper part is admitted affording conveniences for attention), it is one of the best private chapels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extremes of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition." It was much injured in 1710 by a mob led on by Dr. Sacheverell. In 1716 it was advertised for sale "as fit as any for a schoolroom that will hold above 200 scholars." It was purchased in 1721 by a Mr. Mitchell, who once more restored it, and then sold it for £3,000 to the commissioners for providing new churches in and about London. It was consecrated on December 27th, 1723, by the bishop of London, as the church of St. John, Clerkenwell. When it was being repaired in 1845 many traces of the old building were discovered. Upon removing the plaster from the east wall it was found that Docwra's masonry still existed up to about the middle of the window, about 27 feet in height, all above that being rebuilt in brick by Mitchell. It was also found, in the south aisle, that Mitchell had used portions of the old church to support the pews, such as ribbed mouldings, parts of shafts, portions of the groining capitals of clustered columns coloured and gilt.

The priory itself has long since vanished, to make way for

the modern buildings which now occupy the space. Mr. Griffith, the architect, thus describes what can now be found of its remains:—"The enclosure walls can still be traced on the north, south-east, and west sides, and the modern dwellings in St. John-square are mostly built upon the old rubble walls of the Hospital. Fragments of the ancient buildings are frequently discovered. The northern boundary comprised the north postern and the priory buildings, and walls extending from the north postern westward towards Red Lion-street, and from the north postern eastward towards St. John-street. The foundation of the priory buildings and walls form the foundations of the cellars under No. 19 and the basements of No. 21 and 22 on the north side of St. John-square. An opening was made in the basement wall between Nos. 19 and 20, St. John-square, in 1851, and the wall was found to be seven feet thick, and formed of squared stone on the outer or north side and chalk rubble within. Some of the stones had been used for windows, etc.; one stone was covered with black shining flinty particles, as if it had been subjected to fire. The north postern was evidently covered, and by a plan in the commissioner's book it appears to have been 17 feet 10 inches long and 10 feet 1 inch wide at the south end, enclosed next St. John-square by a light enclosure, with a gate 10 feet 7 inches high, and at the other end by a gate 5 feet 5 inches wide and 8 feet high. This was an outer gate in the north boundary wall. The priory was enclosed on the south side from St. John-street towards Red Lion-street, with St. John's-gate in the centre. Of the southern boundary there are St. John's-gate and 67 feet of wall extending westward from the gate remaining. Of the eastern boundary Hollar has given a view as it appeared in 1661. It portrays the east end of St. John's church with the Hospital gardens and boundary wall, all of which faced St. John-street. Regarding the westward boundary, there are remains of the old priory wall in Ledbury-place, being originally the west garden wall of Bishop Burnet's house, and in the west garden wall of Dr. Adam Clarke's house, which adjoins Burnet's house southward, and was the western boundary."

It now remains to trace the tenure and occupation of St.

John's-gate. Like the priory, it was used in connection with the office of the queen's revels so long as that was maintained in Clerkenwell. It then fell into private hands, Sir Morrice Dennys and Sir Roger Wilbraham having both been its possessors. In 1731 it became the property of Edward Cave, who lived there and set up a printing establishment in a portion of the space. It was here that the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" was for many years published. The gate was, whilst in Cave's hands, the scene of the memorable incident when Dr. Johnson dined behind a screen at an entertainment given by Cave, because he was so shabbily dressed that he did not wish to join the company. It continued to be a printing establishment till the end of the last century. Its subsequent career was more ignoble, as it became a public-house. Fortunately the landlord, Benjamin Foster, was a man who appreciated the historical associations of the place, and during his tenure established literary and archæological meetings, and otherwise raised its status beyond that of a mere tavern. It has of late years recovered its original position, having been purchased by the members of the revived English *langue*, and by them fitted up once more as a chancery and domicile for the Order.

This fact leads naturally to a detail of the circumstances which have led to the revival of that *langue*, although it is anticipating the general course of the narrative to touch on it now. As it satisfactorily closes the sketch of the *langue*, it is thought better to deal with it in this place rather than to insert it in its proper chronological order.

The fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 removed the ban under which the French knights had lain since their suppression by the Republican government in 1792. They at once reassembled in chapter-general at Paris, and forming, as they did at that time, the most powerful branch of the Order still surviving, elected a permanent capitular commission in which was vested plenary power to act as might seem best for the general interests of the fraternity. The creation of this capitular commission was confirmed by a pontifical bull issued by Pope Pius VII. on the 10th August, 1814, and recognized by the lieutenant of the Mastery and sacred council, in an instrument dated the 9th October following.

addressed to the bailli Camille prince de Rohan, prior of Aquitaine; the bailli de Clugny; the commander de Bataille (representing the *langue* of France); the commander de Peyre de Chateauneuf (representing the *langue* of Provence); the commander de Dienne (representing the *langue* of Auvergne); the commander Bertrand, and the bailli Lasterie du Saillant, prior of Auvergne. It also received the recognition of the king Louis XVIII.

This commission exercised important acts on behalf of the Order in general during a series of years; it negotiated, though unsuccessfully, with the king for the restoration of the property of the institution in France; it treated, in 1814, with the congress of Vienna for a new *chef-lieu* in the Mediterranean. In an appeal to the French king and chambers it represented the whole Order in 1816, and again at the congress of Verona in 1822. Also, as recorded by Sutherland, "in 1823, when the Greek cause began to wear a prosperous aspect, the same chapter, encouraged by the goodwill which the Bourbon family was understood to entertain for the Order, entered into a treaty with the Greeks for the cession of Sapienza and Cabressa, two islets on the western shore of the Morea, as a preliminary step to the reconquest of Rhodes, to facilitate which arrangement an endeavour was made to raise a loan of £640,000 in England."

Whilst engaged in these various negotiations for the benefit of the Order at large, the question was mooted of a possible revival of the English *langue*, and the matter speedily received a practical solution. The commission placed itself in communication with the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., Chaplain Extraordinary to His Majesty George IV., and other Englishmen of position, to whom were submitted the documents by which it was constituted. These gentlemen undertook to give their aid in the resuscitation of so interesting a relic of the ancient chivalry of Europe. The negotiations, which were continued for some months, resulted in the revival of the English *langue* of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, for which purpose articles of convention were executed on the 11th June, 1826, and on the 24th August and 15th October, 1827. These documents thus refer to the English people:—

"This brave and generous nation furnished formerly illus-

trious subjects who made part of the most formidable, the most valiant, and the most renowned chevaliers of this ancient sovereign Order, and whose successors are now invited to raise that Christian and famous banner which was in former times the pride and glory of their ancestors, and who can again form part of this Order in climates and in countries the most fortunate and most celebrated."

The articles of convention distinctly recite that in making this revival the French *langues* are acting with the concurrence and approval of those of Aragon and Castile, thus, by a representation of five out of the eight divisions of the Order, giving the weight of majority, if such addition were necessary, to the powers of the associated French *langues*. This revival of the Order in England was conducted and accomplished in the most honourable spirit, and with the most chivalric intentions. The English gentlemen whose interest was enlisted in the revival, were men of the highest character, whilst the disinterested views of the French chevaliers may be gathered from a passage in one of their official communications, in which they declare that the business of the English *langue* must be conducted in an English manner, and so that the foreign members should not interfere in the management of the funds, which were to be solely and exclusively under the direction of the English brethren. These communications further enjoin the greatest caution in the nomination of chevaliers, and declare that, "to revive so honourable an institution, it is most necessary to act legally and according to the existing statutes, otherwise the Order would not be esteemed and respected; that the statutes must be taken by the committee as its guide and direction in the work, and that from this foundation no departure could take place, except as regards the modifications necessary owing to the religion of the United Kingdom."

The chevalier Philippe de Chastelain and Mr. Donald Currie were appointed delegates for formally inaugurating the revival, by deed dated 14th December, 1827.

On the 24th January, 1831, the chevalier de Chastelain attended a meeting in London when the English *langue* was formally reorganized, and the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stanislaus of

Poland, and Chaplain Extraordinary to George IV., was invested with the functions and authority of grand-prior of the revived English *langue*. The names of many English noblemen and gentlemen were then inscribed on the roll of the *langue*.

In 1834, acting under the advice of the Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Launcelot Shadwell (who himself shortly after joined the Order), Sir Robert Peat sought to qualify for office, and at the same time to revive the charter of Philip and Mary, before referred to, by taking the oath *de fidei administratione* in the Court of King's Bench. He accordingly attended, on the 24th February, 1834, and the Court, as the records of the *langue* state:—

“On its being announced by the Macer that the Lord Prior of St. John had come into Court to qualify, rose to receive him, and he did then and there openly qualify himself before the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Thomas Denman, Knight, to hold exercise and discharge the office of Prior of the *langue* of England under the Charter of King Philip and Queen Mary.” The oath of qualification taken by Sir Robert Peat in the Court of King's Bench is now a record of the kingdom, and a copy of the same, authenticated by the signature of the Lord Chief Justice, is in the archives of the *langue*. The following is the copy:—

“In the King's Bench

“I the Right Reverend Sir Robert Peat Knight Vicar of New Brentford in the County of Middlesex and Prior of the Sixth Language of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem in London do make oath and say that I will faithfully truly carefully and strictly perform fulfil keep and obey the ancient Statutes of the said Sovereign Order as far as they are applicable to the government of the Sixth Language and in accordance with the other seven languages and that I will use the authority reposed in me and my best endeavours and exertions amongst the Brethren to keep the said Statutes inviolable, this deponent hereby qualifying himself to govern the said Sixth Language as Prior thereof under the provision of the Statute of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary in the case made and provided.

“(Signed) ROBERT PEAT.

"Sworn at Guildhall, in the City of London, this 24th day of February, 1834, before me

"(Signed) T. DENMAN."

From that time the *langue* has continued to advance in numbers and prosperity, and has endeavoured by works of usefulness and charity to follow in the footsteps of the parent Order of old.

Those labours have not been unimportant, as may be seen by the following list of the principal objects which have engaged its attention :—

Providing convalescent patients of hospitals (without distinction of creed) with such nourishing diets as are medically ordered, so as to aid their return, at the earliest possible time, to the business of life and the support of their families.

The (original) institution in England of what is now known as the "National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded in War."

The foundation and maintenance of cottage hospitals and convalescent homes.

Providing the means and opportunities for local training of nurses for the sick poor; and the foundation of what is now known as the metropolitan and national society for training and supplying such nurses.

The promotion of a more intimate acquaintance with the wants of the poor in time of sickness.

The establishment of ambulance litters, for the conveyance of sick and injured persons in the colliery and mining districts, and in all large railway and other public departments and towns, as a means of preventing much aggravation of human suffering.

The award of silver and bronze medals, and certificates of honour, for special services on land in the cause of humanity.

The initiation and organization during the Turco-Servian war of the "Eastern War Sick and Wounded Relief Fund."

The institution of the "St. John Ambulance Association" for instruction in the preliminary treatment of the injured in peace and the wounded in war.

The object of this association is for the purpose of disseminating information as to the preliminary treatment of the sick

and injured, and of thereby alleviating to some extent the enormous amount of human suffering at present so frequently needlessly aggravated by the ignorance of those unskilled persons with whom the patient is first brought in contact.

It is an undoubted fact, well enough known to medical men, that the results of such ignorance are often most deplorable. By rough handling and bad management on the part of the attendants, however well-intentioned, a simple fracture may be converted into a compound, or even a complicated fracture. Again, how many thousands of lives have been lost merely from want of knowledge as to various extemporaneous methods of arresting bleeding, or as to the immediate treatment of the apparently drowned, or otherwise suffocated! It would be easy to multiply instances where knowledge of this kind is invaluable, but a glance at the syllabus drawn up by the medical committee is sufficient to shew how well adapted the course of instruction is to meet the requirements of the cases of sudden illness and injury ordinarily met with in every-day life.

The "British Hospice and Ophthalmic Dispensary," at Jerusalem, which has been established by the *langue* for the alleviation of the terrible sufferings caused in that country by diseases of the eye, and the ignorance prevalent as to their proper treatment. The sultan has aided in this good work by granting a firman for a site for the hospital. He has since redeemed this promise by a pecuniary gift of £900 Turkish, the *langue* having themselves purchased a site and building, and having started the operations of the dispensary. Crowds of afflicted Syrians flock thither for relief, and as the work is strictly on a non-sectarian basis no opposition is encountered. Of all the charitable operations now being carried on by the *langue* there is none that promises to effect so much real good as this, or which so closely copies the objects of the original founders of the Order.*

* The *langue* is indebted for this establishment to the untiring energy and zeal of Sir Edmund Lechmere, who has laboured most assiduously for the attainment of the object. He has personally visited Jerusalem and placed himself in communication with the Turkish authorities in order to obtain the most suitable site for the hospice, and to carry on the necessary and somewhat delicate negotiations for the purchase.

The *langue* now consists of the following members :—

The Lord-Prior, His Grace the Duke of Manchester.

The Bailiff of the Eagle, The Rt. Hon. Lord Leigh.

1 Knight Commander.

54 Knights of Justice, including H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, H.R.H. The Duke of Albany, and H.S.H. The Duke of Teck.

18 Chaplains, including the Rt. Rev. the Bishops of St. Albans, Gibraltar, and Tennessee.

29 Dames Chevalières of Justice, including H.R.H. The Princess of Wales, H.R.H. The Princess Christian, H.R. & S.H. the Duchess of Teck, and the reigning Grand Duchess of Baden.

17 Knights of Grace.

21 Esquires.

3 Serving Brothers.

There are also affiliated to the *langue*, a considerable number of Honorary Associates and Donats, who have aided in the good works now being carried on.

In Appendix No. 11 will be found a list of the grand-priors of England, Turcopoliers or conventual bailiffs, bailiffs of Aquila, grand-priors of Ireland, and priors of Scotland, so far as they can be traced.

All the historians of the Order who have treated of the relative ranks of the dignitaries comprising the chapter-general have been mistaken in the position which they allot to the grand-prior of England. They have placed him below the grand-prior of Messina, whereas his real place should be above the Castellan of Emposta (*vide* Chapter XIII.). This is proved by a document in the Record Office of Malta, which shews that the matter was decided on in 1566. As this document, which was written by the Englishman, Oliver Starkey, secretary to La Valette, gives an interesting insight into the mode of dealing with questions of etiquette in the sixteenth century, a translation of it is given in Appendix No. 12.

This branch of the subject cannot be more appropriately closed than by giving a brief account of some of the knights of the *langue* who have rendered themselves either celebrated or notorious.

GARNIER DE NAPOLI.—First grand-prior of England, at the

time when the Master Roger des Moulins and the Patriarch Heraclius visited Clerkenwell. He must not be confounded with the Garnier who became Master of the Order in 1187, and was killed at the battle of Tiberias the same year, although all the historians of the Order have fallen into that error. The Grand-Master had been Turcopolier, and was probably his brother. That they were two different persons is clear from a manuscript in the possession of Canon Francis Smitmer, at Vienna, which is dated Anno Domini Incarnationis MCLXXXIX. apud London Ordinatio Fr Garnerii de Neapoli Prioris in Anglia. This document proves that Garnier was exercising the office of prior two years after his namesake the Grand-Master was killed at Tiberias.

WALTER LEVINGE, a companion in arms of Richard Cœur de Lion, in Palestine.

HENRY BAYNTUN, son of Sir Henry Bayntun, Knight Marshal to Henry II. He was killed in Bretagne, in 1201.

THEODORE DE NUZZA, grand-prior of England about 1230. The Grand-Master Bertrand de Comps having, in 1237, invoked assistance to recruit the diminished ranks of the fraternity in Palestine, a body of 300 knights, headed by de Nuzza, left their priory at Clerkenwell with the banner of St. John unfurled. Their ranks were swelled by the presence of Richard earl of Cornwall, Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, and William Longspée, son of the earl of Salisbury. Their arrival in Jaffa induced the sultan of Egypt to offer most advantageous terms of peace to the Christians.

ALEXANDER WELLES.—His name appears amongst those who swore fealty to Edward I. in the chapel of Edinburgh Castle, July, 1291. He was killed at the battle of Falkirk, on the 22nd July, 1298.

GILES DE ARGENTINE.—He gained great renown in the Holy Land. He was killed at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, having first succeeded in rescuing Edward II. from the perils of that disastrous conflict.

THOMAS LARCHER.—In spite of the great accession of wealth consequent on the suppression of the Templars and the transfer of their lands to the Hospital, this grand-prior involved the

finances of his priory in such hopeless confusion that the Grand-Master and council were compelled to supersede him, in 1329. The reckless manner in which he granted pensions and created other incumbrances would, had he not been suspended, have annihilated the property of the *langue*.

LEONARD DE TYBERTIS.—Originally prior of Venice. Being a man of much tact and skill in administration, he was selected to succeed Larcher, in order to unravel the tangled web which had become so complicated under his predecessor. In this task he succeeded admirably.

ROBERT HALES.—He was in the suite of the Grand-Master d'Heredia when he escorted Pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Civita Vecchia in 1377. It was in his time that the priory at Clerkenwell was burnt by the mob led on by Wat Tyler. The prior's residence at Highbury was also destroyed. Froissart records that "they went straight to the fayre hospytalle of the Rodes called saynt Johans and there they brent house hospytall mynster and all." Such a strong animosity was felt by the people against the Order, that Jack Straw in his confession said, "specially would we have destroyed the knights of St. John." Sir Robert Hales was beheaded by the mob on Tower-hill in company with Sudbury archbishop of Canterbury and other lords.

ROBERT BOOTLE.—At a grand wrestling match, held at Clerkenwell on St. Bartholomew's day, 1456, at which this grand-prior was present with the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of London, a quarrel arose on a question of wrestling, in which a servant of the prior was concerned. Bootle being discontented with the decision of the Lord Mayor, fetched a party of bowmen from the priory, and a conflict ensued, the Mayor's cap being shot through. Eventually a party of citizens rescued their chief, and bore him off in triumph.

WILLIAM KNOLLS, grand-preceptor of Scotland. He was Lord Treasurer under king James IV., who raised him to the peerage under the title of Lord St. John, which dignity was held by the priors of Scotland until the Reformation. He was killed in the battle of Flodden Field on September 11, 1513.

JOHN LANGSTROTHER was bailiff of Aquila in 1466. He had been the bearer of a letter from Grand-Master de Lastic to

Henry VI., and took part with the house of Lancaster in the Wars of the Roses. He was made prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471, and put to death in cold blood by order of Edward IV. His near kinsman and predecessor in the bailiwick of Aquila was William Langstrother, who held that rank at a chapter-general which sat at Rome in 1446. Both these dignitaries were buried in the church of St. John at Clerkenwell.

JAMES HETING, or KEATING, was deprived of his dignity as grand-prior of Ireland for not hastening to Rhodes when summoned to take part in its defence in 1480.

THOMAS DOCWRA, or DOCRAY, was the second son of Richard Docray, of Bradsville, in the county of York. He was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480. During his priorate, the new establishment at Clerkenwell, to replace that destroyed by Wat Tyler, was completed. Docwra possessed considerable talents in diplomacy, and was very wealthy. He was nearly elected Grand-Master, having only lost the nomination by one vote, when L'Isle Adam was appointed. He died in 1527.

JOHN RAWSON was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1522. He was afterwards made Turcopolier, and eventually, at the special request of Henry VIII., appointed grand-prior of Ireland. He died in 1547.

WILLIAM WESTON, grand-prior of England, time of Henry VIII. By an act passed in 1533, it was made lawful for "Viscounts, the Pryour of Seint John of Jerusalem, and Barons to wear in their dublettes or sleveless coates clothe of golde sylver or tynsel." It has already been recorded that it was during the priorate of Weston that Henry VIII. suppressed the *langue* of England, granting Weston a pension of £1,000 a year. This pension, so liberally allowed to him out of his own property, was not long enjoyed. Unable to bear up against the calamities which had befallen his Order, he died of grief on Ascension Day, 1540, in the very year when his pension was granted. He was buried in the chancel of St. James's church, Clerkenwell, where an altar tomb in the architectural style of the age, representing him as an emaciated figure lying upon a winding sheet, was erected over his remains.* Weever has thus

* See illustration of this monument in plate opposite page 571.

described this memorial, now utterly destroyed :—" In the north walle of the chancell is a faire marble tombe with the portraiture of a dead man lying upon his shroud the most artificially cut in stone that ever man beheld. All the plates of brass are stolne away only some few peeses remaining containing these words :—

"Hospitalitate inclytus genere præclarus.

(Here are Arms.)

Hanc urna officii causa."

In the centre, on another plate, in old English characters, was :—

"Spes me non fallat quam in te semper habebam,
Virgo da facilem votis natum."

And on another :—

"Ecce quem cernis semper tuo nomini devotum
Suspice in sinum Virgo Maria tuum."

In 1788, when the old church of St. James was pulled down, this monument was taken away. "During the removal," says a contemporary writer, "the lead coffin was discovered, which was deposited within a few inches of the surface. On the breast part was a cross raised in lead. On raising the cover, the skeleton appeared, but without any appearance of its having been wrapped in cere cloth, or habit of his Order, nor did it seem at first that ever any embalmment had been used ; but, on more careful inspection, there was found a quantity of dark-coloured mucilaginous substance between the thighs and the lower parts of the body, of an unctuous feel, but quite inodorous. The bones were laid in the same order as when the corpse was deposited in the lead coffin, which did not appear had ever been enclosed in one of wood. The fingers and toes were fallen off, but the other parts retained their proper situation, and some teeth remained in each jaw. On measuring the skeleton it was exactly six feet in length, wanting one inch." When the monument was removed, the effigy was left, and for many years stood upright in a corner of the vault below the church. It has, however, recently been restored by a descendant

of the grand-prior, Col. Gould Hunter Weston, himself a knight of the revived *langue*. It now lies once more in its original recumbent position, on a suitable base, in the north side of the church. Sir William Weston had been present at the siege of Rhodes in 1522, where he greatly distinguished himself.

ADRIAN FORTESCUE was the second son of Sir John Fortescue; his mother was aunt to Queen Anne Boleyn. He was created by Henry VIII. a knight of the Bath for his services in the French wars. He was summoned to attend that king at the field of the cloth of gold, when he was directed "not only to put yourself in arreadiness with the number of ten tall personages, well and conveniently apparelled for this purpose to pass with you over the sea but also in such wise to appoint yourself in apparel as to your degree the honour of us and this our realm appertaineth." He was committed "to the Knight Marshall's ward at Woodstock," in 1534, for denying the king's supremacy, and released under the general pardon late in the autumn of the same year. He was again attainted in the spring of 1539. Hull has the following entry in his chronicle on the subject:—"Sir Adrian Foskeu and Sir Thomas Dingley knights of St. John were the 10th day of July beheaded." There are two pictures of him in the church of St. John at Valetta, and a third in the Collegio di San Paulo at Rabato, Malta. The two first are by Matthias Preti, called "Il Calabrese," a knight who flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Sir Adrian Fortescue has always been revered as a martyr in the island.

CLEMENT WEST, Turcopolier. He rendered himself notorious by the turbulence and disrespect of his conduct. In the chapter-general held in 1532, he argued that the proxies for the grand-priors of England and Ireland, and for the bailiff of Aquila, should not be allowed to vote. The assembly having decided against that opinion, he broke out into the most unseemly and blasphemous language, calling the procurators Saracens, Jews, and bastards. The latter then preferred a complaint against him, and when called upon for explanation he merely stated that it was impossible for him to know whether they were Jews or not, for that they certainly were not Englishmen. The

council thereupon enjoined him to ask pardon, but this he positively refused to do, and, flying into a violent passion, began cursing and swearing most vehemently, and throwing his mantle upon the ground, said that if he deserved condemnation at all he ought to be deprived of his habit and put to death. Thereupon he drew his sword and left the council chamber, to the great scandal of all present. He was in consequence deprived of his habit, and of the dignity of Turcopolier. As soon as this news reached England great exertions were made to restore West to his office. The knight, John Sutton, was despatched by the grand-prior of England and the duke of Norfolk to beg that he might be reinstated. From the letters which this envoy presented to the council on the 23rd February, 1533, it appeared that the feeling in England was that West had been unjustly condemned, and that a bad feeling had sprung up against him owing to his wearing an Order appertaining to the king of England. The council feeling much aggrieved at this calumny, a commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, consisting of Sir Edward Bellingham (English), Aurelio Bottigello (Italian), and Baptiste Villaragut (Spanish). The report of these commissioners is not in existence, but by a decree dated April 26th, 1533, West was reinstated as Turcopolier, he having expressed contrition. The lesson bestowed on this turbulent knight appears, however, to have been thrown away, for in 1537 he was again in trouble for acts of disobedience and for provoking another knight to fight a duel, and in 1539 he was once more placed in arrest by decree of the council for disrespect to their body (*vide* list of crimes in Chapter XXI.), and finally, he was again deprived of the dignity of Turcopolier, on the 3rd September in the same year, at the instance of the English knights then resident at the convent. He had, nevertheless, evidently been held as a person of consideration, for on the death of Dupont, in 1534, he was nominated lieutenant of the Grand-Mastery during the interregnum.

SIR GYLES RUSSELL, Turcopolier in 1539. At the death of this knight in 1543, it was decreed that there should be no further nomination to the dignity until the Catholic religion should be re-established in England.

NICHOLAS UPTON was appointed lieutenant of the Turco-

polier on the death of Russell. He distinguished himself so greatly in this office that in 1548 the Grand-Master D'Omedes and council rescinded the resolution carried on the death of Russell, and appointed Upton Turcopolier. He died in 1551 from the effects of a *coup de soleil*, which he received whilst resisting a descent on the island of Malta by Dragut. The Grand-Master declared his death to be a national loss.

OSWALD MASSINGBERD was the second son of Sir Thomas Massingberd, of Sutton, in the county of Lincoln. He appears, like West, to have been a man of a most violent and insubordinate temper, and to have been in continual trouble whilst at Malta. On one occasion he was brought before the council for the murder of four slaves, for which act he was deprived of his habit for two days. The following entry appears also amongst the records of the council in 1552:—"The right reverend Lord the Grand-Master and Venerable Council, having heard the report of the commanders deputed to inquire into the complaint preferred by the noble Paolo Fiteni against the Lord Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, Brother Oswald Massingberd, for having forcibly entered his house and violently taken therefrom a certain female slave with her daughter whom he had recently purchased from the Order, and for having struck him with his fist, and also having heard the said de Massingberd in contradiction, who pretended that the above-mentioned Paolo could in no way have purchased the female slave as she had previously been branded with certain marks in his name, as is customary and usual on similar occasions, and that therefore the preference in the purchase of the said slave appertained to him, de Massingberd, do now, after mature deliberation, condemn the said de Massingberd to restore the above-mentioned female slave with her daughter to Fiteni, and order that they shall be restored accordingly. Further, in consideration of the force and violence used, they furthermore decree that he shall remain and be kept for two months within his own residence, and that for this period he shall not be permitted to leave it" (*vide* list of crimes, Chapter XXI.).

GEORGE DUDLEY had been professed a knight in 1545, but had shortly after become a Protestant, abandoning the

fraternity, and taking to himself a wife. In the year 1557, however, the seceder demanded pardon for his errors of the Grand-Master and council. On reconciliation to the church he was readmitted into the fraternity, and in May, 1558, it was decreed "that on account of the poverty of the brother George Dudley, at present the only English brother of the venerable *langue* of England, permission should be granted to him to sue for, exact, and recover all the revenues and rents of houses belonging to the said *langue* from any and all of the tenants, and to give receipts for the same."

OLIVER STARKEY was Latin secretary to La Valette, and was present at the siege of Malta. He appears to have thoroughly enjoyed the confidence of his chief, and to have been held in high estimation by all the members of the convent. He was reduced to so great destitution whilst at Malta, that a pension of 100 scudi (£8 6s. 8d.) was awarded to him from the treasury. He was buried at the foot of the tomb of the chief he had loved and served so well, in the crypt beneath St. John's church at Valetta, being the only knight not a Grand-Master who was so honoured.

JAMES SANDILANDS was preceptor of Torphichen and Lord of St. John. He was the intimate personal friend of John Knox, and by the persuasion of that reformer renounced the Catholic faith in 1553. He, however, continued for some time longer to maintain his office and dignities. In 1560 he was sent by the congregation parliament of Scotland to France to lay its proceedings before Francis and Mary. There the cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accusing him of violating his obligations as a knight of a Holy Order. Notwithstanding all his efforts to soothe the prelate, and the most assiduous endeavours to recommend himself to the queen, he was dismissed without any answer. After this, feeling himself no longer authorized to retain his office, he resigned the entire property of the Order of St. John into the hands of the crown. Upon this, the queen, on the 24th January, 1563-4, was pleased, on condition of an immediate payment of 10,000 crowns and an annual duty of 500 marks, and in consideration of "his faithful, noble, and gratuitous services to herself and to her royal parents," to convert it into the

temporal Lordship of Torphichen, creating him Lord of St. John, and giving him the lands and baronies of Torphichen and Listoun, Balintredo, Thankertoun, Denny, Maryculter, Stanhouse, Gultna, etc. He afterwards married Janet, daughter of Murray of Polonaise, but had no issue, and at his death in 1596 his title and the possessions which he had plundered from the Order devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands, of Calder, and have remained in that line ever since.

DAVID SETON is said to have been the last prior of Scotland, and to have retired to Germany with the greater portion of his brethren about 1572. In an old poem of that period he is mentioned as the head of the Scottish Hospitallers. The poem is entitled, "The Holy Kirke and his Theeves." After apostrophizing Sir James Sandilands for his treachery to the Order, it proceeds thus:—

"Fye upon the traitor then,
 Quha has broucht us to sic pass
 Greedie als the knave Judas.
 Fye upon the churle quwhat solde
 Halie Erthe for heavie golde,
 But the Order felt na losse,
 Quhan David Setonne bare the Crosse."

David Seton is said to have died about 1591, and to have been buried in the church of the Scottish Benedictines at Ratisbonne. He was of the noble house of Wintoun.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1601—1669.

Alof de Vignacourt—Ecclesiastical disputes—The Malta aqueduct—Anthony de Paule—Chapter-general—Election of Lascaris—Disputes with France and Spain—Battle of the Dardanelles—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Commencement of the Floriana line—Acquisition in the West Indies—Election of Redin—The brothers Cottoner—Siege and loss of Candia.

THE seventeenth century opened with the accession of Alof de Vignacourt to the dignity of fifty-second Grand-Master of the Order of St. John. This knight, at the age of seventeen, had joined the ranks of the fraternity at Malta, in the year 1564, at the time when they were expecting an immediate attack by the Turks, and in the following year he passed through all the perils and hardships of the siege. He was subsequently named governor of Valetta, and as his length of service increased, so he rose in rank until he reached the post of conventual bailiff, as grand-hospitaller, and at the death of Garces, in 1601, he was raised to the vacant office of Grand-Master. The disputes which disturbed the sway of his predecessors appeared now to have calmed down, and although on several occasions dissatisfaction and turbulence still made themselves manifest, the peace of the convent was not materially affected. Several naval exploits of more or less importance graced the annals of his rule. Successful descents were made on Barbary, Patras, Lepanto, and Lango. Laizzo and Corinth also witnessed the daring inroads of adventurous knights, who returned from these various expeditions with a vast amount of booty, and were able in consequence to store the bagnio in Malta with a large additional number of slaves.

That these exploits bore in any appreciable degree on the

general issue of the struggle between the Christian and the Moslem is more than the most partial historian could venture to assert. The days when the knights of St. John were content to expend their energies and shed their blood simply in defence of their faith without regard to gain had long since passed away. Now they no longer sought in open field to crush the foe against whom their profession engaged them to maintain a constant warfare. Looking rather to their personal enrichment than to the public advantage, they strove, by means of such isolated and plundering exploits as those referred to above, to gain for their convent and themselves a rich reward.

Enraged at these repeated insults, the Turks strove, in their turn, to carry the war into the enemy's country. In the year 1615, we therefore find them making a descent upon Malta with sixty galleys, on which occasion they disembarked 5,000 men on the island. Due precautions had, however, been taken by the inhabitants, who, on the approach of the enemy, all retreated into the towns, and the Turks gained nothing by their attempt, being driven ignominiously back into their ships with some loss.

The rule of de Vignacourt, like those of his immediate predecessors, was disturbed by the pretensions of the bishop of Malta. This ecclesiastic, whose name was Cagliares, having had recourse to a personal visit to Rome during one of his numerous disputes with the Grand-Master and council in order to secure a favourable decision on his pretensions, had appointed a deputy to maintain the interests of his see during his absence. The arrogance of this deputy far exceeded even that of his chief, and the more youthful and hot headed amongst the knights were unable to restrain their indignation at his intolerable assumption. A band of these malcontents attacked the bishop's palace by night, threatening to throw the offending prelate into the Marsa Muscetto, and it was with no little difficulty that de Vignacourt was enabled to rescue him out of their hands. He despatched him to the Pope with a complaint of his conduct, and a request that he might be subjected to reproof; but Paul V., who was bent on supporting the clergy to the utmost in their pretensions, took a very high tone in the matter. So far from yielding to the request which

had been preferred, he acquitted the bishop's deputy of all blame, and called upon the Grand-Master and council, under pain of anathema, to make due reparation for the indignities to which he had been subjected. Resistance was in vain; de Vignacourt was compelled to submit, and to restore the churchman to his position. Similar scenes occurred with the grand-inquisitor, the incessant disputes which arose with these turbulent dignitaries rendering the office of Grand-Master by no means a bed of roses.

The name of de Vignacourt has in Malta become inseparably connected with the aqueduct which he caused to be made. Destitute as the towns of Valetta and Vittoriosa are of all natural springs, the inhabitants were compelled, before his time, to depend for their water supply entirely upon excavated tanks; and consequently were, in the event of a dry winter, sorely distressed during the following summer. To obviate this evil, de Vignacourt constructed a very fine aqueduct, carried principally on arches, which brought water into Valetta from some springs in the Benjemma hills, near the Città Vecchia. This aqueduct is upwards of nine miles in length, and carries the water into every part of the city, supplying numerous fountains which succeeding Grand-Masters have erected in various convenient localities. A worthier monument this than the most costly sculptured tomb. The gratitude of posterity will recall the memory of de Vignacourt so long as Valetta exists, as the founder of one of the most useful and enduring works which that city possesses.

Among the incidents of this time worth recording was the reception of Alexander Monsieur, the illegitimate son of Henry IV. by Gabrielle d'Estrees, into the Order, on the 2nd of February, 1604. For the purpose of this reception Henry had summoned to Paris the grand-priors both of France and Champagne, and arrangements were made for the ceremony to take place in the church of the Temple, then one of the most important in the possession of the fraternity. Numerous commanders and knights had flocked into Paris from the various provincial establishments in France, and everything was done to enhance the splendour of the function. On arrival at the Temple, the little prince was handed by

his father to the grand-priors, and was conducted up the centre aisle between these dignitaries, followed by an escort of twelve commanders and twelve knights. At the altar, which glittered with plate and jewels, stood the cardinal de Gondy, the Papal nuncio, and a number of bishops. In the centre of the choir was erected a throne for the king and queen, around whom stood the other members of the royal family and the principal officials of the court. The ceremony began with the consecration of the young knight's sword, and the change of clothing which was intended to typify the new duties he was to undertake. His mantle and outer garment were removed, and he was arrayed in a vest of white satin, elaborately embroidered in silver and gold, with a waist-belt studded with jewels, a black velvet cap with a white plume and band of large pearls, and over all a tunic of black taffeta. Thus dressed, the prince was led by the grand-priors to the altar. Then the bishop of Nevers delivered an oration in praise of the Order, enjoining the young neophyte to emulate its good deeds. High mass was commenced, and when the gospel had been read Alexander Monsieur knelt before the bishop, holding a waxen taper in his hand, and solicited admission into the fraternity. On this the king rose from his throne, and saying aloud that he for the moment surrendered his state as a monarch in order to perform his duty as a father, placed himself by the side of his son. The young knight, having been received with the customary forms, the king pledged himself that so soon as his son had reached the age of sixteen he should renew his vows and conform in every way to the regulations of the Order. The young prince was then nominated to one of the best commanderies in the kingdom, and at once put in possession of its revenues, which amounted to 40,000 livres.

The same fate befel de Vignacourt as that which had struck down La Valette. He was seized with an attack of apoplexy whilst hunting, no doubt from the extreme heat of the summer sun, it being the month of August, 1622, and on the 14th September he died, at the age of seventy-five. His successor, Louis Mendes de Vasconcellos only survived his election six months, being nearly eighty years old at the time of his nomination. It seems that at this period it was the practice

of the fraternity to elect the most aged knights to the supreme control, with a view to the frequent vacancy of the post. A more suicidal policy could scarcely have been conceived. Men worn out by a long life of excitement and enterprise could hardly be expected to retain sufficient energy to conduct with prudence and skill a government fraught with so many difficulties both from within and without. Where inflexible determination and vigorous promptitude in action were the essential requisites to a successful administration, these feeble and decrepit veterans, sinking almost into their dotage, were utterly useless. It is mainly owing to this fact that during the seventeenth century the power of the Grand-Master and the vitality of the Order itself, suffered so rapid and marked a diminution.

In pursuance of this short-sighted policy, Vasconcellos was followed in 1623 by Antoine de Paule, grand-prior of St. Gilles, who was seventy-one years old at the time of his election. He, however, succeeded in disappointing the general expectations of an early vacancy, by living to the age of eighty-five. De Paule's rule is celebrated as being the epoch in which the last chapter-general was convoked until near the end of the eighteenth century. The unpopularity of these great councils had been steadily augmenting. The difficulty of maintaining the magisterial authority during their session was so great that no Grand-Master after de Paule felt disposed to call into existence a council in which he himself had so little weight and influence. Upon this occasion the Pope had insisted that the grand-inquisitor should take his seat as president of the chapter. De Paule and his council remonstrated, pointing out that it was diametrically opposed to the constitution of their Order that a stranger should assume the position of president in its chief assembly, and stating that the fraternity would never tolerate the intrusion. The Pope, however, was obstinate, and insisted upon the appointment being acquiesced in. The aged Grand-Master had not sufficient energy to support him in a broil with the court of Rome, so he yielded the point without further remonstrance. It is probable that the younger members of the Order would, in some open manner, have resented the intrusion thus forced on them, had not de Paule sent the majority of

them away from the island on a cruise, holding the chapter during their absence. The statutes were all revised during this session, and the laws thus amended remained in force until the dispersion of the fraternity at the close of the eighteenth century.

Much dissatisfaction was caused by the repeated interference of the Pope with the patronage of the *langue* of Italy. Vacancies were constantly filled up by him with his own relatives and dependents without the slightest regard to the claims of seniority or the wishes of the council. The Italian knights became at length so discontented at this glaring misappropriation of their rights that they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to perform any of the duties of their profession, or to take their turn of military and naval service, on the plea of the injury which was being inflicted on their interests. Many abandoned Malta altogether, and returning to their homes, threw off the habit of the Order in disgust. Redress was sought in vain, and the Grand-Master was forced to submit to the usurpation thus made on his most valued privileges and patronage.

Throughout his rule, expeditions similar in character to those organized under de Vignacourt constantly took place. Useless for all national purposes, and partaking largely of a piratical character in the way they were conducted, they served only to irritate the Turks without in the slightest degree enfeebling their power. The knights of Malta were fast degenerating into a race very similar in character and pursuits to the robber hordes who swarmed within the harbours of Algiers and Tunis, and their deviation from the noble and disinterested conduct of their predecessors was apparent in every detail of their administration. The worldly prosperity, however, of those over whom they held sway was materially increased, and the influx of wealth consequent on the many rich prizes they annually seized, raised the island of Malta to a position of opulence and commercial importance to which it had for centuries been a stranger. In the year 1632, a census was held, and the numbers then recorded as present in the island, with its dependency of Gozo, amounted to 51,750 souls. When L'Isle Adam, a century earlier, had first established his convent home there, the population barely exceeded 17,000. The Maltese had

consequently nearly tripled their numbers during that interval beneath the flourishing sway of the Order of St. John, notwithstanding the fearful losses they had sustained during the siege of 1565.

Antoine de Paule died on the 10th of June, 1637, and was again succeeded by an aged knight. This was John Paul de Lascaris Castellar, of the *langue* of Provence, who was seventy-six years old when he was elected. He was at the time bailiff of Manosque, and was not long in discovering that he had exchanged a very dignified and lucrative sinecure for a post which was by no means equally desirable. A fierce war was at this moment raging between France and Spain, and many knights of both countries, contrary to the express terms of the statutes, took part in the struggle. The French element then, as always, preponderated greatly in the convent, and the sympathies of the Order in consequence leant visibly towards that country. In revenge for this partiality, the viceroy of Sicily, espousing the interests of his master, the king of Spain, forbade the exportation of grain to Malta. As that island was almost entirely dependent on Sicily for its supply of provisions, this prohibition was tantamount to the creation of a famine. The Grand-Master was therefore driven to mollify the offended Spaniard by a strict enforcement of neutrality on the part of the convent between the contending powers. In pursuance of this resolve he caused a French vessel of war to be fired on, which, being commanded by one of his knights, had ventured to anchor in the channel between Malta and Gozo. Pacified by this act, the viceroy removed his embargo on the exportation of corn. On the other hand, however, the king of France was so irritated at the open insult shewn to his flag, that he prepared to seize all the possessions of the Order in France, and annex them to the crown. Fortunately Lascaris was able to prove to the king that he had only acted in the matter as he was bound to do by his statutes, as well as by the treaty under which he held the tenure of Malta. The affair was thus settled, and he and his convent left in peace.

In the year 1638, an action was fought between the six galleys of the Order and a Turkish squadron of three large ships of war which were engaged in convoying a number of merchant-

men from Tripoli to Constantinople. In this engagement the knights were completely successful, as they not only captured the whole flotilla, but also the three men-of-war which formed the convoy. They purchased this advantage at the cost of a large loss in killed and wounded, including some of their most distinguished captains. In 1640 six Barbary pirates were seized from the harbour of Goletta by the general of the galleys, and in 1644 three galleys under Piancourt overcame a large and formidable galleon after a most desperate conflict. In this affair the Turks lost 600 men, whilst amongst the captives was a sultana from the imperial seraglio, who was then on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This loss, following as it did the other disasters, so incensed the sultan that he despatched a herald to Malta, threatening instant war. Lascaris, on this, took prompt measures to insure the security of the island. Knights were summoned from all quarters to assist in the defence, and volunteers in great numbers flocked there, anxious to share in the renown of a second defence of Malta. Amongst these was the count D'Arpajou, who brought, at his own expense a reinforcement of no less than 2,000 men. The Order was so grateful for this munificent aid that the count was unceremoniously nominated commander-in-chief over all the forces in the island, a post rightfully belonging to the grand-marshal, the conventual bailiff of Auvergne. The alarm of invasion having proved false, the Grand-Master, on the departure of D'Arpajou, conferred several decorations on him and his descendants in commemoration of his zeal for the welfare of the fraternity.

The naval war with Turkey was, however, by no means suspended, for the Turks, having directed their armaments against the Venetian island of Candia, the galleys of Malta hurried promptly to the assistance of the republic. Other sea fights were also constantly occurring, in which the superiority of the knights over their opponents was usually very decided. In 1656 an engagement of greater importance than ordinary took place between the combined fleets of Venice and Malta on the one side, and that of the Turks on the other, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. In a contemporary newspaper published in London, called the *Mercurius Politicus*, there is the following

graphic account of this action, which may be regarded as a type of most of those which about this period were of constant occurrence between the rival fleets :—

“London, September, 1656, from Venice, August 15, *stili novo*. The particulars of our last victory are now brought hither by the Sieur Lazaro Mocenigo, who entered here on the 1st of this month in a Turkish galley which was taken from those Infidels, and all the men in her had turbans on their heads. At his arrivall the people declared an extraordinary joy. All the shops were shut up, and the duke, accompanied by the senators, went and sang *Te Deum*, and the ringing of bells continued till next day in all churches. On the third day a solemn mass was celebrated by the duke and senators in the church of St. Marke, where all the ambassadors of princes were present. And that the rejoycing might extend to the very prisons, the senate took order for the releasing of all persons imprisoned for debt, and some of the banditi were also set at liberty.

“In the mean time the said Sieur Mocenigo, who had contributed so much of prudence and courage to the gaining of this victory, had first the honour of knighthood conferred on him by the senate, with a chain of gold 2,000 crownes value, and then was declared generallissimo in the room of the late slain Lorenzo Marcello, in memory of whom it is ordered there be a publick service celebrated next week at the publick charge.

“Now that so renowned a victory may in some measure be known, take the following relation :—

“*A particular relation of the manner of the late victory obtained by the Venetians against the Turk.*

“After the Venetian fleet had made a month’s stay at the mouth of the Dardanelles to wait for and fight the enemy, in the meanwhile arived the squadron of Malta, which consisted of seven galleys. On the 23rd of June last past the Captain Bassa appeared in sight of the castles; his fleet consisted of twenty-eight great ships, sixty galleys, nine galeasses, and other small vessels.

“The navy of the republick was composed of twenty-eight great ships, twenty-four galleys, and seven galeasses, to which joyned (as was said before) the galleys of Malta, commanded by the lord prior of Roccelia. The navy of the republick kept

in the narrowest part of the channel, so that the Turks could not come forth without accepting the battel which was offered.

“At the beginning the Captain Bassa raised two batteries upon land on both sides the river, the one on the part of Natolia, the other on the part of Grecia, thinking thereby to oblige our ships and galeasses to forsake their station, and so facilitate their own going forth. The courage of the Venetian resisting their shot with undaunted boldness rendered the advantage they had taken unprofitable, whereupon the Captain Bassa, who had express order to attempt going out, upon the 26th of the same month in the morning, favoured with a pleasant north wind, made all his greatest ships to advance in good order, but, whether they durst not expose themselves, or for what other reason is not known, they withdrew behind the point of Barbiera, and thither also the Captain Bassa repaired with his galleys.

“About ten of the clock it pleased God to send a small north-west wind which occasioned the Venetian navy to move, and the honorable Eleazer Mocenigo (who having finished the charge of a captain of a galley would needs continue with the fleet as a volunteer, and commanded the left wing) found means to advance with the *Sultana of St. Marke*, wherein he was, and passing beyond the Turkish fleet, endeavoured to hinder its retreat, keeping the mouth of the channel, and fighting valiantly.

“The battel being thus begun, the captain general, Laurence Marcello, accompanied with the general of Malta, came up, intermingling with the rest of the Venetian commanders and vessels, fell to it pel mel. After the Turks had used their utmost endeavour to avoid the fight, being hemmed in by the Venetian fleet, and having no place left to escape, they were forced to fight, with the more eagerness because they had lost all hope of making a retreat, and so commended their safety to the conflict, whereby they gave means to the Venetians the more to exalt their triumph and glory over their enemies, all the enemy being totally routed by the sword, by fire, and by water, the captain Bassa only saving himself with fourteen galleys, which hath crowned the republick with one of the greatest victories that ever was heard of in former times.

“The number of the enemies’ dead cannot be known nor dis-

covered among so many ships and galleys taken and consumed by fire and water. About the shore there were seen huge heaps of dead bodies, and in the bay of a certain little valley there appeared so great a quantity of carcases that it caused horror in the beholders.

“The number of Christian slaves freed on this occasion is near upon five thousand. That of the Venetians’ men killed and wounded doth not amount to three hundred, which makes the victory memorable to all ages.

“The battel lasted from ten o’clock in the morning until night, but the burning of the greatest part of the enemies’ fleet continued for two daies and two nights, on the first whereof the Venetians were forced to maintaine the fight, to subdue some Turkish vessels which stood out upon defence.

“The Venetians having reserved some of the enemies’ ships of all sorts in memory of the succeſse, besides eleven which those of Malta had taken, it was resolved upon by the Venetian commanders to burn the rest, to free themselves from the trouble of sailing with so numerous a fleet, and to keep their owne in readiness for all attempts.

“Three Venetian ships were burnt, two in the fight, and one by some other accident which is not well known, and their fleet received no other damage.

“The onely thing to be deplored in this succeſse was the losse of the Captain-Generall Marcello, who was killed with a cannon shot, and four men more who were next to him, after that with his own galley he had subdued a potent sultana, and (by the grace of God) seen the Turkish fleet in confusion, dispersed, defeated, and by consequence the great victory secured, and her upon the point of surprising another sultana. His soule hath received her reward in heaven, and his name will live with perpetuall glory in the memory of the world.

“Eleazer Moccenigo, by a new musquet-shot, lost one of his eies as he at first was attempting to prevent the Turks passage, notwithstanding which hee never failed to doe great things the whole time of the conflict.

“The valour, courage, and magnanimity wherewith all the Venetians and Malteses did behave themselves on this occasion may better be understood by the action than by discourse.”

The Lord-prior of Roccella, alluded to in this report as in command of the seven Maltese galleys, was Gregory Caraffa, grand-prior of La Rocella, a member of the Italian *langue*. There still exists in the *auberge* of Italy in Valetta, a tablet commemorative of the action. It runs as follows :—

“D. O. M.

“*Divog : Joanni Sacræ Ierosolymitanæ Militiæ Patrono ob gloriosam a Venetis de Turcica classe ad Dardanorum ora reportatam victoriam consilio opera et fœlici ausu fris DGregorii Caraffæ Roccellæ Prioris, et septem Melitentium triremium ducis. Qui primus in hostes invecutus, ita eos deterruit ac profligavit ut ipsam etiam Imperatoriam nisi ejus ratis scopulo hæsisset in suam potestatem rede-gisset. Vicit tamen, et captis ex adversariis præter tres maiores octo triremibus aliis minoribus, innumerisq tormentis teneis, tum sexaginta supra trecentos Turcis in servitutem redactis et ex Christianis bismille ac sex centis libertati donatis ad suos triumphantis in morem reversus, vivit vivetq. Serenissimæ Reipublicæ et Ierosolymitanæ Religionis benemerentissimus ac suæ familiæ decus immortalæ. In tantæ rei memoriam venerabilis lingua Italica uno corde multiplici nomine donat dicat consecrat Anno Domi MDCLVI.*”*

No action of greater importance than this had occurred since the memorable day of Lepanto. The Maltese galleys, although not numerous, appear to have done their duty nobly on the occasion, as the eleven vessels captured by them and borne off in triumph to Malta amply prove.

Whilst these maritime successes were attesting to the naval superiority of the Order, and increasing the renown in which

* “To Saint John the Baptist, the patron of the knights of Jerusalem, on account of the glorious victory gained by the Venetians over the Turkish fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, by the advice, the care, and the happy valour of Fr. Dom Gregory Caraffa, prior of Rocella and commander of seven Maltese galleys, who, being the first to attack the enemy, threw them into such disorder that he would have secured their flagship had his own vessel not run on a rock. He conquered, however, and having seized, in addition to three large ships, eight other smaller galleys with numberless brass guns, he captured 360 Turks, and liberated 2,600 Christians. He returned in triumph where he lives, and will live eternally, meriting well of the serene republic and of the Order of Jerusalem, and the eternal glory of his family. In memory of so great a deed, the venerable *langue* of Italy, with unanimous voice, has dedicated and consecrated this tablet in the year of Our Lord 1656.”

it was held throughout Europe, the convent still remained the scene of acrimonious dispute and internal discord. The inquisitor, the bishop, and the Jesuits, all sought their own advancement, to the sacrifice of the authority of their common lord, the Grand-Master. In order to withdraw from their allegiance as many of the inhabitants as possible the bishop was in the habit of "granting the tonsure" to any one who demanded that distinction. By this mark, and without in any other way assuming the functions of the clergy, men claimed exemption from all but ecclesiastical authority, this being vested in the bishop. They secured freedom from all the imposts and duties to which the laity were liable, and their position became so favourable in comparison with that of their fellow-subjects that numbers flocked to the bishop to be received into the community. Had this state of things been suffered to continue, the Grand-Master would in time have found himself denuded of all actual power in the island of which he was the nominal sovereign. He therefore remonstrated most urgently with the Pope upon so outrageous an assumption. Urban VIII., who was at that time the pontiff, could not deny the justice of the complaint; he therefore issued instructions to the bishop forbidding him in future to grant the privileges of the tonsure to any but such as were *bonâ fide* ecclesiastics.

The embroilment with the Jesuits had likewise gradually culminated in an open breach in consequence of the arrogance and grasping ambition of the latter. The quarrel which led to their expulsion from the island originated in the frolic of some young knights, who, during the carnival of 1639, disguised themselves in the habit of Jesuits, and in that garb were guilty of many scandalous disorders in the town. The reverend fathers, highly irate at this open profanation of their distinguishing costume, complained bitterly to the Grand-Master and council, who caused the offending knights to be arrested. Public feeling had gradually become so excited against the disciples of Loyola, that this act of severity, just and necessary though it might be, was very ill received. A tumult arose, in the course of which the prison in which the young knights were confined was broken open, the offenders released, and the Jesuit college pillaged and gutted. The insurgents were so exasperated, and were so

numerically strong, that in obedience to the popular clamour, the expulsion of the detested fathers was decreed. With the exception of four of their number, who contrived to conceal themselves, the whole body was at once compelled to leave the island. The relief was, however, but temporary, as it was not long before the reverend fathers once more found their way back to the scene of their former exploits.

Meanwhile the Pope, who doubtless considered that he had secured the eternal gratitude of the fraternity by his action against the bishop, demanded the assistance of the Maltese galleys in a war in which he was engaged against some of the minor Italian princes who had formed a league against him. To this request Lascaris and the council were so weak as to accede, although such action was directly opposed to the fundamental principles of their institution. The princes, justly irritated at this breach of neutrality on the part of the Order, confiscated its possessions in their respective territories, nor did they withdraw the embargo till ample satisfaction and apology had been tendered.

Whilst thus engaged in political disputes, which materially affected the prosperity of his fraternity, Lascaris did not neglect the internal improvement of his convent and of the island over which he ruled. The city of Valetta was, at its earliest foundation, protected by a line of ramparts enclosing it, and cutting off the lower portion of the peninsula of Mount Scieerras from the mainland. Not deeming this single line of works a sufficient defence on the land side—the only direction from which an attack was to be feared—Lascaris engaged an eminent Italian engineer named Floriani to suggest such additions as he might deem necessary. In due course Floriani presented to the council a project for a new enceinte to enclose a considerable space beyond the Valetta front, the proposed line running across the peninsula of Mount Scieerras, nearly at the point of its junction with the mainland. This report was prefaced with a long list of the defects under which Floriani considered the defences of Valetta laboured, and concluded with the remark that, although he had been engaged during his professional career in the fortification of many towns, and had, consequently, obtained considerable experience in the

art, he did not consider himself gifted with such high talents as would enable him to convert a bad work into a good one, and he was compelled, therefore, to suggest the enclosure of the first line within a second, the trace of which should be more in accordance with his ideas of perfection. The council was taken completely by surprise at this unlooked-for report. The knights had been accustomed to regard the enceinte of Valetta, with its very deep ditch and stupendous escarp, as a most powerful front, the whole of the stone for the building of the city having been quarried there so that it had attained proportions greater than those of any other similar work in Europe. They could not conceive that a line which they had always looked on with such high favour could, in reality, be so defective as was reported by Floriani; they therefore nominated a commission to investigate the matter. The report of that body was adverse to the scheme of Floriani, notwithstanding which the influence of the engineer was so great with the Grand-Master that the new project was adopted, and the work pushed forward for a long time with much vigour. After that it was suspended, and remained in an incomplete state until the year 1721, when it was finally completed. The suburb enclosed between the two lines has received the name of Floriana, after its designer. Floriani was admitted into the Order by Lascaris as a reward for the zeal and talent he had displayed in the work.

Malta is indebted to this Grand-Master for the splendid public library which he established in 1650, and which gradually increased until it attained proportions exceeded by few similar institutions in Europe. This rapid augmentation was the result of a decree that on the death of a knight his books should not be sold with the rest of his property for the benefit of the treasury, but should be sent to the public library, either to swell its extent, or, in the case of duplicates, to be exchanged. This library is situated in a very fine building erected for the purpose by Lascaris. In addition to the usual assortment of works, it is particularly rich in old and rare books, as well as in illuminated missals, some of them of the most beautiful workmanship, and also in manuscripts of every description.

In the year 1652 the Order of St. John for the first time

obtained possession of property in the New World. A knight, named de Poincey, had established himself in the island of St. Kitts, as commandant for a company of merchant adventurers who held the station under a grant from the crown of France. He persuaded the Grand-Master and council to effect a purchase of the island, which he represented as capable of adding materially to the wealth of the treasury. The cost of this transaction amounted to £5,000, for which sum the Order was invested with plenary possession of St. Kitts and all it contained, including slaves, provisions, and stores. This transfer was ratified by letters patent issued by the king, Louis XIV. De Poincey was appointed to the superintendence of the property, which was raised to the position of a bailiwick, and efforts were made to secure the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe on similar terms, but without success. The results which de Poincey had foretold were never realized; the treasury received no return whatever for the outlay which had been made; and when, ten years later, the new bailiff died, it was found that the debts he had incurred in the management of the estate amounted to as much as its entire value. The fraternity, therefore, hastened to disembarass itself of an acquisition rich in nothing but debts and encumbrances, and the unfortunate speculation was brought to a close by a transfer of the island, with its liabilities, to a company of French merchants in the year 1665, under whose control the plantations proved a far more lucrative investment.

Lascaris died on the 14th August, 1657, at the extraordinary age of ninety-seven. His end had been so long anticipated that intrigues without number were set on foot with respect to his successor. On the one hand appeared the prior of Navarre, Martin de Redin, who had secured the support of a very large party in the convent, whilst in strong opposition to him was the grand-inquisitor Odi, who cherished an inveterate antipathy to the Spanish knight, and sought in every way to thwart his ambition. Redin had been recently appointed by the king of Spain to the viceroyalty of Sicily, and at the moment of Lascaris' death was absent from the convent at the seat of his government, but his party was too powerful for the inquisitor to overcome, although he made every effort to do so. He

had even, with a view to eventualities, secured from the Pope a brief, declaring that any knight who had been guilty of canvassing or bribery, or who had employed either promises or threats to secure his election, should be ineligible for the post of Grand-Master. In pursuance of this decree, the inquisitor denounced Redin, and proclaimed to the electoral body that he was, on account of his various malpractices, which included simony, debarred from competition for the vacant dignity. The electors disregarded this notification, being, probably, not averse from taking the opportunity of proving to the inquisitor that his interference was distasteful. Redin was duly proclaimed Grand-Master, and Odi, having vainly protested against the election, appealed, as a last resource, to the Pope. Redin did the same, and mollified his Holiness by expressing readiness to resign his office if he were personally objected to by the court of Rome.

The Pope was far too politic to proceed to extremities against a knight who enjoyed the favour of the king of Spain so strongly as to have been nominated viceroy of Sicily. He therefore confirmed the election, and completed the mortification of the inquisitor by requiring him to announce in person to the Grand-Master and council the papal acquiescence in the nomination. Whether Redin had used any underhand influence at the court of Rome to secure this ratification is unknown; but it is very certain that he was not ungrateful to the Pope, since he shortly afterwards nominated the prior de Bichi, the Pope's favourite nephew, to one of the richest commanderies in the *langue* of Italy, in open violation of the rights of seniority, and further presented him with a diamond cross of the value of 12,000 crowns. Nor did he stop here, for during his brief rule he continued to provide for various members of the Pope's family, to the detriment of older and more worthy candidates. It may therefore well be credited that the accusations originally preferred against him by the inquisitor were well founded.

He did not remain long in his government, nor were his immediate successors more fortunate, several changes occurring within a very short time. Redin died in the early part of 1660, and was followed by Annet de Clermont, bailiff of Lyons, who only enjoyed his position during three months, and who died from the effects of a wound which he had received at the capture

of Mahometa during his younger days, and which opened afresh at this period. He was in his turn replaced by Raphael Cottoner, bailiff of Majorca, who remained Grand-Master for three years, during which time he endeared himself to all classes of his subjects.

Raphael died in the year 1663, and was succeeded by his brother, Nicholas Cottoner, who had become bailiff of Majorca when that office was vacated by him. Only once before had two brothers been named in succession to the Grand-Mastership, the two Villarets having attained to that honour. On the present occasion the pre-eminent virtues of the noble brothers Cottoner amply justified the selection. A century had now elapsed since Europe had rung with acclaim at the brilliant defence the Order had made in its island stronghold of Malta. From that time comparatively little had been done to keep alive the reputation that had been gained, so that in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner found himself ruling over a fraternity whose position in public estimation was very different from what it had been in the days of La Valette. Nevertheless, every now and then some brilliant exploit was performed to shew that the old spirit was not dead. Both at the battle of Lepanto and at that of the Dardanelles the galleys of the Order, though few in number, had been so handled as to cover the knights with honour. Now we have to record one more glorious, though unsuccessful, feat of arms; this was the part they took in the defence of Candia.

It has been mentioned that in the year 1644 the galleys of the knights captured a Turkish ship, on board of which was a sultana of the imperial harem with her infant son. The prize was taken into the port of Candia, where the young mother, who had left Constantinople on a pilgrimage to Mecca, died from the effects of slow poison administered to her before her departure by one of her rivals. The child was brought to Malta, where he was tenderly nurtured by the Grand-Master Lascaris, and educated in the Christian faith. He eventually took holy orders, and became a Dominican friar under the name of father Ottoman. After a life spent in travelling throughout Europe, he returned to Malta as prior of Porto Salvo, and died there in the year 1676.

The capture of his sultana had caused Ibrahim the most lively indignation, and he had in consequence threatened the direst vengeance against the island. His wrath was, however, eventually diverted to Candia, principally, as the Venetians asserted, on account of the shelter which had there been given to the knights and their prize. Whatever may have really been the immediate subject of quarrel, the Venetians and the Turks had ever held the most unfriendly relations towards each other, and it required but a spark to kindle at any moment the flame of war between them. Certain it is that before the close of 1644 Candia had been invaded by a Turkish force, and from that date the fight between the rival powers had raged in the island with unceasing rancour. The knights had rendered the most loyal assistance to the Venetians in this struggle, as by their profession they were bound to do. If, as was alleged, it was through an act of theirs that the horrors of war were called down on the unfortunate Candians, they were doubly bound to aid in the defence. Throughout the rule of Lascaris and that of his three immediate successors the strife continued to rage with alternating fortune, the chiefs of the Hospital maintaining their support both on sea and land. The Turks had, however, gradually gained the upper hand, and when, in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner assumed the dignity vacant by the death of his brother, the defence of Candia already presented a most unfavourable aspect. He nevertheless continued to render such aid as lay in his power.

The assistance which his predecessors had afforded during the lengthened struggle had been gratefully acknowledged by the doges of Venice. There is a letter from Bartuccio Valerio, the then doge, dated December 9th, 1656, addressed to Lascaris, in which he implores the Order to continue its usual aid to withstand the attacks of the Turks on the island of Candia, which were becoming more fierce and unrelenting than ever, knowing well that the extremity of the peril would be an additional inducement to the noble knights of Malta to endeavour, both by sea and land, to gain back what had been lost, not only on account of their own thirst for glory, but also from their zeal for the general interests of Christianity. Another letter was addressed to Raphael Cottoner, in the year 1661, by the doge Domenico

Contarini, in which he states that in that protracted war the sacred cross of Malta had ever been ready and faithful under all circumstances to the standard of St. Mark, and that the Venetian republic would not be slow in expressing its gratitude for the brilliant and glorious deeds of the Order, which were worthy of the sincerest esteem and love.

The closing event of the war was the siege of the capital, which withstood for twenty-seven months the efforts of the Turks. Irritated at the protracted duration of the conflict, the grand-vizier Achmet had in person led a numerous army against the island, and at once commenced the siege of Candia. Assistance was in this crisis rendered by almost every nation in Europe. Reinforcements were poured into the city from all quarters, and amongst others a body of 60 knights and 300 men arrived from the convent. The defence of the town was maintained with an obstinacy and determination that gained a celebrity almost equal to that of Malta, although it was not destined to obtain so happy a termination. Step by step the Turks advanced and won their way through the advanced posts. The effusion of blood on both sides was fearful, but the superiority of the besiegers, both in men and *matériel*, enabled them to secure the advantage. At length it was resolved, by a desperate sally, to endeavour to redeem the lost ground. The duke de Noailles, who was in command of the French contingent, undertook this operation, having expressly stipulated that none but Frenchmen should be concerned in it. The sally was attempted in the middle of August, 1669, and failed utterly. The French were driven back into the town with great slaughter, the duke de Noailles was wounded, and his second in command, the duke de Beaufort, killed. The situation now became utterly desperate, and after a long consultation and warm debate, de Noailles determined on abandoning the contest, and leaving Candia to its fate. In pursuance of this resolve he embarked his forces on the 20th August, and set sail from the island.

The Maltese contingent had by this time become so much reduced in numbers, owing to the casualties of a protracted siege in which they had occupied a very exposed post, that they were no longer in a position to continue the defence. They

therefore made preparations for following the example of the French, deeming all idea of further resistance futile. They retired from St. Andrew's gate, the point which had been intrusted to their charge, and embarked on the 29th August for Malta. These defections left the place almost entirely unprotected; nothing, therefore, was left but to capitulate, and on the 6th September, 1669, the city and island of Candia passed into the possession of the Moslem.

The reputation for valour which the knights of St. John had of old established did not in any degree suffer from their conduct during this memorable siege. The commandant of the town, Morosini, thus alluded to their retirement in a despatch to his government:—"I lose more by the departure of these few, but most brave, warriors than by that of all the other forces." Brussoni, in his "*Guerra dei Turchi*," also states:—"Among the objects that they seemed most to admire was the Grand-Master of Malta, and whenever he passed they viewed him with extraordinary veneration, and, looking on St. Andrew's gate, where his knights had stood, they wondered and expressed to each other their high respect." The Grand-Master here alluded to must have been the knight in command of the Maltese contingent, since Cottoner did not himself appear in Candia, the duties of his government being far too responsible and onerous to admit of his undertaking the service of a simple warrior in any case where the defence of his own island was not concerned. The republic of Venice entertained so high a sense of the assistance rendered by the Order during this war that it passed a decree authorizing all knights within its territories to appear armed at all times and in every place, a privilege which it did not concede to its own subjects.

The prosecution of the siege in Candia had not prevented the knights from continuing those cruises which had rendered their flag so redoubtable in the Mediterranean. In the year 1664 they joined with a French force under the duke de Beaufort, afterwards killed, as we have seen, in Candia, in an expedition against Algiers; but this result of the attempt was unfortunate, and they were compelled to return to Malta without having accomplished their object. This mishap was, however, speedily atoned for by a succession of triumphs, in which the names of

Tremincourt, Crainville, and Hocquincourt attained for themselves the most brilliant reputations.

The fate of Tremincourt was a sad ending to a career which had opened so gloriously, but it added a yet brighter lustre to the fame of his memory. His vessel, during one of those violent storms which arise so suddenly in the Mediterranean, had been shipwrecked on the African coast, and he himself captured by the Moors. The celebrity of his exploits having become well known to the sultan he was forwarded to Adrianople to be disposed of in accordance with the imperial pleasure. Mohammed IV., who was at the time on the Ottoman throne, was so captivated by the high reputation and noble bearing of the youthful Tremincourt, that he made him the most flattering and tempting offers to induce him to abandon his religion and enter the Ottoman service. The hand of a princess of the imperial line was offered to him, together with an exalted rank in the service, but in vain. No inducements were sufficient to tempt the noble youth to forsake the faith of his forefathers. From persuasion Mohammed turned to cruelty, and endeavoured, by a series of hardships, indignities, and even tortures, to divert Tremincourt from the firmness of his resistance. Harsh measures did not, however, prove in any degree more successful than promises, and at length Mohammed, irritated to the last degree at his obstinate refusal, directed that he should be beheaded and his body cast into the sea, as unworthy of any more suitable burial. It may seem strange that the Ottoman rulers should so often have persevered in their endeavours to induce members of the Order who had fallen into their hands to abandon their faith and to brand themselves with the reproach of becoming renegades and traitors. Several previous instances of the kind have been recorded, in all of which the Moslem emperor was foiled by the firmness of his prisoners. Doubtless, however, many instances have been left untold where a contrary result took place. It must have been a somewhat trying ordeal to undergo, choosing between a high position, wealth, and distinction on the one hand, and the miserable lot of a galley-slave, if not a cruel death, on the other; and in cases where the natural love of life, or the craving for position was strong, no doubt the temptation was too great for resistance. It was not

given to every one to have the faith or the courage of a martyr ; all honour, then, to the noble Order which could count so many within its ranks. Tremincourt was indeed only following in the steps of his heroic predecessors, and in this sad ending to his brilliant but brief career enrolled himself a member of that glorious band who had sealed with their blood the faith which they professed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1669—1797.

Sir John Narbrough's visit to Malta—Construction of the Cottonera lines—Death of Cottoner—Gregory Caraffa—Adrian de Vignacourt—Raymond Perrelos—Embassy from Russia—Mark Anthony Zondodari—Manôel de Vilhena—Erection of Fort Manôel—Raymond Despuig—Pinto de Fonseca—Plot of the slaves—His popularity—Condition of the navy—Francois Ximenes—Priestly insurrection—Emanuel de Rohan—Chapter-general—Earthquake in Sicily—Erection of Fort Tigné—The French revolution—Destruction of the French *lanques*—Death of de Rohan.

ALTHOUGH all connection between the kingdom of England and the Order of St. John had ceased from the time when the property of the English *langue* was sequestrated, still an interchange of correspondence appears to have taken place on matters connected with the navigation of the Mediterranean, and other kindred subjects, between Charles II. and the Grand-Master. We have already, when treating of the subject of slavery, quoted a letter from that king, dated in 1673. We have now to deal with another, which was written in order to secure a hospitable reception at Malta for a squadron which the king was sending there. The letter is as follows:—

“Charles II., by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, etc., Defender of the Faith, To the most eminent prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta our well-beloved cousin and friend—Greeting.

“Most eminent prince, our well-beloved cousin and friend. The military Order over which your eminence most worthily presides having always used its power to render the navigation of the sea safe and peaceable for Christians, we in no way doubt that our ships of war armed for the same purpose will

receive from your eminence every office of friendship. We therefore are desirous of signifying to your eminence, by these our letters, that we have sent a squadron of our royal fleet to the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Sir John Narbrough, knight, to look after the safety of navigation and commerce, and to oppose the enemies of public tranquillity. We therefore amicably beseech your eminence that if ever the above-named Admiral Narbrough, or any of our ships cruising under his flag, should arrive at any of your eminence's ports or stations, or in any place subject to the Order of Malta, they may be considered and treated as friends and allies, and that they may be permitted to purchase with their money, and at just prices, and to export provisions and munitions of war, and whatever they may require, which, on similar occasions, we will abundantly reciprocate to your eminence and to your most noble Order.

"In the meantime we heartily recommend your eminence to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

"Given from our palace of Whitehall, the last day of November, 1674.

"Your highness's cousin and friend,

"CHARLES REX."

In accordance with the instructions he had received, Sir John Narbrough in due course made his appearance at Malta. A dispute seems then to have arisen, the admiral declining to salute the town unless he were assured of an answer, the Order being unwilling to pay that compliment to the British flag. The Grand-Master wrote a letter of complaint upon the subject of this grievance to the king of England, and Charles replied in the following terms:—

"We know not how it came to pass that our admiral in the Mediterranean sea, Sir John Narbrough, knight, should have given such cause of complaint as is mentioned in your eminence's letters, addressed to us under date of the 5th April, as to have refused to give the usual salute to the city of Malta, unless, perhaps, he had thought that something had been omitted on the part of the Maltese which he considered due to our dignity and to the flag of our royal fleet. Be it, however,

as it may, your eminence may be persuaded that it is our fixed and established intention to do and perform everything, both ourselves and by our officers, amply to shew how much we esteem the sacred person of your eminence and the Order of Malta. In order, therefore, that it should already appear that we do not wish greater honour to be paid to any prince than to your eminence, and to your celebrated Order, we have directed our above-mentioned admiral to accord all the same signs of friendship and goodwill towards your eminence's posts and citadels as towards those of the most Christian and Catholic kings, and we no way doubt your Order will equally shew that benevolence towards us which it is customary to shew to the above-mentioned kings or to either of them.

"Given in our palace of Whitehall, on the 21st day of June, 1675. Your eminence's good cousin and friend,

"CHARLES REX."

This letter does not appear to have produced the desired result, as may be gathered from the following, the original of which is in the Record Office at Malta:—

"To the most eminent prince the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta.

"Most eminent Sir,—

"After the tender of my humble service with my hearty thanks for the manifold favours vouchsafed unto my master the king of Great Britain, etc., and for your highness's extraordinary kindness manifested to myself, and, most eminent sir, since your favour of product (*query*, *pratique*), I have sent on shore one of my captains to wait upon your highness with the presentment of this my grateful letter, and withal to certify to your eminence that I did and do expect a salute to be given by your highness to my master's flag which I carry, correspondent to the salutes which you give to the flags of the king of Spain and of the king of France, which are carried in the same place, it being the expectation of the king my master.

"Formerly your eminence was pleased to make some scruple of my command as admiral, which I humbly conceive your highness is fully satisfied in, since you received the last letter from the king of Great Britain.

“ Sir, I have, since my arrival at your eminence’s port, often employed the consul Desclaus to wait upon your highness concerning the salutes, but have not received any satisfactory answer thereto, which I now humbly desire may be returned unto me by my officer, and withal that your eminence will be pleased to honour me with your commands, wherein I may serve you, which shall be most cheerfully embraced and readily performed by

“ Most eminent Sir,

“ Your highness’s most humble

“ and faithful servant,

“ JOHN NARBROUGH.

“ On board H.M.S. *Henrietta*, Malta, October 17th, 1675.”

It is not very clear of what this complaint of Narbrough’s consisted, since, by the journal of the Rev. Henry Teonge, chaplain on board H.M.S. *Assistance*, one of Narbrough’s squadron, there appeared no reluctance on the part of the town to return the salute, or, at all events, that they consented eventually to do so, and that, too, after considerable rudeness and bluster on the part of the captain of the *Assistance*, such as would not in the present day have been patiently tolerated by the weakest power. This is the extract:—

“ August 1st 1675.—This morn wee com near Malta; before wee com to the cytty a boate with the Maltese flagg in it coms to us to know whence wee cam. Wee told them from England they asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick viz enter-taynment, our captain told them he had no bill but what was in his guns mouths. Wee cam on and anchored in the harbour betweene the old toun and the new about nine of the clock, but must wait the governours leasure to have leave to com on shoare which was detarded because our captain would not salute the cytty except they would retaliate. At last cam the consull with his attendants to our ship, (but would not com on board till our captain had been on shoare,) to tell us that we had leave to com on shoare six or eight or ten at a time, and might have anything that was there to be had, with a promise to accept our salute kindly. Whereupon our captain tooke a glass of sack and drank a health to king Charles, and fyred seven gunns the

cytty gave us five again, which was more than they had don to all our men-of-warr that cam thither before."

It is evident from the date of this entry, which was the 1st August, 1675, that this condescension on the part of the city, although, according to the chaplain, it was more than had ever been yielded previously, did not satisfy the punctilious admiral, since his letter, as given above, is dated seven weeks later. That the Grand-Master did eventually yield to his demands and salute his flag to his heart's content is clear by the following extract from Teonge's diary, under date February 11th, 1676:—

"Sir John Narbrough cam in from Trypoly and four more ships with him. The noble Maltese salute him with forty-five guns, he answered them with so many that I could not count them. And what with our salutes and his answers there was nothing but fyre and smoake for almost two hours."

Indeed, the behaviour of the townspeople appears throughout to have been courteous and even cordial, as witness the following extracts:—

"August 2, 1675.—This cytty is compassed almost cleane round with the sea which makes severall safe harbours for hundreds of shippes. The people are generally extremely courteouse, but especially to the English. A man cannot demonstrate all their excellencys and ingenuitys. Let it suffice to say thus much of this place, viz Had a man no other business to invite him, yet it were sufficiently worth a mans cost and paines to make a voyage out of England on purpose to see that noble cytty of Malta and their works and fortifications about it. Several of their knights and cavaliers com on board us, six at one time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage wishing us good successe in our voyage, with whom I had much discourse, I being the only entertainer because I could speak Latine for which I was highly esteemed and much invited on shoare again.

"August 3.—This morning a boate of ladys with their musick to our ships syd and bottels of wine with them. They went severall times about our ship and sang several songs very sweetly; very rich in habitt and very courteous in behaviour, but would not come on board though invited, but having taken their

frises returned as they com. After them com in a boat four fryars and cam round about our ship, puld off their hatts and capps, saluted us with congjes and departed. After them cam a boat of musitians, played severall lessons as they rowed gently round about us and went their way.

“August 4.—This morning our captain was invited to dine with the Grand-Master which hindered our departure. In the meantime wee have severall of the Malteese com to visit us all extremely courteous. And now wee are preparing to sail for Trypoly. *Deus vortat bene.*”

Here the worthy chaplain, apparently excited with his subject, drops into poetry:—

“Thus wee the ‘Assistance’ and the new Sattee
Doe steare our course poynt blanke for Trypoly.
Our ship new rigged, well stord with pigg and ghoose-a,
Henns ducks and turkeys and wine cald Syraccoosa.”

This civility on the part of the Grand-Master and town was amply requited, as the expedition to Tripoli referred to, ended in the liberation of a large body of Christian slaves, amongst whom were no less than fifty knights, who were rescued by the gallant English. Cottoner appears to have taken advantage later on of the powerful support of the British fleet to obtain the liberation of another knight, a German named Robert von Stael, who was languishing in chains at Algiers. He wrote on the subject to Charles on the 15th August, 1678, when the English were preparing a fresh expedition against the Algerines. He received the following reply:—

“Most eminent prince, our well-beloved cousin and friend. The thanks which your eminence, by your letters, written under date of the 15th of August last, returns to us on account of the fifty knights of your Order liberated by our assistance from the slavery of the barbarians, could hardly be more acceptable to us than the prayers adjoined to the above-mentioned letters for the liberation from the slavery of the Algerines of another member of your holy Order, the German John Robert A. Stael. We, in consequence, in order that we may not appear to be wanting either in the will or in affection towards your eminence, have communicated our orders to our

well-beloved and faithful subject, Sir John Narbrough, knight, commanding our fleets in those seas, that if the city of Algiers should be constrained to agree to a treaty of just peace and submission by the force of our arms, assisted by divine help, he should use every effort in his power so that the liberty of the said John Robert A. Stael be obtained. Your eminence is already well aware of the fidelity and zeal of our above-mentioned admiral, and we have no doubt that he would willingly and strenuously observe our orders on that head. It remains for us to heartily recommend your eminence, and the whole of your military Order, to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

“Given from our palace at Whitehall, the 2nd day of November, in the year of our Lord 1678. Your eminence’s good cousin and friend, CHARLES REX.”

The fleet of England at this period rendered the most vital assistance in aiding to check the depredations of the African corsairs. It was then establishing the first rudiments of that supremacy in the Mediterranean which has since become so indisputable. Neither Charles nor Cottoner could have dreamt that the island fortress, whose guns showed such reluctance to pay due honour to the flag of England, should some day be one of the most valued possessions of that country.

The conclusion of the siege of Candia had left the Turks at liberty to pursue their aggressions elsewhere, and as the knights had during that war rendered much help to the Venetians, Cottoner now began to dread lest his island should be the next point of attack. He therefore lost no time in taking measures for its further security, and with this object invoked the aid of a celebrated Italian engineer, named Valperga. With his assistance, and under his direction, a stupendous work was projected and commenced, which was to sweep round in rear of the two peninsulas of the Bourg and Senglea, so as to enclose them and a large extent of ground behind them in one vast enceinte. This line, which forms a complete semi-circle, is little short of three miles in length, and includes nine bastions, with two demi-bastions at the extremities. Great opposition was raised to the undertaking, owing to the enormous expenditure its prosecution would necessarily involve;

indeed, the whole scheme was such as to render it open to much criticism.

Notwithstanding the objections urged against his grand design, Cottoner was not to be deterred from carrying it out, and on the 28th August, 1670, he laid the first stone in the bastion of St. Nicholas with much pomp and ceremony. Four commissaries were appointed, who were charged with the responsibility of providing everything requisite for carrying on the work with vigour. For their accommodation houses were built in the gorges of the bastions, so that they might remain continually on the spot. All the artificers in the island were assembled there, and others brought over from the neighbouring countries; bakeries and cisterns were established for their convenience, and every effort made to push forward the undertaking. For ten years the building was carried on under the eye of the Grand-Master, who felt his honour intimately bound up with the fortification to which he had given his name, and during that period a vast expenditure was incurred. At his death the ramparts had been raised throughout to the level of the cordon; none of the outworks, however, had been begun. By this time the treasury was almost exhausted, and his successor gave directions that all further progress should be suspended. When the island of Malta passed into the possession of the British the lines of Cottonera, as they have always been called in honour of their founder, were still unfinished. Indeed, it was not until twenty years ago that the design, altered to suit the exigencies of more modern warfare, was really completed. Many additions were also made by Cottoner to the defences of Floriana, which were considered to have been left by Lascaris in a very defective state, and to add to the protection of the grand harbour, a new fort was erected on the extreme point of its eastern entrance, and received the name of Ricasoli, having been constructed mainly at the cost of the chevalier Francesco Ricasoli. It was designed by Valperga.

Nicholas Cottoner died in the year 1680, at the age of seventy-three years, deeply regretted in the convent, where he had been most deservedly popular, as well from the success of his government as the courtesy of his demeanour. The public works which he had carried on not only added materially to the

security of the island, but also afforded constant employment to the inhabitants, many of whom, being relatives and dependents of men who had fallen in conflicts with the Turk, would otherwise have been left in a state of destitution. Although we shall find this prosperity continuing, to a certain extent, under his successors, still every year hastened the decadence of the fraternity. The want which called the Order into existence had passed away. So long as the Turkish power continued to flourish and increase, and so long as the ambitious policy of its rulers had caused it to be a perpetual source of uneasiness to Europe, the knights of St. John, as its natural and sworn foes, were recognized as a necessity. The reign of Solyman the Magnificent had been the culminating point of Turkish prosperity. Under him the nation had reached the climax of its greatness, and after his death numerous causes contributed to bring about a rapid diminution in the forces of the empire. For upwards of a century this decline was too gradual and imperceptible to calm the fears of Europe. Aggressions still continued, and had to be met; Hungary and Poland, Candia and the Levant, were still the scenes of much bloody strife and many a hard contested fight. In most of these the Order bore its part, and bore it manfully, maintaining, so far as the altered conditions of the times permitted, its ancient reputation for constancy and valour. From the middle of the seventeenth century it became no longer possible to doubt the serious and rapidly accelerating reduction of the Turkish power. True the Ottomans now and again still rallied their energies. It was after this date that they effected the conquest of Candia, and at a later time we find them under the walls of Vienna, threatening the existence of Austria. These, however, appear to have been the last expiring efforts of their ambition, for from the date of their utter defeat by the heroic John Sobieski they withdrew within the limits of their own empire, and the fears they had excited throughout Europe were quelled for ever. As a natural result of this retirement, the Order of St. John, the decline of which had commenced with that of the Moslem, rapidly degenerated, and eventually became so effete that when, at the close of another century, it was swept away without a struggle, no friendly voice was raised to prevent the act.

The new Grand-Master elected to supply the place of Cottoner was Gregory Caraffa, prior of La Rocella, and the commander of the Maltese galleys at the battle of the Dardanelles. This was the first time for 100 years that an Italian knight had been raised to the supreme dignity; his accession was consequently hailed by his countrymen with the most lively satisfaction. The peace and unanimity which had prevailed within the convent in the days of the brothers Cottoner still continued, and rendered the rule of Caraffa prosperous and happy. The bishop who occupied the see of Malta was a prelate of liberal views and enlightened piety. He did not, like so many of his predecessors, interfere in political matters; far less did he endeavour to subvert the authority of the Grand-Master in order to increase his own influence. Whilst peace thus reigned at home, Caraffa was not an idle spectator in the war raging between the Turks and the Austrians, the galleys of Malta having been most successfully engaged in the waters of the Levant during this period. Thus we find the emperor Leopold, in 1683, addressing a special letter to Caraffa, in which he thanks him in the warmest terms for preserving Christendom from the Turkish fleet, and in the same year John Sobieski sent him two letters, in which he related the particulars of the glorious victories which he had gained over the Turks, one under the walls of Vienna on the 13th September, and the other crossing the Danube, on the 10th October, 1683. The fact that this chief should have deemed it advisable to forward a detailed account of his movements to Malta proves that the knights of St. John still ranked high in public estimation as opponents of Turkish domination.

The brilliant successes of John Sobieski led to the formation of a new league against the Turks, the principal members of which were the Pope, the republic of Venice, and the Order of Malta. For several years this alliance subsisted in full force, and the shores of Barbary and the Morea felt the weight of its power from end to end. Previsa and Santa Maura both fell by the prowess of the knights, and afterwards, in conjunction with the Venetian and papal galleys, they attacked the port of Coron, and notwithstanding a most desperate resistance, carried it by storm. On this occasion Correa, the general of the galleys,

commander of the Maltese contingent, fell gloriously. A fort had been seized by the allies, but was recaptured by the Turks, when the gallant Correa, advancing at the head of his force, amidst a storm of missiles, once more gained possession of the disputed point. That moment of victory was, however, his last, for in the very act of planting the White Cross banner on the conquered rampart he was struck on the chest by a bullet, and only lived long enough to know that Coron had fallen into the hands of the league.

After the capture of old and new Navarino, siege was laid to Napoli di Romana, the chief town in the Morea. This last stronghold of the Moslem was defended with the utmost tenacity. Three separate times did they strive to effect its relief from without, but each time they were routed with great slaughter beneath its walls. At the end of a month, the town despairing of relief, and harassed by the incessant attacks of the besiegers, surrendered unconditionally, and thus the whole of the Morea fell into the power of the allies. In 1687 the Dalmatian coast became the scene of war, and Castel Nuovo, a fortified town at the entrance of the gulf of Cattaro, was carried in triumph. This success dislodged the Turks from the Adriatic, and restored the command of its commerce to the Venetians. It was principally effected by the instrumentality of the grand-prior of Hungary, count Heberstein, who was a general in the imperial service, and commander of the Maltese contingent to the allied force. Letters from the Pope and the doge of Venice speak in the highest terms of the services of the knights in the *strenua Castrinovi expugnatio*, and the doge expressly specifies "the general of the knights of Malta, count Heberstein," as the principal agent in the victory.

In the early part of 1689, James II. of England, then a fugitive in France, wrote the following letter to the Grand-Master, relating to his illegitimate son, Henry Fitz James Stuart, whose mother was Arabella Churchill, sister to the duke of Marlborough.

"To my cousin the Grand-Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem :

"My cousin. We are so strongly persuaded of your zeal for the Catholic religion that we do not doubt you will readily

embrace every occasion which may present itself of manifesting it. And as we have particular gratification in seconding your good intentions in such laudable designs, we have resolved to dedicate to the Order of the Knights of Malta Henry Fitz James, our natural son, already well known to you. For your kindness and civility extended to him when at Malta we have to thank you sincerely. Although young, he is not wanting in experience, for he has already crossed the sea, and for nearly two years fought against the heretics. Wherefore, when you have this attestation of his sanctity, which we have thought proper to send you on the subject, we hope that in your goodness you will kindly grant him the dignity of grand-prior of England, enregistering him according to the usual forms of that rank. And as we doubt not that you will grant this favour, we promise you all aid and assistance which is or shall be possible for the glory and advantage of so illustrious and useful an Order in the service of God and to the glory of His church. May God keep us in His holy care. My cousin, your affectionate cousin,
JAMES R.

“Given at St. Germain en Laye, 24th February, 1689.”

This request was naturally acceded to, as the dignity applied for was at the time a practical nullity. Moreover, by this appointment the Grand-Master felt that should James recover his throne (and the battle of the Boyne had not yet been fought), he would most certainly strive to render the defunct grand-priory something more than a barren title. It does not, however, appear that the young man, although duly made a grand-cross and grand-prior of England, was ever professed as a knight.

The last public event of Caraffa's life did not end so successfully as those already recorded. The allies, in 1689, attempted the capture of Negropont, and met with a bloody repulse, in which the Order had to mourn the loss of twenty-nine knights and a large number of soldiery. Caraffa was already in a failing state of health when the news of this disaster reached Malta. The vexation and grief it caused brought on a violent attack of fever, from which he never rallied, and on the 21st July, 1690, he died, at the age of seventy-three. He was succeeded by Adrian de Vignacourt, nephew to the former Grand-Master

of the same name, whose short rule of seven years presented no incident worthy of record. He was in his turn succeeded, in 1697, by Raymond Perrelos, a knight of Aragon, and bailiff of Negropont, whose first efforts on assuming office were directed towards the introduction of reforms into the mode of life at the convent. Several sumptuary laws were by his influence passed in council, as also strict prohibitions from indulging in games of chance and other similar amusements. These regulations were, however, totally unheeded. The days when a Grand-Master could impress his own religious austerities upon the knights were long past. The young, hot-headed, and thoughtless cavaliers who were now living in Malta were not to be deterred by any decrees in council from such roystering joviality and dissipation as they considered adapted to their age and social position.

In the year following the election of Perrelos the Order was honoured by a special mission from an ambassador of Peter the Great. The Czar, whose empire was in such near contiguity to that of the Moslem, was anxious to secure support in his frequent collisions with his aggressive neighbours. With this view he determined to cultivate friendly relations with the knights of Malta, and, having selected a boyar named Kzeremitz, one of his leading generals, as his envoy, he despatched him to the court of Rome, with instructions to extend his journey to Malta, and enter into negotiations with the Grand-Master. Kzeremitz arrived in the island on the 12th May, 1698, and remained there a week. During his stay he was invested with the grand-cross by the hands of Perrelos himself. The decoration was touched by a piece of the true cross, then by the hand of St. John the Baptist, and eventually placed round the neck of the Russian, suspended from a massive gold chain.

The naval exploits of the knights continued throughout the rule of Perrelos, but they found themselves no longer able to compete, as they formerly did, with the Turkish fleet. It is true that in the year 1701 a man-of-war of eighty guns was captured, and this feat was considered to redound so greatly to the fame of a knight named Richard, to whose daring the result was principally attributable, that it was decreed the colours of

the captured ship should be placed in the church of St. John, at Aix, the birthplace of the hero. Still it was found that, as a rule, the galleys of Malta were not of sufficient size to grapple with the vessels now comprising the Turkish fleet, and it was therefore determined to add larger vessels to aid them in their expeditions. Three ships of considerable size were consequently built in the dockyard of Malta, and were named the *St. Raymond*, the *St. Joseph*, and the *St. Vincent*. The command of this new fleet was given to St. Pierre, a French knight, who made his first cruise in 1706. On this occasion he captured the Tunisian flag-ship, a vessel of fifty guns, which was immediately added to his squadron under the name of the *Santa Croce*. In 1707, another knight, named de Langon, succeeded in forcing his way through the Algerine fleet, then blockading Oran, and throwing a supply of ammunition and provisions into the fortress, upon which event the Pope wrote a letter of congratulation to the Grand-Master. In 1708 de Langon captured the Algerine flag-ship. In this combat, however, the Order had to mourn the loss of the conqueror, as he fell at the moment of victory. His body was interred with great honour under the high altar in the cathedral of Carthage, and a tablet with a long laudatory inscription was placed by the Grand-Master in the nave of St. John's church at Valetta.

At this time the convent of Malta was in a most flourishing condition. The bailiff of Chambray, who has left a manuscript record of the period, says that, "in 1715, at the moment of the declaration of war by the Turks against the Venetians, the court of the Grand-Master Perrelos presented a most brilliant aspect. No less than 1,500 knights, many of them general officers in every army in Christendom, formed the main ornament of the residence of the Order." From that date until 1718, when peace was once more declared between these two powers, the knights of Malta continued to render the most valuable assistance to Venice. So pleased was the Pope with their exertions that he gave the title of lieutenant-general of the papal armament to the admiral of the Order, that he might be able, in case of separation, to take command of any papal levies that were acting in concert with him. The

peace which the Venetians concluded with the Turks expressly excluded the Hospitallers from its action. They, therefore, continued their naval exploits, and in 1719 captured two rich galleons, one of which had on board the pasha of Roumelia, who became their prisoner.

Perrelos died in 1720, and was succeeded by Mark Antony Zondodari, of the *langue* of Italy, brother to the cardinal of that name. He only lived two years, when Anthony Manöel de Vilhena, of the *langue* of Castile, was appointed to the vacant dignity. Manöel's rule lasted nearly fifteen years, and was undistinguished by any stirring events. He died on the 12th December, 1736, having realized to a great extent the somewhat pompous eulogy recorded on his tomb:—" *Memento viator quod ubi gressum in his insulis sistes pietatis ejus munificentiae securitatis amenitatis monumenta ibi invenies.*" "Remember, traveller, that wherever you place your foot in this island, there you will find monuments of his piety, munificence, foresight, and charity." Although the naval warfare conducted under his rule had been unimportant, the Pope seemed to consider that it was sufficient to warrant his sending to Manöel the consecrated sword and casque, presented only to those who had distinguished themselves by memorable actions against the infidel. The sword was of silver gilt, five feet in length, and the casque was of purple velvet, embroidered in gold and enriched with an emblem of the Holy Ghost embossed in pearls. Manöel, like so many of his predecessors, was ambitious to leave a record of his rule by some substantial addition to the defences of Malta; he, therefore, erected a fort on the island in the Marsa Muscetto. This work, which in honour of its founder, has been called Fort Manöel, commands the harbour, and covers the fortifications of Valetta on that side. It was designed by the Chevalier de Tigné in 1717, but no steps were taken in regard to it until now. Owing to the peculiar nature of the ground on the island, Tigné was compelled to adopt a square trace, but he proposed several outworks to strengthen the fort; these have never been carried out.

Manöel's successor was Raymond Despuig, whose rule lasted only five years. He was followed, in 1741, by Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca, of the *langue* of Castile, and bailiff of Acre. The

principal event which occurred to break the calm and peaceful monotony of this chief's reign was a conspiracy amongst the Turkish slaves in Malta, and which was nearly bathing the island in blood. The plot originated in the following manner. The Christian slaves who manned a Turkish galley had risen upon their officers, captured the vessel, and brought it in triumph into the harbour of Valetta, with the pasha of Rhodes a prisoner on board. This dignitary was a man in high repute at the court of the sultan, and the Order, fearful of drawing down upon itself the animosity of the Porte, and anxious at the same time to conciliate the court of France, placed him under the protection of the bailiff du Boccage, the French envoy in Malta. The pasha was treated with every attention and respect; a house was given him with a pension of £125 per month; he was permitted to receive the visits of the Turkish slaves, and his position was, in every respect, rendered as little irksome as possible.

At the head of the conspiracy which had resulted in the capture of the Turkish galley was a negro, who had planned the whole affair, and consequently, anticipated a magnificent reward. He was much disappointed at the sum allotted to him, and his active brain speedily began to hatch a fresh plot, in which, by way of a counter conspiracy, the island should be delivered into the hands of the Turks. The number of slaves in Malta was at this time very large. Independently of those who were employed on the public works or as crews to the galleys, and who, when on shore, were lodged in the bagnio, or slaves' prison, there were many filling various domestic offices about the persons of the knights, as well as of the Maltese gentry. In fact, the great majority of the servants in the island were Turks. They were almost uniformly treated with the utmost kindness; their situation, indeed, was, in many cases, so far superior to what it would have been in their own country, that it was quite a common practice amongst them to refuse their liberty, even when offered to them. Many filled positions of the highest trust in the household of the Grand-Master, and two, who acted as his confidential valets, slept in an adjoining room to himself, and had free access to his apartment by day or night.

The plot which the negro first devised, and which he sub-

mitted for the approval of the pasha Mustapha, was to organize a rising amongst this large body, massacre all the Christians, and then transfer the government to the Porte. Mustapha, with the blackest ingratitude, entered warmly into the design. The pasha of Tripoli was communicated with, and promised assistance, and the slaves generally were enlisted as confederates. The festival of St. Peter and St. Paul was selected as the most appropriate day for carrying out this modern imitation of the Sicilian Vespers. It was then that the bulk of the native population was in the habit of flocking to the Città Vecchia, where the ceremonies of the day were carried out with great magnificence. It was thought that an opportunity would be thus the more readily afforded of seizing the city of Valetta whilst denuded of so many of its inhabitants. One of the two confidential valets of the Grand-Master was appointed to give the signal for the commencement of the insurrection by murdering his master, and exposing his head on the balcony of the palace. An indiscriminate massacre was then to ensue; the armoury was to be forced, to supply arms, and the gate of the city and other commanding posts to be promptly occupied. The troops of the pasha of Tripoli were to be landed as soon as the successful issue of the enterprise was announced, and with their assistance the island was to be held until the arrival of succours from Constantinople. Such were the principal details of the plot to which the pasha Mustapha lent his name and support.

It was strange that the slaves in Malta should have been permitted such ample liberty of action. Considering their great numbers, and the natural discontent which a condition of slavery, even in its most modified form, must have generated within the minds of many, it is wonderful that stricter precautions were not habitually taken to prevent the possibility of treachery. Certain it is that on the present occasion, had it not been for an accidental quarrel amongst themselves, the conspirators would most undoubtedly have succeeded in murdering every member of the Order within the convent. The discovery of the plot was thus made. A certain tavern kept by a Jew was the principal resort of the chief actors in the drama. One day, shortly before the time selected for carrying it into effect, a violent quarrel sprang up between two of them, and after a

fierce altercation they proceeded from words to blows, and, at length, one of them drew a dagger and endeavoured to stab the other. The latter succeeded in making his escape unhurt, but vowing vengeance. In the blindness of his rage he proceeded instantly to the commandant of the guard, and revealed the plot. That officer lost not a moment in communicating with the Grand-Master, and took with him the faithless conspirator. Meanwhile the Jew, who was also one of the traitors, having heard the vows of vengeance which had been uttered, became alarmed, and fearing that the discontented man might reveal everything, determined to forestall him, insure his own safety, and probably receive a reward by himself betraying the whole affair to the Grand-Master. When, therefore, the commandant of the guard, and his conspirator, sought an audience of Pinto, they found him engaged in listening to the tale of the Jew. The matter being thus corroborated, energetic steps were at once taken to crush the affair; the leaders of the plot arrested and subjected to torture, and by degrees all the particulars were elicited.

A similar plan had been formed on board the galleys which were cruising near the island, and this was to have been carried into execution on the same day as the rising on shore; but a swift boat was at once sent after them, and the warning arrived in time to prevent any attempt being made. The criminality of the pasha was clearly proved. As, however, he had been placed under the protection of the French ambassador, the council did not deem it prudent to proceed to extremities, but confined him in Fort St. Elmo, until a French frigate arrived from Toulon, which conveyed him to Constantinople. It was with extreme difficulty that he was saved from the just indignation of the Maltese, and had he not been very securely guarded, they would certainly have torn him in pieces. Nearly sixty of the conspirators suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and in order to prevent the recurrence of such a design, it was decreed that for the future all slaves employed in a domestic capacity in the houses of knights or citizens, should be compelled to retire to the bagnio every evening at sunset, and remain in confinement there till the following morning. The Jew, by whose treachery the discovery was made, received a

handsome pension, and from that time the anniversary of the day was regularly celebrated as long as the Order remained in Malta.

The second expulsion of the Jesuits from the island was the only other domestic event of importance which marked the sway of Pinto. This decree was carried out through the intervention of the marquis of Pombal, prime minister to the king of Portugal, and of the marquis Tannuci, regent of the Two Sicilies during the minority of Ferdinand IV., and the example was shortly afterwards followed in almost every kingdom in Europe. The rule of Pinto was very popular amongst his subjects, and his name is still revered in Malta as a wise and energetic prince. At the same time, he was undoubtedly far more despotic than any of his predecessors, and encroached materially on that liberty which the Order had under former chiefs permitted to its subjects. The leading features of his government were, nevertheless, salutary, and if he ruled the Maltese with an iron hand, they did not the less respect him.

The naval superiority of the fraternity had, during these years, dwindled imperceptibly, but steadily, and the fleet was now becoming more an appanage of dignity than of real service. The Ottoman empire had almost ceased to cause uneasiness in Europe; her navy was no longer spreading terror along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and so the caravans of the galleys of Malta, there being no foe worthy of the name, degenerated into mere pleasure cruises to the various ports in the south of Europe. Sonnini, in his travels in Egypt, gives the following description of these galleys at the time:—"They were armed, or rather embarrassed, with an incredible number of hands; the general alone (or flag-ship) had 800 men on board. They were superbly ornamented; gold blazed on the numerous basso-relievos and sculptures on the stern, enormous sails striped with blue and white carried on their middle a great cross of Malta, painted red. Their elegant flags floated majestically. In a word, everything concurred, when they were under sail, to render them a magnificent spectacle. But their construction was little adapted either for fighting, or for standing foul weather. The Order kept them up rather as an image of its ancient splendour, than for their utility. It was one of those ancient institutions

which had once served to render the brotherhood illustrious, but now only attested its selfishness and decay." The truth of this description was incontestable. The knights had reached that stage of decline when it only required a bold hand, or a national convulsion, to sweep them away.

The fatal day was rapidly approaching which was to witness this consummation, but it was to occur whilst the island was under other and far feebler guidance than that of Emanuel Pinto, who died on the 25th January, 1773, at the age of ninety-two. His character was of that firm and determined nature that had he been at the head of the fraternity twenty-five years later he might, perhaps, have warded off, at least for a time, the blow which was then struck. The following speech marks well the despotic tendency of his ideas of government:—"If I were king of France I would never convoke the states-general; if I were the Pope I would never assemble a council; being the chief of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, I will have no chapters-general. I know too well that these assemblies almost always finish by destroying the rights of those who have permitted their meeting." Jealous of his rank, which he sustained with dignity and regal magnificence, he claimed for his envoys at foreign courts the prerogatives of those who represented the sovereigns of Europe, and for himself insisted on the title of Most Eminent Highness, whereas his predecessors had all been contented with that of Eminence.

An anecdote about him is still current in the island which, whilst it by no means reflects credit on his honesty, marks his despotic character. An institution had been formed on the principle of a friendly society, the funds of which were to be devoted to the purchase of masses for the souls of those who, having been members of the society during their lifetime, were afterwards supposed to need this assistance. Of this fund Pinto succeeded in obtaining the trust, and under his management it gradually melted away. When struck down with his last illness, questions began to be asked touching the balance, and a deputation waited on him for some explanations as to its whereabouts. Being introduced into his presence, Pinto boldly avowed the misappropriation of the money. "But," added he, "be not distressed, my brethren, I shall myself shortly be in

the same situation as our friends, and I promise you I will make matters smooth with them when we meet."

Francois Ximenes, grand-prior of Navarre and seneschal to Pinto, was elected to succeed him. He did not long survive his elevation, but he nevertheless in that short period contrived to render himself universally hated. He was a man of haughty demeanour and uncourteous address, and rapidly alienated the affections of all classes; he irritated the clergy by passing a law forbidding them to indulge in field sports and other worldly amusements, whilst the lower orders complained bitterly of a tax which he levied on bread to raise funds for the liquidation of the debts contracted by his predecessor.

General discontent having been thus excited, a plot was laid and carried into execution, principally by the priests. Availing themselves of a moment when the galleys were absent, blockading the port of Algiers, the conspirators, on the 1st September, 1775, succeeded in surprising the guard at St. Elmo and capturing that fort, making prisoners of the garrison, which consisted of 200 of the Grand-Master's guard. They also seized the cavalier within the bastion of St. James, and then called upon the inhabitants to join them in expelling the Order. Great as most undoubtedly was the influence of the priesthood over the minds of the population, and widely spread as was the general discontent, no movement was made to second the violent measures which had been adopted, and the conspirators soon discovered that they would have to fight their battle unaided. Under these circumstances the issue could not long remain doubtful. In spite of threats to blow up the magazine which formed the basement of the cavalier, they were at once attacked by a force under the bailiff de Rohan, and made little or no resistance. Four hundred of the disaffected were captured, and tranquillity was speedily restored. A few of the ringleaders were executed, and several others condemned to imprisonment for life. When the French army entered the city in 1798 several of these captives were still living, and regained their freedom after a confinement of twenty-three years.

Various rumours were set afloat as to the origin of the plot and its ultimate design. Many persons thought that Russian

influence was at work. It was well known that that empire was anxious to obtain a footing in the Mediterranean, and the island of Malta would undoubtedly have been a very valuable acquisition for that purpose. The Marquis de Cavalcado, minister to Catherine II., was mentioned as the concocter of the plot, the result of which was to have been the expulsion of the knights, and the transfer of the island to Russia. This, however, was contradicted by him, and the statement has never been substantiated. Whatever were the causes, and whoever may have been the fomenters of this sedition, the danger through which Malta had now for a second time passed within a few years alarmed the court of France. In order to prevent any future attempts of a similar character, the French government persuaded the Grand-Master and council to establish a new battalion of 1,200 men for the protection of Valetta, of whom at least two-thirds should be foreigners. This regiment was raised at Marseilles, Naples, and Genoa, and was maintained until 1795. Ximenes did not long survive the affair. The annoyance and anxiety it created brought about a serious illness, from which he never rallied, and he died on the 11th November, 1775, at the age of seventy-two.

François Marie des Neiges Emmanuel de Rohan Polduc, a French knight of ancient lineage, was by acclamation raised to the vacant dignity. His father, having been condemned for treason, had succeeded in making his escape into Spain, where his son Emmanuel was born in 1721. The youth entered into the service of the Spanish monarch, but anxious to revisit his native land he eventually threw up his appointments at that sovereign's court and returned to France. Being the only surviving son of his father, his first endeavour was to obtain a restoration of his forfeited rights, and with this object he presented himself at court. Here the princess de Marsan interested herself warmly in his behalf, and it was by her persuasion that he was induced to enter the Order. She afterwards used her influence to have him raised to the dignity of grand-cross, and obtained for him the appointment of general of the galleys, which post he held until he was elected Grand-Master.

Since the death of Vignacourt, in 1697, no French knight had been raised to the supreme dignity; the three *langués* of

that nation consequently celebrated the nomination of de Rohan with the most brilliant festivities. His first act was to summon a chapter-general. A period of 150 years had elapsed since the last convocation of this assembly, and now de Rohan, who did not deem the powers intrusted to him by the council sufficient for the position in which the fraternity found itself, once more called into existence this venerable parliament of the Order. The statutes were revised, and additional stringency given to many of the prohibitions, especially those relating to duelling, gambling, and loose living. On the whole, the chapter effected but little in the way of reform, and when, at the close of its sixteen days' session, it was dissolved, never more to reassemble, the code of laws was left much as it had been found. De Rohan himself, however, instituted many beneficial measures; he established public schools, and made some very judicious changes in the courts of law.

Whilst carrying out these internal reforms he was not neglectful of external policy. The Order of St. Anthony, an institution as ancient as that of St. John, was incorporated with it, and its property divided between the latter Order and that of St. Lazarus. In 1781 the whole property was made over to the knights of Malta, who thus became possessed of a considerable augmentation to their resources. In 1782 a new *langue* was created in Bavaria, and joined to the dormant *langue* of England under the title of Anglo-Bavaria. This new body was endowed by the elector of Bavaria with the forfeited possessions of the Jesuits, who had been suppressed in that country as elsewhere. The value of this additional revenue was £15,000 a year, and the assessment of responsions was calculated on the basis of this sum. The dignities of Turcopolier and grand-prior of Bavaria were attached to the new *langue*, which comprised twenty commanderies for knights and four for chaplains. In Poland, de Rohan succeeded in obtaining the restoration of some property with which the Order had been originally endowed by a prince of the family of Sangaszko, but of which it had subsequently been deprived. By the negotiations and personal influence of the bailiff di Sagramoso this property was once more restored.

De Rohan was interrupted in the midst of these reforms by a calamity which occurred in 1783, and which filled the southern

provinces of Europe with consternation. A fearful earthquake ravaged Sicily and Calabria, by the force of which whole towns were prostrated, and numbers of the inhabitants engulfed in the ruins. Those who escaped death were left houseless and destitute, and a cry of misery arose on every side. Much as the knights of St. John had degenerated from their original profession, they were not deaf to the call made to them on this occasion. The galleys had been laid up for the winter at the time the news reached Malta, but so great was the energy displayed by all classes that in a single night they were got ready for sea and stored with what was considered likely to be serviceable to the unfortunate sufferers. They first touched at Reggio, where they landed one half of the supplies with which they were laden. They then proceeded to Messina, intending there to distribute the remainder. On their arrival, however, they were informed by the commandant that the king had already provided for the wants of his people, and he refused the succours which the knights had brought, from a sense of unwillingness to place himself under an obligation to the fraternity. The galleys therefore returned to Reggio, where the remainder of their stores were landed, and were gratefully accepted on behalf of the destitute people of that town.

The Order at this time seemed, to outside observers, to be in a position of the greatest prosperity. Its territories had lately been considerably increased; a new *langue* had been added to replace that of England; its revenues were large; and members of the noblest families in Europe still sought entry into its ranks. Profound peace reigned between the fraternity and its old enemy, and if from this cause the zeal of the knights seemed to be growing somewhat dulled, and if their galleys cruised in the Mediterranean rather as a pleasure trip than a warlike demonstration, the tranquillity of the times brought with it many substantial benefits to the island. The town was bristling with ramparts and guns. Manöel had, as already stated, erected a large fort on the island, which has since borne his name; de Rohan, following his example, and tempted perhaps by the immortality which that act had bestowed on his predecessor, determined on a similar measure. A new defence, therefore, soon arose upon point Dragut to aid fort Ricasoli in protecting the

entrance to the harbours. If de Rohan designed in this way to perpetuate his name he failed, since the work has been called Tigné, after the grand-prior of Champagne, who contributed largely towards its cost. It has been alleged with justice that there was as much of display as of precaution in most of these later additions to the fortress, and the duke of Rovigo expressed himself truly when he observed that "all the Grand-Masters since the establishment of the Order in Malta seem to have craved no other title of glory than that of having added some new defence either to the harbours or town. Being the sole care of the government, it had ended in becoming a pure matter of ostentation."

Such was the position of affairs at Malta when the first mutterings of the storm, which was destined before long to sweep the fraternity from its home, made themselves heard in France. The history of the French revolution does not enter within the compass of this work; it will only be necessary to touch upon such points of it as bear directly on the fortunes of the Order. The property held by it in France was, at this time, as indeed it always had been, managed with a prudence and liberality which rendered its estates models to the surrounding proprietors. The fact was recognized and admitted that nowhere throughout the kingdom was land so carefully cultivated and made to yield so large a return as that under the management of the knights; it was natural, therefore, that at a time when general spoliation had become an accepted maxim with the revolutionary party, these tempting estates should attract its cupidity. The institution of the Hospital was far too aristocratic in constitution to escape the antagonism of the *sans culottes*, whose cry of "*à bas les aristocrates!*" was ringing through France. Everything, therefore, marked the Order as one of the most fitting victims to revolutionary fury and popular clamour.

Nor had the conduct of the knights during the few years which immediately preceded the subversion of the monarchy been such as was in any way likely to conciliate the animosity of the dominant faction. When Necker, the finance minister of Louis XVI., demanded a voluntary contribution of one-third of the revenue of every landed proprietor, the

Order of St. John was the first to come forward with its quota; and when afterwards the unfortunate monarch, reduced to destitution, besought assistance from the fraternity, it pledged its credit for the sum of 500,000 francs, to aid him in his attempt at flight. No diplomacy could therefore avert the fate impending over an institution which had added to the crime of being wealthy that also of fidelity to the sovereign. The steps by which its spoliation was consummated were quickly taken, and met with no effectual resistance on the part of the victims. In the first constituent assembly the Order of St. John had been defined as placed in the category of a foreign power possessing property within the French kingdom, and as such subject to all the taxes imposed on the natives. This step was soon followed by a decree enacting that any Frenchman becoming member of an order of knighthood requiring proofs of nobility should no longer be considered a citizen of France.

These preliminary measures having been taken, the great blow was struck on the 19th September, 1792, when it was enacted that the Order of Malta should cease to exist within the limits of France, and that all its property should be annexed to the national domains. At first mention was made of an indemnification, in the shape of pensions to be granted to the knights who were thus despoiled of their property; but the power of deriving benefit from this apparent concession was taken away by the condition annexed thereto, which was that to entitle a knight to his pension he must reside within the French territory—an utter impossibility at a time when the aristocracy was being exposed to the most cruel persecution. This decree was the signal for a general plunder of the commanderies. Such members of the fraternity as were not fortunate enough to effect their escape were thrown into prison and left to the fearful suspense incident to those dens of horror. During these scenes of anarchy and bloodshed the knights comported themselves with a dignity and firmness worthy of their institution. Their ambassador at Paris, the bailiff de la Brilhane, fulfilled his difficult and dangerous duties to the very close with unexampled determination. In thus doing his duty he naturally became liable to that imminent personal danger

which the antagonism of the ruling faction invariably brought with it. He was warned that his life was in the greatest peril, owing to the noble and daring efforts he had made in defending the cause of the Order, hopeless as it was. "I am under no apprehensions," replied he, "for the moment has now arrived when a man of honour who faithfully performs his duty may die as gloriously upon the scaffold as on the field of battle." At his death, which occurred shortly after, his place was left unfilled; he was consequently the last accredited envoy of the fraternity ever possessed within the French kingdom.

Great as had been the provocation, the knights did not break entirely with the French directory, nor did they openly join the forces of those who sought to crush the dreadful outbreak. A temporizing policy seems to have been their object, but in this they certainly did not act with much discrimination. They might have been sure that no concessions and no appearance of neutrality would lead those who had destroyed the French *langues* to regard the central government with a favourable eye. Their principles were essentially monarchical, and therefore averse from the changes that had taken place. They had so far avowed their sentiments and revealed their sympathies with the fallen monarch of France, that when the news of his execution arrived at Malta, a funeral service was performed in St. John's cathedral, at which de Rohan presided; the nave was hung with black, and the fraternity, in deep mourning, offered up prayers for the soul of him who had been thus sacrificed to popular fury. Had the knights openly and unreservedly thrown the whole of their influence into the alliance, by which it was sought to stay the progress of the revolution, they could not have found themselves in a worse position than that to which their timid and temporizing policy had brought them. They would then, at least, have had the consolation of feeling that they had acted consistently, and in a manner suited to an institution based on the principles which governed the foundation of the Order of St. John.

Their chief was indeed unsuited to the perilous crisis in which he was placed, and physical incapacity had latterly been added to break down his energy and spirit. In 1791 he had been struck with apoplexy, which at the time it was thought must

end fatally. Although he recovered to a certain extent from this illness, he never regained his vigour of mind, and his last days were clouded with the knowledge that his Order was doomed. The number of ruined Frenchmen who flocked to Malta desiring admission into the ranks of the fraternity greatly increased the poverty of the treasury, and the utmost efforts of the Grand-Master, nobly seconded as he was by the *langues* which had escaped confiscation, were unable to relieve so much destitution. The conduct of de Rohan, under these circumstances, was most praiseworthy. Being remonstrated with by an officer of his household for the extent of his charities, which his diminished resources no longer permitted without curtailing the dignity of his court, he replied, "Reserve one crown daily for the expenses of my table, and let all the rest be distributed amongst my distressed brethren."

The worst had not, however, as yet arrived, though the day was near at hand on which the fatal blow was to be struck. The directory had for some time looked with longing eyes on the island of Malta, and had determined, if possible, to expel the knights and attach it to the French territories. Spies and other emissaries were set to work within the convent and island generally, sowing those seeds of discontent and turbulence which were so soon to bear fruit. The government of de Rohan was most blameworthy for permitting this continuous tampering with the fidelity of its subjects; it seemed as though, by some unaccountable fatality, the supineness of the Order itself was destined to aid the designs of its enemies. In the midst of this gloomy period de Rohan died, on the 13th July, 1797.

Opinions have been much divided with regard to him. Weak-minded he certainly was, and during the later years of his life his physical infirmities augmented the evil. A craving for flattery and adulation had caused him to seek the society of those who were willing to gratify such weaknesses rather than that of men of more sterling worth. These, however, seem to be the chief faults which his enemies could lay to his charge, and to counterbalance them his life, public and private, was adorned with virtues which secured him the esteem and attachment of many sincere friends. Great goodness of heart

an open-handed generosity, a cultivated mind, a quick and ready wit, such were some of the qualities which endeared him to those with whom he was brought in contact. Had not his lot been cast in troublous times, he would doubtless have been revered as one of the best beloved chiefs who had swayed the fortunes of his Order.

CHAPTER XXV.

1797—1798.

Election of von Hompesch—Establishment of a Russian priory—Capture of Malta decreed—Arrival of the French fleet before Malta—Dispositions of Bonaparte for the attack—State of the town—Inefficiency of von Hompesch—Surrender of the island—Departure of the knights—Death of von Hompesch—The knights in St. Petersburg—Election of the emperor Paul as Grand-Master—Subsequent wanderings of the Order—Its present position at Rome.

FERDINAND JOSEPH ANTOINE HERMAN LOUIS VON HOMPESCH, to whose name is attached the melancholy distinction of having been the last Grand-Master of Malta, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of de Rohan. He was the first knight of the *langue* of Germany who had ever been raised to that office. It is said that de Rohan during his last moments demanded of those surrounding him who was to be his successor. He was told that the bailiff von Hompesch appeared the most probable candidate. "The German," remarked de Rohan, "is not a bad selection, provided he be well advised; but he is not the man for such a crisis as this, and I shall be the last to die Grand-Master of an illustrious and independent Order." It is averred that von Hompesch did not desire the post, and that it was with difficulty he was persuaded to allow himself to be named as a candidate. This cannot be reconciled with the well-known fact that he expended a large sum of money to secure his election, and was ever after hampered by the debts he then created. He had begun life as a page to the Grand-Master Pinto, and had reached the dignity of a grand-cross at a very early age, probably owing to his high connections, springing as he did from one of the noblest families of the Lower Rhine. For twenty-five years he was envoy of the Order at

Vienna, and at the end of that time was made grand-bailiff of Brandenburg. He was the youngest Grand-Master elected for centuries, being only fifty-three years of age.

His rule opened with a gleam of prosperity from the favourable disposition of the emperor of Russia towards the fraternity. Paul I. had always been its enthusiastic admirer, and now that he had reached the throne, he gave a practical proof of his friendship. The Polish priory was largely augmented and converted into a Russian one, with a revenue of 300,000 florins. This priory was divided into ten commanderies for knights and three for chaplains, and was incorporated into the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. The emperor also assumed the title of "Protector of the Order of Malta." In the council of Rastadt, which opened in 1797, it was proposed to combine the Order of St. John with that of the Teutonic knights, but the project fell to the ground in the midst of other more important matters. Indeed, there was so strong a feeling amongst the revolutionary party in favour of the destruction of both fraternities, that no measure tending to strengthen them was likely to prove acceptable.

At length the year opened which was destined to remove the Order from the home where it had dwelt during nearly three centuries. The treasury was at this moment in an alarming state of deficit; most of its revenues had been confiscated, or were unavailable; the plate and jewels had been either melted down or disposed of, and but little remained to defray the expenditure necessary for placing the island in a proper state of defence. At this time there were present at the convent the following knights, viz.:—200 of the three French *langues*, 90 Italians, 25 Spanish, 8 Portuguese, 4 German, and 5 Anglo-Bavarian, making a total of 332; but of these only 280 were, from age and other causes, capable of bearing arms. The garrison consisted of the Maltese regiment of 500 men, the Grand-Master's guard of 200, the battalions of the men-of-war and galleys, 700; artillery, 100; chasseurs of the militia, 1,200; and sailors, 1,200, making a total of nearly 4,000 men; to which might be added 3,000 of the simple militia of the island, who, under ordinary circumstances, might be counted on to do faithful service.

The destruction of the Order was determined on by the following decree, which was drawn up by the French directory, dated

Paris, 23 Germinal, an VI. (12th April, 1798) :—" Considering that the Order of Malta has placed itself, of its own accord, and from the very commencement of the war, in a state of hostility against France; that it has actually made an express declaration of war by a manifesto of its Grand-Master of the 10th October, 1794; that he has even protested by this insolent proclamation that he neither ought, nor could, nor would recognize the French republic; considering also that the efforts which the Order has made both before and since to aid the coalition of the kings arrayed against liberty have always accorded with this expression of its sentiments, and that even quite recently it has attained the culminating point of its action against the republic, by receiving into its midst and admitting to high office numerous Frenchmen universally known as the most determined enemies of their country, disgraced for ever by having borne arms against her. Seeing that everything announces on the part of the Order an intention of yielding its territories to one of the powers now at war with France, and by such means to paralyse the naval power of France in the Mediterranean; that in all respects this Order is, as regards the French republic, in the same position as all the other powers with whom at the time of the establishment of the constitutional *régime* the nation had found itself in a state of war, without any declaration to that effect on her part, but by the simple fact that they have placed themselves in that position; considering that there is, therefore, no necessity for any enactment on the part of the *Corps Législatif* to enable the directory to take such steps against the Order of Malta as the national honour and interest demand, the following decree is made :—

"Art 1. The General commanding-in-chief the army of the East is desired to take possession of the island of Malta.

"Art. 2. For this purpose he will at once direct against the island of Malta the forces under his command, both military and naval.

"This decree will not be printed."

A supplementary decree of the same date ran as follows :—

"Art. 1. The order given to General Bonaparte, commander-in-chief of the army of the East, by the decree of this day's date, to obtain possession of the island of Malta, shall not be

carried into effect by him unless he considers it feasible without risking the success of the other operations confided to his charge. The executive directory leaves everything in this matter to his judgment.

“This decree will not be printed.”

These two resolutions show the intention of the French government to seize upon the island of Malta if practicable, and prove that the reasons for its attack subsequently put forward after the island had fallen into its hands, were mendacious pretexts. The matter was at the time a secret between the directory and those to whom its execution was intrusted, and meanwhile the world was thrown into general alarm by the rumours of an extensive expedition preparing in the French arsenals of the Mediterranean, the destination of which was as yet unknown. The restless spirit of aggression with which the young republic was imbued rendered every nation suspicious and uneasy on the score of this vast armament, and arrangements were on all sides set on foot for resistance.

One power alone continued careless and inactive in the midst of the general alarm. Whilst the note of preparation arose in every other country in Europe the island of Malta remained in a state of supine and indolent security. Warnings had been despatched to the Grand-Master, but they were unheeded. An ill-placed and incomprehensible confidence on his part, joined to the most palpable treachery on that of his advisers, led to the engendering of a fatal sense of security, from which he was not aroused until the enemy was at the door. He had even received the most distinct notice of the destination of the French expeditionary force from the bailiff de Schenau, the ambassador of the Order at the congress of Rastadt. That dignitary had written to him in the following terms:—

“I warn your Highness that the expedition now preparing at Toulon is intended against Malta and Egypt. I have my information from the private secretary of Mons. Treillard, one of the ministers of the French republic. You will most certainly be attacked; take, therefore, all necessary measures for defence. The ministers of all the Powers in alliance with the Order who are now here have received the same information as myself, but they know that Malta is impregnable, or at all events in a

position to offer a resistance of three months' duration. Let your eminent Highness, therefore, be on your guard. Your own honour, and the preservation of your Order, are concerned in the matter. If you yield without a defence, you will be lowered in the eyes of all Europe. I may add that this expedition is looked upon here as likely to prove a disgrace to Bonaparte. He has two powerful enemies in the directory, who have taken this opportunity of getting rid of him—Rewbell and Larevillière Lepaux.”

Such a letter as this, coming from a source so worthy of credence, must, one would imagine, have placed von Hompesch on his guard ; but this was not the case. He conceived himself so secure in the friendly disposition of the French republic that he scorned all preparations for resisting an armament which he felt assured was not aimed against his fraternity, and the terror of which was, he believed, merely a bugbear existing in the agitated minds of nervous and timid politicians.

Such, then, was the comparatively unprepared condition of Malta, when, on the 6th June, 1798, a French fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, accompanied by seventy transports, appeared off the island under the command of Commodore Sidoux. Permission was demanded for a few of the vessels to enter the harbour and water ; this was granted, two of the transports being admitted for that purpose, as also one of the frigates for repair, the remainder lying at anchor outside. Every effort was made by the knights to mark their strict neutrality, and their readiness to offer hospitality and assistance as well to the French as to the other powers whose fleets might approach their shores. On the 9th June the main portion of the expedition appeared, with the rest of the forces, the whole being under the command of General Bonaparte in person. The squadron thus united consisted of fourteen line-of-battle ships, thirty frigates, and 300 transports, the commander-in-chief being on board the flagship *l'Orient*.

On his arrival before Malta, Bonaparte at once despatched the French consul Caruson to the Grand-Master, demanding free entrance into the grand harbour for the whole fleet, and that his troops should be permitted to land. Such a request of itself proved the object which the French general had in view ; to have yielded the required permission would have been simply

to surrender the fortress without an effort. Von Hompesch, by the advice of his council, returned for answer that it was contrary to the rules of his Order, and to the treaty which had been made with France, Spain, and Naples in 1768, to permit the entry of more than four ships of war at a time. This rule he was not prepared to abrogate; but any assistance which he could render to the sick would be tendered with the utmost pleasure and promptitude. The letter concluded with a hope that the Order might still trust to the loyalty and good faith of the French nation, with whom it had always lived in peace and harmony.

This refusal was taken on board the French flagship by Caruson, who, at the same time, informed Bonaparte that treason was rife within the town. Caruson did not return on shore, but forwarded the following letter to the Grand-Master on behalf of Bonaparte, who did not condescend to correspond with him personally.

“ 9th June, 1798.

“ Your Highness,—

“ Having been nominated to proceed on board the admiral’s ship with the reply which your eminence made to my request for permission to the squadron to water in your harbour, the commander-in-chief Bonaparte is highly indignant that such permission should have been restricted to four vessels at a time, for how long would it not take for 500 sail at this rate to procure water and such other necessities as they are much in want of? This refusal has the more surprised General Bonaparte since he is not ignorant of the preference you have shewn to the English, and the proclamation issued by the predecessor of your eminence. General Bonaparte has determined to obtain by force what should have been granted to him of free will, in accordance with the principles of hospitality which form the basis of your Order. I have seen the stupendous armament which is under the command of General Bonaparte, and I foresee the impossibility of the Order making any resistance. It was to have been wished, therefore, that under such adverse circumstances your eminence, for the love of your Order, your knights, and the whole population of Malta, had proposed some measures of accommodation. The general has not permitted me to return to a town which he considers himself obliged to

regard as hostile, and which has no hope save in his mercy. He has, however, given strict orders that the religion, the property, and the customs of the people shall not be interfered with."

Prior to thus openly declaring war, Bonaparte had given the most detailed orders to the various generals who were to take part in the attack, as to their respective proceedings. General Baraguay d'Hilliers was to land at Melleha bay, General Vaubois at St. Julian's, General Desaix at Marsa Scirocco, and General Regnier at Gozo.

The force to be landed by Baraguay d'Hilliers was not intended for the assault of the fortress. He was merely to occupy that part of the island near Melleha bay, and to keep the inhabitants in check. The actual attack was confided to generals Desaix and Vaubois, and the orders to the former ran as follow:—

"The commander-in-chief desires General Desaix to start at once in one of the ship's boats to reconnoitre this evening (the 9th June) the whole of the coast from St. Thomas bay to that of Vie de Sciaat. He is informed that the admiral has directed his convoy to proceed to the entrance of the harbour of Marsa Scirocco. The general wishes you to select the most favourable spot for landing at Marsa Scirocco. He desires that to-morrow morning before daybreak 300 or 400 men should land in boats at one of the spots you may have selected out of range of any battery at the same time that three or four of the ships of your convoy which draw the least water shall approach the harbour of Marsa Scirocco under pretext of watering. By this means you will secure your landing. The marine general du Chayla, with four men-of-war, will anchor at the distance of a mile from Marsa Scirocco to support the landing. The general desires that directly you are master of all the batteries and towers, so as to be able to anchor in security in the bay of Marsa Scirocco, you should advance on the town and endeavour to seize on a gate by surprise or to escalate at some point in the Cottonera lines which has no ditch. But if the enemy be vigilant the general desires that you should content yourself with investing fort Ricasoli and the Cottonera lines, communicating on your left with General Vaubois, who will land in St. Julian's bay and invest the other side of the town. You will only

land the troops that are required for this operation, and no cavalry. You will give orders that directly the convoy enters Marsa Scirocco bay they shall commence to water and secure forage for the horses. You must be ready to leave again in three days. You will make bread and feed your troops in the villages of Zabbar, Zeitun, Gudia, and Tarschien. You must prepare everything for your landing to-night, but you must do nothing hostile until you receive fresh orders. You will tell the inhabitants that the French do not come to change either their customs or their religion, that the strictest discipline will be maintained, and that the priests and monks shall be specially protected. The general commanding-in-chief will issue a proclamation for the whole island."

An order was also addressed to General Vaubois, who was to undertake the attack of the fortress from the north, and was to extend his force after landing at St. Julian's, so as to connect with the left of that advancing from the south under General Desaix. Further instructions were also issued to General Regnier, who was to land in Gozo and take possession of that island. In all these much stress was laid upon the necessity of informing the inhabitants that the French had no desire to change their customs or religion, and that all priests and monks would be specially protected.

Meanwhile, within the convent no one talked openly of surrender, and yet no prompt measures of defence were taken. Von Hompesch himself was perfectly useless in the crisis, not prepared indeed to yield, but at the same time unable to take the most ordinary precautions for the general safety. Without the walls of the palace treason stalked openly and undisguisedly. The emissaries of the republic were to be seen everywhere discouraging the loyal, seducing the vacillating, and pointing out to all the folly of attempting a resistance when no preparations had been made, and when the feelings of the garrison were so divided on the point.

On the evening of the 9th June Bonaparte gave his final orders to the generals who were to effect the landing, and on Sunday, the 10th June, at four o'clock in the morning, the disembarkation of the French army began. Eleven different points were selected for this operation, and the towers of St.

George and St. Julian yielded without resistance. By ten o'clock in the morning the whole outlying country was in the hands of the French, and all the detached forts, with the solitary exception of St. Lucian's tower, in the Marsa Scirocco, had yielded to them. By noon 15,000 men had landed, and the heads of their columns had advanced close to the defences on the side of the Cottonera lines. Several knights, who had been taken prisoners during this operation, were brought before Bonaparte, who expressed himself highly indignant at finding Frenchmen in arms against their country. He is reported to have said, "How is it that I am destined constantly to meet with knights who have taken up arms against their country? I ought to give directions to have you all shot. How could you believe it possible that you could defend yourselves with a few wretched peasants against troops who have conquered the whole of Europe?" Notwithstanding this outburst of anger, he gave instructions that the prisoners should be well treated, nor had they eventually anything to complain of on that score.

Treachery and panic had all this time been working their way within the town. Von Hompesch, instead of endeavouring to restore discipline and confidence, remained buried in his palace in the company only of a single aide-de-camp; he did not even name a lieutenant to aid him in the juncture. The commanders of the various posts, unwilling to take upon themselves the responsibility of action, remained passive, and the French were permitted to assume their positions unmolested. At length a feeble attempt was made to check the advance of the French by a sortie; but the Maltese regiment, which was sent out for this purpose, having been received by the enemy with a heavy fire, soon gave way, and retreated into the town in such confusion that they suffered the loss of their standard. At the same time a knight named de Soubiras made a diversion with a small fleet of galleys, with which he left the grand harbour. On approaching the spot where the French were still continuing their disembarkation he opened fire, but was speedily forced to retire without having rendered any effectual opposition to the operation.

Before night the division under Desaix had invested the Cottonera lines and fort Ricasoli, whilst Baraguay d'Hilliers

was in possession of all the centre of the island. Vaubois had seized the Città Vecchia, and Regnier was master of Gozo. Night only added to the general confusion and dismay. Shots were heard on all sides, and the garrison was called on to fight, not only against the open enemy in its front, but also the insidious treachery in its midst. Everywhere the most complete disorganization was apparent; the soldiers deserted their standards, the people collected together in threatening crowds, cries of treason were heard on all sides. Throughout this night of disorder the French emissaries were busied in exciting the people to acts of violence, and in pointing out those who were in reality the most zealous in endeavouring to protract the defence, as the traitors by whom they were being betrayed. The infuriated multitude, stimulated to a pitch of frenzy by these foul calumnies and scandalous aspersions, soon proceeded to acts of violence, and several unfortunate knights fell victims to their blind rage. Amongst the number may be named de Vallin, who, after being stabbed, was thrown into the sea; de Montazet, who was murdered by the troops at Benissa point; d'Ormy and d'Andelard, the latter of whom was killed in the endeavour to save a *confrère* from the fury of the populace. Many others were seriously wounded, and the mob, raging with the excitement of the moment, dragged their bleeding victims to the square in front of the Grand-Master's palace.

About midnight a deputation from some of the leading Maltese proceeded to the palace, and in audience with the Grand-Master demanded that he should sue for a cessation of hostilities. They pointed out that there was palpable treason at work; that no orders were being executed; that the plan organized for defence was not carried out; that provisions, ammunition, and despatches were all intercepted; and that the massacre of the knights which had already taken place proved the hostility of the people. Unless, therefore, a speedy surrender were determined on, there was every reason to fear that a wholesale butchery would ere long ensue. To this demand von Hompesch returned a refusal, without, however, taking any active measures to render that decision effectual. Before long a second deputation made its appearance, and

announced that if he did not promptly capitulate the Maltese would open negotiations with Bonaparte themselves, and treat for the surrender of the town without further reference to him.

Alarmed at this threat, von Hompesch summoned his council to deliberate upon the demand of the insurgents, and at that dead hour of the night the dignitaries of the Order assembled within the palace, and proceeded to debate the question. Whilst the discussion was going on, and different views were being put forward, a tumult outside the door of the council-chamber betokened a fresh interruption. A few moments after, a body of rioters rushed in, bearing in triumph on their shoulders Boiredont de Ransijat, the treasurer of the fraternity, who had, at the commencement of hostilities, written to the Grand-Master announcing that, as a knight of the Order of St. John, his duty was to combat against the infidel, but not to take part in a struggle against his countrymen, at the same time tendering the resignation of his office. Von Hompesch had ordered the recreant commander to be confined in fort St. Angelo, and now the friends of the revolutionary party had released him by force. This incident completed the panic of the members. Alarmed lest the city should be surrendered without reference to them, they decided that a deputation should be selected to wait upon General Bonaparte, and demand a suspension of arms as a preliminary to capitulation. The persons named for this duty were the bailiff Saousa, the knights Miari and Monferret, the Maltese baron d'Aurel, and M. Fremeaux, the Dutch consul. As soon as the mission had departed on its errand, orders were sent by von Hompesch to the different posts to cease firing, and ere long a complete silence reigned throughout the town, broken only by the distant booming of the guns of St. Lucian's tower, at the Marsa Scirocco, commanded by La Guérivière, a valiant knight, who maintained an active resistance in his little isolated post until the 11th June, when he was forced to surrender, his garrison having been twenty-four hours without food.

Bonaparte, who had all along been kept acquainted with the course matters were taking, had awaited with impatience the demand for an armistice. He was so certain that his friends would secure the surrender of the place without much effort on

his part, that he had done little or nothing towards the actual prosecution of the siege. He had, it is true, landed a few pieces of artillery, and had begun to throw up a few batteries; but this was merely to terrify the inhabitants, and not with much view to actual use. Indeed, his instructions from the directory forbade the prosecution of his plans against Malta if he should meet with any determined resistance. It was feared, and with reason, that the safety of the expedition would be compromised if he were detained for any length of time before the walls of Valetta, and that the dreaded English fleet would be upon his track. Anxiously, therefore, had he looked for the first proffers of surrender, which his emissaries within the town had assured him were about to be made.

Not a moment was lost after the arrival of the deputation in securing the object of the mission. General Junot, the aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, M. Poussiélgue, in charge of the commissariat chest, and a knight of St. John, named Dolomière, who formed one of a party of savants accompanying the expedition in order to study the geology of Egypt, were nominated to treat for the surrender. These three at once entered the town to arrange the conditions. Von Hompesch received them in due state, surrounded by his council, and prepared to open the proceedings with all the customary formalities. When, however, the secretary demanded of the Grand-Master what preamble he should draw up, Junot rudely interrupted him, exclaiming, "What preamble do you want? Four lines will settle the entire business, and these Poussiélgue will dictate." It was evidently the intention of the French envoy to carry everything with a high hand; nor was there any one present daring enough to oppose him. The following armistice was therefore signed:—

"Art. 1.—A suspension of arms for twenty-four hours (to count from six o'clock this evening, the 11th June, till six o'clock to-morrow evening) is granted between the army of the French republic, commanded by General Bonaparte, represented by Brigadier-General Junot, aide-de-camp to the said general on the one side, and his Most Eminent Highness and the Order of St. John on the other side.

“Art. 2.—Within these four-and-twenty hours deputies shall be sent on board *l’Orient* to arrange a capitulation.

“Done in duplicate at Malta this 11th June, 1798.

“(Signed) JUNOT, HOMPESEH.”

On the following day General Bonaparte entered the town, where he established his head-quarters. As he passed through the stupendous works of the Valetta front, and saw their great strength, he exclaimed, “Well was it for us that we had friends within to open the gates for us, for had the place been empty we should have had far more difficulty in obtaining an entrance.” Bonaparte had reason to congratulate himself; his proverbial good fortune had certainly not deserted him. Had he been detained for a short time before Valetta, the British fleet, under Nelson, would have been upon him, and the battle of the Nile would have been anticipated, and fought beneath the ramparts of Malta. Bonaparte disgraced, his army destroyed, his fleet scattered, would have made a very different figure on the stage of Europe from that which he was destined to occupy as the conqueror of Egypt. Fate had befriended him. The capture of Malta and the expedition to Egypt had been contrived by his enemies as a trap to insure his downfall. The cowardice of von Hompesch had turned the scale in his favour; and when Europe learnt, with stupefied amazement, that the powerful fortress of Malta had surrendered to his arms in two days, a fresh laurel was twined into that chaplet of glory which already encircled his brow.

It may be well for a moment to glance at the events just recorded, as they were seen from a French point of view. The following narrative, written by Marmont, gives a graphic account of that part of the operations in which he was engaged:

“Directed to land in St. Paul’s bay with five battalions, I was the first Frenchman who set foot on the island. Some companies of the regiment of Malta, who were posted on the shore, retreated without fighting. We followed them, and they retired into the town. I invested the place from the sea as far as the aqueduct, in order to connect myself with General Desaix, who had landed on the south of the town. I approached the city and came across a horn work, that of Floriana, covering the

place on this side, but unarmed. I established posts as near to it as possible, so as to confine the garrison. I had no sooner completed these arrangements, than I saw the drawbridge lowered, and a large and disorderly body of men marching against me. I called in my outposts at once, and retired slowly and in good order, firing from time to time on the head of the column, that I might check its advance. I sent directions to two battalions of the 19th Regiment, encamped beyond cannon shot range from the town on the right and left of the road, to place themselves under cover, and to show themselves only when I arrived at the spot and gave the word. This was carried out as I wished. The Maltese, seeing me retreat, took courage. Arriving thus massed in column close to the spot where the 19th was, this regiment shewed itself, and received them with a deadly fire, which threw them into the utmost disorder. I at once attacked them with my troops, and routed them. We followed, charging with the bayonet, and killed a considerable number. I carried off with my own hands the standard of the Order, which was displayed at the head of the column. These poor Maltese soldiers, simple peasants as they were, and only speaking Arabic, argued thus with themselves: 'We are fighting against Frenchmen; we are led by Frenchmen; therefore the Frenchmen who command us are traitors.' In their rage they massacred seven of the French knights who had led them in the sortie, and yet it had been the French knights only who had counselled resistance. Such treatment was not encouraging. Consequently they sent me an emissary the next morning to say that, if the negotiations then on foot did not lead to the surrender of the town, they would hand over to me St. Joseph's gate (now called the *Porte des Bombes*). The negotiations, however, were successful, and the capitulation was signed. Thus were celebrated the obsequies of the Order of St. John, fallen from its ancient glory and splendour by its cowardice and want of firmness. The Maltese were furious. We had at first much uneasiness as to the carrying into effect of the capitulation. These peasant soldiers were in possession of two inner works, very lofty cavaliers, closed at the gorge, armed, and commanding the whole town, called forts St. John and St. James. They refused to surrender even after we had entered the gate,

and penetrated within the enceinte. It was by the merest chance they did not continue their resistance, and if they had, it is impossible to say what effect this one obstacle would have had in the position in which we then were."

The capitulation, in virtue of which the island of Malta passed for ever from under the dominion of the Order of St. John, was signed on the 12th June. It was couched in the following terms:—

"Art. 1. The knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army, at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic all rights of property and sovereignty over that island, as also over those of Gozo and Comino.

"Art. 2. The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt to procure a principality for the Grand-Master equivalent to the one he gives up, and the same republic engages to pay him in the meantime an annual pension of 300,000 French livres, besides two annates of the pension by way of indemnification for his personal property. He shall also be treated with the usual military honours during the remainder of his stay in Malta.

"Art. 3. The French knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, actually resident in Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander-in-chief, shall be permitted to return to their native country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the knights of those several nations.

"Art. 4. The French republic shall assign an annual pension of 700 French livres to those whose age exceeds sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics to grant the same pension to the knights of their respective countries.

"Art. 5. The French republic shall use its influence with the different powers that the knights of each nation may be permitted to exercise their rights over the property of the Order of Malta situated in their dominions.

“Art. 6. The knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or Gozo.

“Art. 7. The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Gozo shall be allowed, as heretofore, the free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Holy Roman religion. Their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, and they shall not be subject to any extraordinary taxes.

“Art. 8. All civil acts passed during the government of the Order shall remain valid.

“Done and concluded on board *l’Orient* before Malta, on the 24th Prairial, the sixth year of the French Republic (12th June, 1798).

“The Commander BOISREDONT DE RANSIJAT,

“Baron MARIO TESTAFERRATA,

“Dr. GIOVANNI NICOLAS MUSCAT,

“Dr. BENEDETTO SCHEMBRI,

“The bailiff of TORIO FRISARI,

“without prejudice to the right of dominion belonging to my sovereign the king of the Two Sicilies,

“The chevalier FELIPE DI AMATI,

“Counsellor BONANI.”

Such were the terms of the capitulation which transferred the island of Malta to the French. The standard of the Order was removed from its proud position, and the degenerate descendants of L’Isle Adam and La Valette were doomed to the degradation of witnessing the substitution in its place of the French tricolour, without having even the satisfaction of feeling that they had struck one good blow to avert the catastrophe. For nearly three centuries successive Grand-Masters had lavished their own fortunes and the treasures of the Hospital in rearing a frowning mass of ramparts and batteries at all points. The opinions of the leading engineers in Europe had been sought to suggest fresh additions that should render the fortress of Valetta impregnable. It had long been looked on as one of the most powerful strongholds in Europe, and yet, in less than two days, it had surrendered with scarce the trace of a struggle to the army of France. The cowardice and negligence, the incapacity and blindness of von Hompesch, combined with the

treachery of those under him, had done all that Bonaparte could have desired, and it must have been with feelings of no little exultation, that on the 13th June he penned the despatch to the directory, in which he announced his victory. As soon as that despatch was received in Paris, the following state paper was issued, addressed to the council, wherein are shewn the grounds upon which the republic intended to justify this wanton aggression in the eyes of Europe:—

“Citizens Representatives,

“The government of Malta has for a long time past dared to manifest the most hostile intentions towards France; it has boldly received and greatly favoured not only the emigrants who have retired to Malta, but also those amongst the knights who have actually served in the army of Condé.

“The nature of its constitution demands the strictest neutrality, but at the very moment when it publicly professed to preserve it, permission was granted to Spain, while at war with us, to recruit sailors in Malta, and the same permission has since been given to England, though it has constantly been refused to France in the most offensive manner.

“Whenever any Maltese or French residing in Malta appeared attached to the French cause, they were cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, and treated like the vilest criminals. The hatred of an inconsiderable state towards the French republic could not well be carried to greater lengths, yet the Grand-Master has declared, in his manifesto of the 10th October, 1793, that the king of Naples having notified to him his situation in regard to the war, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of shutting his ports against all French vessels. He even went still farther, and declared, in the same manifesto, that the French agent then residing in Malta should in future be entirely regarded as a *chargé d'affaires* from the king of France, and concluded by saying that having understood there was a new envoy on his way to Malta, he would neither receive nor admit into his dominions such a person, nor indeed any other as agent from the pretended French republic which the Grand-Master (his own words) neither ought, could, nor would acknowledge.

“The government of Malta could not certainly at that period prove itself more inimical to France, and this state of warfare has never ceased to subsist.

“On the 21st Prairial of this year, the commander of the French forces in those seas requested permission to water at the various watering places within the island; but this demand was refused in the most evasive manner, the Grand-Master alleging that he could not permit more than two transports to enter at the same time, so that it would necessarily have taken up more than 300 days to furnish the whole of the French troops with water. What effrontery thus to insult the army of the republic commanded by General Bonaparte!

“On the morning of the 22nd Prairial the French troops landed on several different points of the island, and in the course of the same day the place was invested on all sides. The cannon from the city kept up a very brisk fire. The besieged made a sally, when the colours of the Order were taken by the brigadier Marmont at the head of the 9th brigade.

“On the 24th, in the morning, the knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem gave up the city and forts of Malta to the French republic, and likewise ceded to the said republic their rights of sovereignty and proprietorship, not only over Malta, but also over the islands of Gozo and Comino.

“The republic made the acquisition in Malta of two men-of-war, one frigate, four galleys, 1,200 pieces of artillery, 1,500,000 pounds of gunpowder, 40,000 muskets, and many other articles not yet particularized.

“(Signed) PECHELL, President.

“LA GARDE, General Secretary.”

General Bonaparte did not condescend to pay any personal respect to the chief whose sovereignty had been thus easily torn from his grasp, nor did he honour him with a visit. Von Hompesch, on the other hand, anxious to secure certain concessions and privileges for himself and his fraternity, determined to overlook the marked slight thus cast upon him, and to seek himself the interview which the French general did not appear disposed to demand. Accompanied by a body of his knights,

with downcast air and stripped of the insignia of their rank, he presented himself before the victorious general. The interview was brief, and, so far as he was concerned, highly unsatisfactory. The requests which he preferred were refused, and he himself treated with scant courtesy.

Von Hompesch had put forward a claim to all the plate and jewellery belonging to the palace, and attached to the office of Grand-Master; but the demand was refused, upon the plea that it was proposed to make him an allowance of 600,000 francs as an equivalent. Of this sum 300,000 were retained for the ostensible purpose of paying his creditors, who were very numerous, and who, since he had been stripped of his revenues, were becoming clamorous for their dues. Of the balance, 200,000 were paid in bills on the French treasury, and 100,000 only in cash. At his special request he was permitted to carry away with him the three relics which the Order had always held in such high veneration, namely, a piece of the true cross, of which it had originally become possessed in the Holy Land, the right hand and arm of St. John the Baptist, and the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Philermo. These, however, were stripped of their valuable cases and ornaments before they were handed over to him. Von Hompesch embarked at two o'clock in the morning of the 18th June, on board a merchantman bound for Trieste, and was escorted by a French frigate. The suite who accompanied him consisted of the two bailiffs of Lombardy, Montauroux, and Suffrein de St. Tropez, the commander de Lecondas, his grand-chamberlain, and seven other knights, with two servants-at-arms.

A general dispersion of the fraternity now took place. Von Hompesch for a short time resided at Trieste, where he published a lengthy justification of his conduct, which had but little effect in removing the stain cast on his reputation by his weakness and cowardice. He was at length induced to resign his office, and retire into private life. He left Trieste for Montpellier, where he lived in the strictest seclusion, alike shunning and being shunned. He died on the 12th May, 1805, of asthma, a complaint from which he had been of late years a great sufferer. A few months before his death he enrolled himself a member of the fraternity of Blue Penitents of Mont-

pellier, and he was buried in the chapel of that community. He died in such extreme poverty that the physicians who attended him in his last moments received no remuneration for their services, and no funds of his own were forthcoming to defray the expenses of his funeral.

The great body of the knights, who, on their expulsion from Malta, were cast homeless and destitute on the world, proceeded at once to Russia, the emperor of which country still retained the title of Protector of the Order, and was the only monarch who of late years had shown any sympathy with them. By him they were received in the most gracious manner, and with the most flattering cordiality. His desire was to become Grand-Master in lieu of von Hompesch, that he might with that title found a claim to the island of Malta. This wish soon became known to the knights assembled at St. Petersburg, and although von Hompesch had not at the time sent in his resignation, they summoned a council, and on the 27th October elected the emperor their Grand-Master. The nomination was utterly illegal, not only from the fact that the post was not yet vacant, but also because none of the elements necessary for a valid election were present. The proclamation of appointment itself specifies that the members taking part in it were only the bailiffs, grand-crosses, commanders, and knights of the Russian priory, together with such of the fugitives from Malta as had taken shelter in St. Petersburg. Invalid as the act was, Paul graciously accepted the proffered dignity in a proclamation dated on the 13th November, and on the 10th December he was publicly invested with the insignia of his new office.

The emperor, however, did not consider his appointment free from cavil as long as the election of Hompesch remained unannulled. He therefore caused such pressure to be brought to bear on that unfortunate chief, that on the 6th July, 1799, a formal act of abdication was forwarded to St. Petersburg, and Paul was henceforth left to enjoy his barren dignity undisturbed. His first step was to create a second Russian priory for such of his subjects as were members of the Greek church. The new priory consisted of ninety-eight commanderies, and its revenues amounted to 216,000 roubles, payable out of the public treasury. He then announced to all the courts of Europe the

measures he had taken with regard to the Order, and invited candidates from every nation to enrol themselves once more beneath the White Cross banner. He also sent instructions to Prince Volkouski, commanding the Russian troops in the Ionian islands, to join the force which was then blockading the island of Malta.

At his death, in 1801, his successor, Alexander, nominated Field Marshal Count Soltikoff lieutenant of the Mastery, and directed that he should convene a meeting of the council of the Order at St. Petersburg to deliberate on its future action. This assembly, which called itself the sovereign council of the Order, met on the 22nd June, 1801, and proposed a substitute for the original mode of election to the Grand-Mastership, such as was rendered absolutely necessary by the altered condition in which the fraternity was placed. Local chapters-general were to be convened in every grand-priory, and lists were to be by them prepared of such knights as were eligible for the vacant office, the actual nomination from amongst the names thus put forward being vested in the Pope. In accordance with this arrangement the bailiff de Ruspoli, a member of the *langue* of Italy, and formerly general of the galleys, was selected. This knight declined the empty and barren dignity thus offered to him, and the Pope afterwards named John de Tommasi in his place.

One of the first acts of the new chief was to assemble a conclave of the Order in the priory church of Messina on the 27th June, 1802, where he formally promulgated his appointment as Grand-Master. Nothing, however, of any importance to the interests of the fraternity was proposed at this meeting, nor, indeed, in the then unfortunate state of affairs, were they capable of much amelioration. Tommasi resided until his death at Catania, and when that event took place, in June, 1805, the Pope, who declined any longer to take upon himself the responsibility of nominating a Grand-Master, in violation of the statutes of the Order, contented himself with naming the bailiff Innico Maria Guevara as lieutenant only. He was followed, in 1814, by the bailiff Andrea di Giovanni, at whose death, in 1821, Antonio Busca was appointed. During his rule a project was set on foot for the establishment of the fraternity

in Greece, with a view to the ultimate recovery of the island of Rhodes. For this purpose attempts were made to raise a loan of £400,000, but without success. Busca changed the locality of the convent from Catania to Ferrara, by permission of Leo XII., dated on the 12th May, 1827, and he died in that city in 1834. He was followed successively by Carlo Candida, Filippo di Colloredo, Alessandro Borgia, and Giovanni Battista Ceschi di Santa Croce. This latter chief was appointed in 1872, and in 1879 Pope Leo XIII. raised him to the dignity of Grand-Master, a title which had been in abeyance since the year 1805, and which he still holds. During the rule of Candida the fraternity removed to Rome, where the members still reside.

This branch of the Order at present consists of portions of the Italian and German *langues*, with a few other scattered fragments. Of the *langue* of Italy the grand priories of Rome, of Lombardo-Venetia, and of the Two Sicilies still survive; of the *langue* of Germany, only the grand-priory of Bohemia; whilst the other fragments, which are affiliated to the convent under the title of associations, are the Rhenish-Westphalian, the Silesian, and the British. The latter are, of course, Roman Catholic, and have been professed in Rome.

It will be seen, therefore, that there remain at the present day three distinct fragments which trace their parentage to the Order of St. John—the convent at Rome, with its Grand-Master appointed by the Pope; the Brandenburg branch, which has been described in Chapter XXI.; and the English *langue*, the revival of which was described in Chapter XXII. At present these three fragments remain unconnected; but it is to be hoped that in time they may be drawn together, and that no difference of religious opinions will stand in the way of their uniting to carry out the principles embodied in the motto of their Order—*Pro utilitate hominum*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1798—1800.

French decrees on assuming possession of the island—Insurrection of the Maltese—Blockade of the French within the fortress—Arrival of the joint British and Portuguese fleet—Details of the blockade—Capitulation of the French—The treaty of Amiens—Eventual transfer of the island to the British—Conclusion.

FOR several years a feeling of dissatisfaction and insubordination had been growing up between the inhabitants of Malta and the knights of St. John. The new and enticing doctrines promulgated by the revolutionary party in France had enlisted in their favour a great number of the more youthful and enthusiastic of the Maltese. They had been insensibly attracted by the hopes and aspirations which the new *régime* professed to realize, and they were too distant from the scene of action, and too ill-informed as to the fearful events which had for some years deluged France with blood, to discover the futility of those professions. The time for which they had so earnestly craved had now arrived, and they were at length called on to enjoy the fruit of their labours. The White Cross banner had been lowered from the standard where it had for so many years waved in proud and undisturbed security, and in its place had been raised the tricolour emblem of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The despotism (for despotism it undoubtedly had been) of the Grand-Master was exchanged for the free and enlightened government of republican France, and the inhabitants were now able to look with confidence for the realization of those expectations which had been so sedulously nursed by the emissaries of that country.

Bonaparte did not allow much time to elapse before he

secured himself in his new conquest, and developed the principles upon which the French government was to be based. The surrender of the fortress was completed as rapidly as possible. At midday on the 12th June fort Manöel, fort Tigné, the castle of St. Angelo, the Margarita and Cottonera lines were all transferred to the French, and on the following day fort Ricasoli, St. Elmo, and the whole of Valetta and Floriana followed. The troops of the Order were permitted temporarily to retain the barracks which they occupied, but merely as the guests of the French republic until they were otherwise disposed of. A commission of government was at once established composed of the following nine persons, viz., the quondam knight Boisredont de Ransijat, Vincenzo Caruana, Carlo Astor, Paolo Ciantar, Jean François Dorell, Grongo, Benedetto Schembri, Don Saverio Caruana, and Cristoforo Frendo. The duties of this commission were, by their deed of appointment, specified to be the taking charge of the administration of the islands of Malta and Gozo, the superintendence of the collection of all taxes and contributions, the arrangements for provisioning the island, and for its sanitary regulation. They were also to organize tribunals of justice on the model of the new French courts. The two islands were to be divided into departments, each containing 3,000 souls, and municipalities were to be formed in the towns of Valetta and Vittoriosa. Each country department was to be under the direction of a body of five members, nominated from the district. Another decree specified that all armorial bearings were to be removed within the space of twenty-four hours, that no liveries were to be worn, and that all titles or other marks of nobility were to be at once abolished. The consequences of this decree are still plainly visible in the wanton defacement of all the armorial tablets in the island.

Then followed a decree, directing that all persons, subjects of any power at war with France, were to quit the island in forty-eight hours. All knights under sixty years of age were to leave within three days. To these decrees a number of exemptions were made of knights or others who, having befriended the French, were to be regarded as Maltese citizens, and were to be permitted to remain. One of the principal

reasons given for the exemption was that they had made contributions towards the invasion of England. The property of all English, Russian, and Portuguese merchants was seized. Then came the plunder decree, which ran as follows:—

“Citizen Berthollet, controller of the army, accompanied by a commissariat paymaster, will seize all the gold, silver, and precious stones which are to be found in the church of St. John and other places connected with the Order of Malta; the plate belonging to the *auberges*, and that of the Grand-Master. They will at once melt the gold into ingots for convenience of transport, and they will make an inventory of all the precious stones, which will be deposited in the army chest. They will sell plate to the amount of from 250,000 to 300,000 francs to merchants of the country for gold and silver coin, which will be deposited in the chest. The remainder of the plate will be sent to the Maltese mint to be coined, and the money so obtained will be used for the payment of the garrison. Nothing is to be left in the various churches beyond what is actually necessary for the services of religion.”*

All these decrees were published on the 13th June, and on the 16th a further batch followed, the most important of which was one directing the formation of a company of volunteers, to be composed of young men, of from fifteen to thirty years of age, taken from the principal families of Malta, to be named by Bonaparte. These were to be clothed and armed at the expense of their families, and were to accompany the army to Egypt. Another body of sixty lads, from nine to fourteen years of age, also belonging to the leading families, was to be sent to Paris to be brought up in the colleges of the republic. Their parents were to pay 800 francs a year for their maintenance, and 600 francs for the expenses of their journey. Six more youths, similarly selected, were to be placed with the fleet to be educated for the navy. Numerous other decrees of a similar character followed during the few days that Bonaparte remained in the island, and marked the nature of the rule under which the Maltese were henceforth destined to dwell.

On the 21st June the expeditionary force left Malta, taking

* The whole of the plunder thus obtained was shipped on board *l'Orient*, and was lost when she blew up at the battle of the Nile.

with them the Maltese regiment, the Grand-Master's guard, and a great number of the sailors of the island. The garrison that was to be left behind was placed under the command of General Vaubois, and consisted of the following troops:—

7th Light Infantry	...	...	900
6th Regiment of the Line	...	...	518
41st Ditto	...	...	285
80th Ditto	...	...	650
19th Ditto	...	...	700

Total 3,053

with five companies of artillery.

The departure of Bonaparte caused no relaxation in the rigour and despotism of the French policy, and it gradually dawned on the unfortunate inhabitants that the liberty, the equality, and the fraternity, for which they had so fervently prayed, were practical nonentities, and that these high-sounding, philanthropic titles were but cloaks to a tyranny, compared with which the rule of the Grand-Masters was mild indeed. Ransijat himself, though a Frenchman, and warmly attached to the new order of things, of which, moreover, he was one of the leading agents in his capacity as president of the commission of government, has enumerated a list of some of the principal grievances under which the Maltese laboured during the few weeks immediately succeeding the expulsion of the knights. This list, drawn up by one not likely to exaggerate the evil, shows the rapacious character of the French government. Chief among them may be mentioned the following:—

1. When Bonaparte carried away the Maltese soldiers and sailors, he engaged, on behalf of the French government, that a certain sum should be paid for the maintenance of their families. This was not done, although a stoppage for the purpose was made from the men's pay. The unfortunate women and children were consequently reduced to utter destitution.

2. The sum of 300,000 francs had been kept back from the indemnity guaranteed to von Hompesch, ostensibly for the purpose of paying his debts, but the money was not devoted to that purpose. Many other knights who had been expelled were

also debtors to a considerable amount. None of these liabilities were ever recovered.

3. All the pensions which, under the rule of the knights, had been granted for service, were suspended by the French. Many charities, formerly supported by the treasury, were in like manner abolished.

4. The payment of the interest on loans made to the treasury of the Order was at once suspended, and the claim for such loans repudiated.

5. The quartering of the officers of the garrison upon the families of the Maltese was a very unpopular measure, and gave rise to much dissatisfaction, as did also the levying of a tax for the expenses of the soldiers' barracks, which was in direct contravention to the terms of the capitulation.

These were some of the principal grievances of which the inhabitants complained. Still, although they were thus rendered discontented, the French might have succeeded in maintaining their sway, had they not insulted the feelings of the people on a point where they were most sensitive. Had they refrained from interference with the religion of Malta, they might possibly have carried their other acts of spoliation with a high hand; but a grave error of policy was committed when they decided on plundering the churches of the costly decorations and votive offerings, in which the inhabitants took so great a pride. From the moment they began these sacrilegious depredations, all sympathy between them and the Maltese was at an end. The latter looked with a sense of horror and detestation on a nation which, openly regardless of all religion itself, was guilty of such acts of wanton desecration, and the spirit of discontent, which had hitherto found vent in idle murmurs, was now so roused that it soon broke out into open revolt. The French had utterly mistaken the Maltese temperament, which is naturally bright, cheerful, and submissive, and neglected to mark the under-current of firm and determined courage which forms the mainstay of their character. Hardy, temperate, and, when excited, capable of deeds of the most dauntless heroism, passionately attached to their island and religion, the Maltese may be made, according to the manner in which they are governed, either the warmest friends and the most loyal

subjects, or the bitterest and most dangerous enemies. The French committed the serious error of despising their new subjects, and they soon had cause to rue their shortsighted policy.

The government had advertised the sale of some tapestry and other decorations from a church in the Città Vecchia, and the crowd assembled on the occasion shewed the first symptoms of revolt. This event took place on the 2nd September, 1798, and brought on a riot of so serious a character that the sale was necessarily postponed, a step which, for the moment, quelled the disturbance. The commandant Masson at once despatched a message to General Vaubois, in Valetta, informing him of what had occurred, and praying for a reinforcement. This letter did not reach the general until eight o'clock in the evening, so that he was unable to send any assistance until the next morning. This delay was probably one of the main causes of the loss of Malta to the French. In the afternoon the riot, which had been suppressed, once more broke out. The garrison, including the commandant, were all massacred, and the town fell into the hands of the insurgents. The example thus set was speedily followed in the neighbouring villages, and before night the revolt had spread far and wide. Ignorant of this fact, early on the morning of the 3rd September, Vaubois despatched a body of 200 men to the assistance of Masson. Before they had proceeded far on their route they were assailed on every side, and met with so obstinate a resistance that they were forced to retreat with all haste into the town, having lost several of their number, who were cut off by the rebels.

The revolt now spread over the whole island, and the French were closely invested within their lines by the people of the country. Even in Valetta the same spirit manifested itself, but here the superior power of the garrison enabled it to check the outbreak, and a few summary executions of the leaders reduced the mass of the inhabitants to a state of sullen submission. These vigorous acts on the part of the Maltese had been much encouraged, if not, indeed, originally prompted, by the intelligence brought five days previously by the French line-of-battle ship, *Guillaume Tell*, and the two frigates, *Diane* and *Justice*, which had effected their escape from Egypt

after the battle of the Nile. These three vessels were almost the only relics of that glorious fight, and they had fled to Malta for protection as soon as the issue of the conflict, so disastrous to the French cause, had become decisive. It was, therefore, with very gloomy forebodings that General Vaubois found himself blockaded within his works by the Maltese at a moment when the utter annihilation of the French fleet in the Mediterranean had cut him off from all hope of succour. A strict examination was at once instituted into the resources of the fortress, when it was found that 36,000 salms of wheat were contained within the stores, a supply considered sufficient for the whole island for seven months; should, therefore, the country remain in a state of revolt, it was, of course, ample for the town requirements for a much longer period. Every effort was, nevertheless, made to recall the insurgents to their allegiance, but in vain. An amnesty was even offered to the leaders; but the people were not to be cajoled, and sternly rejected all offers of compromise.

One of the earliest steps taken by the Maltese, after they had surrounded the French and completed the investment of the towns, was to appeal to the king of Naples, as their sovereign, for protection. In consequence of this request, a Portuguese squadron was despatched to the island, under the command of the Sicilian admiral, the marquis de Niza, who was joined by Captain Ball, with the British man-of-war, *Alexander*. This force, which, together, consisted of four ships of the line and two frigates, arrived before Malta on the 18th September, and at once established a blockade. It was joined, on the 24th October, by the British fleet, consisting of fourteen sail, in a very shattered condition, having undergone no repairs since the desperate battle in which it had been engaged in Aboukir bay. On the day of his arrival off Malta, Nelson wrote a letter to Lady Hamilton, of which the following extracts affect our narrative:—

“After a long passage we arrived, and it is as I suspected; the ministers at Naples know nothing of the situation of the island. Not a house or bastion in the town is in the possession of the islanders, and the marquis of Niza tells me they want arms, victuals, and support, and it is very certain, by the marquis’s account, that no supplies have been sent by

the governors of Syracuse or Messina. However, I shall and will know everything as soon as the marquis is gone, which will be to-morrow morning."

On the following day, Nelson sent the marquis de Niza back to Naples to refit, and himself began, personally, to investigate the state of affairs. This he found most unsatisfactory as far as the Neapolitan government was concerned. The Maltese were most determined and enthusiastic, but they were almost totally destitute of the means necessary for maintaining their resistance. Nelson had been led to believe that they had been furnished from Sicily with supplies of arms and ammunition, but so far was this from being the case, that, on the contrary, their vessels had actually been placed in quarantine by the Sicilians. The only assistance they had as yet received was from the British. Sir James Saumarez, whilst taking home the Nile prizes, having been detained off Malta, had seized the opportunity of supplying them with 1,200 muskets and a quantity of ammunition. Nelson found 10,000 men in arms under the command of three leaders, Emmanuele Vitale, Xavier Caruana, then canon, and afterwards bishop of Malta, and Vincenzo Borg. They had already begun the construction of batteries for the annoyance of the garrison. On the 5th October they had successfully resisted a sortie in force, made by the French in the direction of the village of Zabbar, when they drove the garrison back with considerable loss. Since that date no further attempts had been made to assume the offensive. Nelson at once despatched Captain Ball to summon the island of Gozo, the result of which was a capitulation on the 30th October. Two hundred and thirty prisoners were taken, and sent to Naples in the *Vanguard* and *Minotaur*. Before quitting Malta, the admiral intrusted to Ball the duty of aiding the inhabitants, and organizing their resistance, proposing that on the surrender of the fortress he should assume the government, either on behalf of the king of Naples, or jointly for him and the king of England. He instructed Ball as follows:—

"In case of the surrender of Malta, I beg you will not do anything which can hurt the feelings of their Majesties. Unite their flag with England's if it cannot, from the disposition of the islanders, fly alone."

Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander James Ball, whose name is so linked with the fortunes of Malta at this eventful time, was a younger son of Robert Ball, Esq., lord of the manor of Stonehouse, in Gloucestershire. He was educated at Northampton, and entered the navy in the year 1768. His friendship with Nelson had been of long standing, and a very interesting incident is related of him in connection with that hero. In a violent storm off the island of Sardinia, on the 20th May, 1798, the *Alexander*, commanded by Ball, was in company with the *Vanguard*, bearing the flag of Nelson. The *Vanguard*, being disabled, was taken in tow by the *Alexander*, but the storm was so furious that the towing could not be continued without imminent peril to Ball's ship. Considering the case as desperate, Nelson seized the speaking trumpet, and, with passionate threats, ordered Ball to cast him loose. To this, however, Ball responded by saying, "I must not, and by the help of Almighty God, I will not leave you." He succeeded in rescuing the *Vanguard*, and on their arrival in harbour Nelson hailed him as the preserver of his life.

At this time it was the general opinion that the French would not hold out long, and Ball wrote as follows to Lady Hamilton, on the 19th October, five days before Nelson arrived:—"I trust a very short time will put us in possession of the French ships in the harbour of Malta, viz., *Le Guillaume Tell*, of eighty guns, *La Diane* and *La Justice*, frigates of forty guns, besides two ships, formerly Maltese. The French would be glad of a sufficient excuse to surrender, which they will soon have, as they are firing away their powder very fast. The Maltese have gone too far ever to recede." Events, however, proved how fallacious this opinion was, as the blockade, which Ball anticipated would soon be brought to a close, had to be maintained for a period of two years, before the constancy of the garrison was subdued by force of sheer starvation. The narrative of this blockade does not come strictly within the province of this work. It will, therefore, be sufficient to touch upon merely a few of the most salient points. The journal of Ransijat, which contains a very full and minute account of all that took place, is the principal authority extant on the subject. His book is full of complaints as to the total

dearth of intelligence from France, which, in those eventful times, must have been very trying; constant dread of bombardment, which was every now and again threatened by the besiegers, but never carried out; a series of summonses from the hostile admirals, invariably rejected with contempt, and at intervals the arrival of some small vessel, laden with corn, wine, oil, or brandy, which had evaded the blockading squadron.

The inhabitants of the town had not openly joined the insurrection; still, the bulk of them were naturally eager for the success of their compatriots, and were only kept from an open manifestation of their feelings by the superior French force in their midst. Amongst them a plot was hatched which at one time bid fair to curtail the tedious duration of the blockade, and to achieve at one blow that triumph which they had hitherto only hoped for from the effects of starvation. It was arranged that the chief conspirators were each to lead a body of some fifty or sixty men to the attack of the principal posts within the city, as it had been observed that the sentries were not very vigilant, and it was believed that they could be surprised and poniarded without raising an alarm. A Corsican, called Guglielmo, who had been a colonel in the Russian service, was at the head of the plot, and he undertook to surprise the Grand-Master's palace, then the head-quarters of General Vaubois. An ex-officer of chasseurs under the late *régime*, named Peralta, was to seize on the Marina gate; Damato, a farrier in the Maltese regiment, was to lead a party against the Porta Reale, the principal entrance to Valetta; and a barber named Pulis, another, against the Marsa Muscetto gate. Other detachments were to seize St. Elmo and the *auberge* de Castile. The assaults were all to be made simultaneously on the 11th January, 1799, and were to be supported by a general attack from without on several points of the enceinte, so as to distract the attention of the garrison.

The discovery of the plot was purely accidental. On the morning of the appointed day a Genoese barque had entered the harbour, having eluded the blockading squadron, and had brought intelligence of important successes obtained by the French over the Sardinians and Neapolitans. General Vaubois ordered a salute to be fired in honour of the occasion from the

principal batteries. The Maltese outside the fortress, who were on the *qui vive* for the signal, at once rushed to the attack of Floriana and the Cottonera lines, but were so warmly received at both points that they were compelled to retire with considerable loss. This premature advance disarranged all the plans of the conspirators, and they decided upon postponing their venture till a more favourable opportunity. Having no means of communicating this alteration of design to their friends outside, the latter remained in uncertainty as to what steps they should take. A number of volunteers, trusting that the outbreak might be attempted during the night, found their way, under cover of the darkness, to the rocks beneath the walls of the town near the Marsa Muscetto gate, and there awaited the course of events. Unfortunately for them the same ill-fate which had marred the morning's project pursued them still. General Vaubois had determined to celebrate the French successes not only by salutes, but also by an extra performance at the theatre, which, as the day was Friday, would not, under ordinary circumstances, have been open. The commandant of fort Manöel, and one of his officers, obtained leave to attend this representation, and at its close proceeded to the Marsa Muscetto gate to return to their post. Whilst taking boat the attention of the commandant was attracted by a light and the sound of whispered conversation beneath the walls. He took no notice of these suspicious incidents at the moment, but on reaching fort Manöel he sent off a patrol to search the place. The Maltese were discovered crouching amidst the rocks, patiently awaiting the signal of onslaught and the opening of the gate. The alarm was at once given, and they were all seized. Eventually most of the details of the plot leaked out, and forty-four persons, including the leaders, were executed. The terror which was thus inspired amongst the inhabitants relieved the French from all fear of a repetition of the event.

On the 21st May, 1799, the garrison was agreeably surprised to find that during the previous night all the blockading ships had vanished. The cause of this sudden movement was the escape of the French fleet from Brest, and its appearance in the Mediterranean, joined by the Spanish vessels from Corunna. Nelson's

first determination on receiving this intelligence was to raise the blockade of Malta and concentrate all his ships off Mari-timo. For this purpose he wrote to Captain Ball to rendezvous with all his squadron at that point. It soon, however, appeared that the French fleet, although it had entered the Mediter-ranean, had no intention of fighting, but had made its way as rapidly as possible to Toulon. Under these circumstances, Ball's orders were countermanded, and he was directed to resume the blockade with the *Alexander*, 74; the *Audacious*, 74; the *Bonne Citoyenne*, 20; the *Stromboli*, bomb ship, 10; and the Portuguese ship the *Benjamin*, 18. To these were afterwards added the *Lion*, 64; the *Success*, 32; and the *El Corso*, 16, English ships; and the *Principe Real*, 92; the *Affonso*, 74; the *Rainha*, 74; and the *St. Sebastian*, 64, Portu-guese ships. The squadron reappeared before Malta on the 5th June, to the great dismay of the defenders, who had taken advantage of the suspension of the blockade to despatch several small craft for the purpose of harassing the communications of their besiegers with Sicily. Now, however, all was once more changed, and the Maltese hailed with joy the return of the fleet, which enabled them to prosecute the land attack without fear of interruption.

Throughout the blockade the greatest unanimity prevailed between the Maltese and the English. Ball, who was in command during this time, had endeared himself to the inhabitants, and had acted as their principal leader, organizing their forces, superintending the erection of their batteries, and supplying them, as far as his means permitted, with food and munitions of war. With the exception of this aid the land attack was maintained almost exclusively by the Maltese, who are entitled to claim that they, and they alone, confined the French within the fortress, and kept them there for a period of two years. This is clearly proved by the fact that during the fifteen days when the fleet was absent no attempt at a sortie was made by Vaubois.

Whilst such was the determined spirit shown by the Maltese against the French, their feelings on the subject of the return of the knights were by no means so unanimous, there being many amongst them who would have hailed that event with

pleasure. Fears were therefore entertained lest a counter-revolution might break out, with the object of bringing about such a consummation. The following letter, addressed to Ball by one of the lieutenants of his ship, who was stationed on shore at St. Antonio, shews the state of public feeling at the time :—

“For several days the minds of the inhabitants have been worked up to a degree of alarm that foreboded something very unpleasant, and a number of reports have been in circulation of the probability of a counter-revolution, which it was hinted would most likely take place on the 29th (June), the day of the celebration of the feast of St. Paul, when all the chiefs would be assembled at Città Vielle, assisting at the religious ceremonies. On the evening of the 28th the captain of the port of St. Paul’s came up to report to me the arrival of three knights of Malta, two of them Grand-Croix, in a speronaro. They were from Trieste, but last from Messina. He had allowed them to land, but immediately lodged them in the tower of St. Paul until he had received orders how to proceed. One of them, the bailli Nevens, was almost the only knight who had been popular with the Maltese; he had commanded the regiment of chasseurs in the country, most of whom are now acting as soldiers with us. From the existing circumstances, and a knowledge of the late Grand-Master having a strong party in the island who were ready to act in any way that could tend to restore him to his former government, I did not hesitate one moment in determining to send them out of the island without any loss of time, and in doing which I had not a doubt but I should meet your wishes. I therefore immediately sent the officer to St. Paul’s bay again, with orders to take any papers the knights might have brought, and to send an armed speronaro to see them some leagues from the island. In the course of a very few hours I found that the arrival of these persons had already caused a general movement and confusion in the island, and the captain of the port the next morning reported that during the few moments they were between the boat and the tower they had contrived to distribute upwards of fifty crowns among the crowd who assembled there, telling them at the same time that they had brought plenty of money, and that

they would be followed in a few days by some vessels laden with corn to relieve their distresses. Among their baggage was found 5,000 or 6,000 Maltese crowns. These we did not touch. I felt myself in a very awkward situation, being obliged to act in so decisive a manner, and have not a doubt by so doing but that I saved the island from becoming the scene of much greater confusion than already existed, and perhaps from the effusion of much blood."

This was the only attempt on behalf of the Order, either to aid in expelling the French or to secure the possession of the island to themselves. Arrangements were meanwhile made by the governments of England, Russia, and Naples that, in case of a surrender, the fortress should be occupied by the three powers jointly, pending the decision by a general congress as to its ultimate destination. The wishes of the Maltese do not appear to have been in any way consulted in the matter, although the whole onus of the land attack had fallen on them, and they were suffering with the most heroic endurance hardships and privations but little inferior to those of the beleaguered garrison. They had erected no less than fifteen batteries, stretching from the coast in front of Ricasoli round to the high ground in the rear of fort Manöel. The principal points were the Coradin hill; that at Tarxien, from whence shot were fired into the centre of Valetta; the hill of Samra, which commanded the Porte des Bombes, where the effects of the fire may still be traced; and the hill behind fort Manöel, whence that work and also fort Tigné were battered.*

As time wore on, and the scarcity of provisions became more and more felt in the town, large bodies of the inhabitants left Valetta, with the consent of General Vaubois, and sought refuge amongst their countrymen. No impediment was placed in the way of these departures, except in the case of those who, from their political influence or wealth, were likely to be serviceable to the garrison. Ransijat, in his "*Siege et Blocus de Malta*," gives some very interesting statistics as to the price of provisions, and

* A plan exists in the Royal Engineer Office at Malta originally forming one of Tigné's projects, but which had been used by the French engineers during the blockade. On this map the Maltese batteries are all approximately laid down, and distinguished by letters.

also as to the mortality at different periods during the siege. The following was the tariff at which food was procurable at certain dates :—

	February, 1799.			August, 1799.			July, 1800.		
	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fresh pork, per lb.	2	10	...	0	6	0	...	0	7 2
Cheese, per lb.	...	2 6	...	0	7 4	...	—		
Fish, per lb.	...	1 6	...	0	3 2	...	0 6 0		
Oil, per bottle	...	2 6	...	0	10 0	...	1 3 4		
Sugar, per lb.	...	5 0	...	0	17 6	...	2 0 0		
Coffee, per lb.	...	4 0	...	1	0 10	...	2 8 4		
Wine, per bottle	...	2 6	...	0	3 4	...	—		
Eggs, each...	...	0 4	...	0	0 8	...	—		

It will be seen that during the latter months many articles ceased to be procurable at any price, the garrison and few remaining inhabitants being forced to content themselves with the reduced rations issued to them from the public stores. Rats and other vermin became recognized articles of consumption, and those that were found in the granaries and bakehouses were, from their superior plumpness, much esteemed. In order to eke out their scanty rations, the soldiers had, in the early part of the siege, cultivated gardens in the various ditches and other suitable places, and had by this means added to their food. So long as oil and vinegar were procurable, the salads which they were thus able to produce reconciled them to the loss of meat, which was issued in very small quantities, and then only salted, all the fresh meat having been from the first reserved for the use of the hospitals. The cultivation of these gardens was latterly abandoned, not only owing to the want of oil and vinegar, but also from the scarcity of water. Ball, in a report to Nelson on the 18th July, 1799, says:—"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that a deserter is this moment come out of La Valetta, who corroborates the distressed state of the French garrison, and in addition he says that there is very little water left on the Cotonaro side, and that they get their supply from La Valetta. General Vaubois has given orders to clear all the gardens of vegetables, to prevent any water being used there."

The following table shews the mortality that took place. It

will be perceived that the numbers were far higher during the first year than the second. This was owing to the fact that nearly 30,000 of the inhabitants left the fortress during the course of the blockade:—

1798—1799.				1799—1800.			
Garrison. Inhabitants.				Garrison. Inhabitants.			
September ...	8	...	108	...	33	...	102
October ...	14	...	108	...	30	...	100
November ...	20	...	107	...	19	...	99
December ...	25	...	160	...	11	...	60
January ...	35	...	213	...	23	...	44
February ...	20	...	200	...	13	...	42
March ...	37	...	230	...	6	...	30
April ...	40	...	319	...	14	...	27
May ...	98	...	338	...	6	...	19
June ...	131	...	311	...	3	...	16
July ...	79	...	233	...	7	...	25
August ...	48	...	131	...	5	...	22

Making a total of 725 soldiers and 3,044 inhabitants. At one period the soldiers suffered severely from moon-blindness, losing their sight during the bright moonlight nights of summer, and recovering it again in the daylight.

Up to a late period a company of Italian comedians had continued to reside in the town, and the theatre was constantly opened for the amusement of the troops. The unfortunate actors had repeatedly sought permission to leave with the other inhabitants, but for a long time they were not permitted to do so, their services being considered too valuable. At length even the little food necessary for their support was too scarce to be bestowed on non-combatants, and they were allowed to depart, their places being filled by amateurs from the different regiments, who kept the theatre open till the very end.

The following letter, written by Nelson to the emperor of Russia, dated on the 31st October, 1799, shews that at that time it was contemplated to restore Malta to the Order.

“Sire,—As Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, I presume to detail to your Majesty what has been done to prevent the French from re-possessioning themselves of the island—blockading

them closely in La Valetta—and what means we are now pursuing to force them to surrender. On the 2nd September, 1798, the inhabitants of Malta rose against the French robbers, who, having taken all the money in the island, levied heavy contributions, and Vaubois, as a last act of villainy, said, as baptism was of no use he had sent for all the church plate. On the 9th I received a letter from the deputies of the island, praying assistance to drive the French from La Valetta. I immediately directed the marquis de Niza, with four sail of the line, to support the islanders. At this time the crippled ships from Egypt were passing near it, and 2,000 stand of arms, complete with all the musket ball cartridges, were landed from them, and 200 barrels of powder. On the 24th October I relieved the marquis from that station, and having taken the island of Gozo, a measure absolutely necessary in order to form the complete blockade of La Valetta, the garrison of which at this time was composed of 7,000 French, including the seamen and some few Maltese,* the Maltese in arms (volunteers), never exceeded 3,000. I intrusted the blockade to Captain Alexander John Ball, of the *Alexander*, of seventy-four guns, an officer not only of the highest merit, but of the most conciliatory manners. From that period to this time it has fallen to my lot to arrange matters for the feeding 60,000 people (the population of Malta and Gozo), and the arming of the peasantry. The situation of Italy, and in particular the kingdom of Naples, oftentimes reduced me to the greatest difficulties where to find food. Their Sicilian Majesties, at different times, have given more, I believe, than £40,000 in money and corn. The blockade has, in the expense of keeping the ships destined alone for this service, cost full £180,000 sterling. It has pleased God hitherto to bless our endeavours to prevent supplies getting to the French, except one frigate and two small vessels with a small portion of salt provisions. Your Majesty will have the goodness to observe that, until it was known that you were elected Grand-Master, and that the Order was to be restored in Malta, I never allowed an idea to go abroad that Great Britain had any wish to keep it. I therefore directed his Sicilian Majesty's flag to be hoisted,

* It will be seen that this was a considerable over-estimate of the strength of the garrison.

as I am told, had the Order not been restored, he is the legitimate sovereign of the island. Never less than 500 men have been landed from the squadron, which although, with the volunteers, not sufficient to commence a siege, have yet kept posts and batteries not more than 400 yards from the works. His Sicilian Majesty, at the united request of the whole island, named Captain Ball as their chief director, and he will hold it until your Majesty, as Grand-Master, appoints a person to the office. Now the French are nearly expelled from Italy by the valour and skill of your generals and army, all my thoughts are turned towards placing the Grand-Master and the Order of Malta in security in La Valetta, for which purpose I have just been at Minorca and arranged with the English general a force of 2,500 British troops, cannons, bombs, etc., for the siege. I have written to your Majesty's admiral, and his Sicilian Majesty joins cordially in the good work of endeavouring to drive the French from Malta. The laborious task of keeping the Maltese quiet in Malta, through difficulties which your Majesty will perfectly understand, has been principally brought about by the goodness of her Majesty the queen of Naples, who at one moment of distress sent £7,000 belonging absolutely to herself and children, by the exertion of Lady Hamilton, the wife of Sir William Hamilton, my gracious sovereign's minister to the court of the Two Sicilies, whom your Majesty knows personally, and by the bravery and conciliatory manners of Captain Ball. If your Majesty honours these two persons with the decoration of the Order, I can answer none ever more deserved the cross, and it will be grateful to the feelings of your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant,

“BRONTÉ NELSON.”

In his reply to this letter the emperor says, “C'est avec plaisir que j'accorde à votre demande la croix de Commandeur au Capitaine Ball, et celle de Chevalier à Lady Hamilton que vous leur remettrez accompagnées des lettres de ma part.”

That Captain Ball was much gratified with his decoration is evident by the following extract from a letter he wrote to Lady Hamilton:—“I most sincerely congratulate your ladyship on

the distinguished mark of favour which his Imperial Majesty, the emperor of Russia, has been pleased to confer upon you in creating you Chanoinesse of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the honour of Commander of the same Order, from which I derive a double satisfaction. The first in the honour of being your brother and defender, and secondly from the consideration of its being a token of regard of my invaluable friend and patron Lord Nelson. Adieu, my dear lady and sister; may you live a thousand years, but at all events may you be supremely happy while you live prays your obliged brother and friend,

“ALEXANDER JOHN BALL.

“To her Excellency Lady Hamilton, C.S.J.J. Is that right? Pray tell me how to address your letter.”

It is quite evident, from all the contemporary despatches and correspondence, that the English government at this time had no intention whatever of possessing themselves of Malta. They had undertaken to aid the insurgent Maltese by maintaining a blockade, with the sole view of driving the French from the island, and it appeared to them a matter of but little moment whether it afterwards fell into the hands of Russia, of Naples, or of its quondam masters. Nelson's views about Malta are so singular that they are worthy of record. He writes to Earl Spencer:—“To say the truth, the possession of Malta by England would be a useless and enormous expense; yet any expense should be incurred rather than let it remain in the hands of the French. Therefore, as I did not trouble myself about the establishing again the Order of St. John at Malta, Sir William Hamilton has the assurance from his Sicilian Majesty that he will never cede the sovereignty of the island to any power without the consent of his Britannic Majesty. The poor islanders have been so grievously oppressed by the Order, that many times have we been pressed to accept of the island for Great Britain, and I know if we had, his Sicilian Majesty would have been contented; but as I said before, I attach no value to it for us, but it is a place of such consequence to the French, that any expense ought to be incurred to drive them out.”

It has been suggested that, in thus depreciating the importance of Malta to England, Nelson was unconsciously reflecting the wishes of Lady Hamilton, whose intimacy with the queen of Naples would lead her to use her influence in securing the restoration of the island to that monarchy. Nelson's peculiar views about Malta can, however, scarcely be attributed to this cause, since, as his letter to the emperor of Russia shews, he was quite ready to co-operate in the transfer of the island to that power. It seems, indeed, as if he utterly failed to realize its vast importance to England.

In the month of December, 1799, a small body of British troops, consisting of the 30th and 89th regiments, in all 1,300 men, under General Sir Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), and two Neapolitan battalions, together 900 strong, landed in the island, and assumed the direction of the siege. Captain Ball, having been meanwhile elected by the people as president of the national council, had landed from the *Alexander*, and assumed the office of governor of the Maltese, fixing his head-quarters at the country palace of St. Antonio, about four miles from Valetta. This appointment was sanctioned by the allied powers. From that time the command of the blockading fleet devolved upon Commodore Martin, who was sent to Malta for the purpose. Shortly afterwards, General Pigot also arrived, and took over the command of the allied forces from Sir Thomas Graham, who remained under him in command of the British forces only.

On the 18th January, 1800, Nelson encountered off Cape Passaro a French squadron, consisting of a line-of-battle ship and four frigates, conveying troops from Toulon for the relief of Malta. The line-of-battle ship was *Le Généreux*, 74 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Perrée, one of the few vessels that had escaped from the battle of the Nile. She was now captured by Nelson's flagship, the *Foudroyant*, the French admiral dying on the following day of wounds received in the action. One of the frigates was also captured by the *Alexander*. This failure to relieve the beleaguered garrison made it clear to every one that before long a surrender must take place. Still the gallant Vaubois determined to hold out to the very last. Whatever faults, and even crimes, the French

committed on their first seizure of the island, no one can deny them a tribute of admiration for the constancy and cheerfulness with which they underwent the hardships and privations of the blockade. Not a murmur of discontent was heard in the ranks ; on the contrary, they aided their superiors in every possible way, and to the very last moment the cry of *no surrender* was the popular watchword. Equal, if not still higher praise is due to the gallant Maltese, who underwent privations nearly as great as those of the French, and who, without the training or discipline of soldiers, bore the heat and burden of the struggle for two long years without flinching, or ever once yielding to the blandishments and tempting promises of the garrison. They had from the first determined to expel the hated French, and from this resolve nothing could turn them. Even when, after a year's blockade, the English fleet abandoned the enterprise, and left the island for a fortnight, not a symptom of weakness showed itself. Let it, therefore, never be forgotten that the Maltese owe their deliverance from the yoke of France to their own dogged resolution and invincible determination.

Month after month of the year 1800 passed away, and at length it became evident to all that the time for surrender had arrived. Before taking this step General Vaubois made one last effort to save the ships which had fled for refuge to Malta, and which were now the sole relics of the French fleet present at the battle of the Nile. Great precautions had been taken throughout the siege to protect them from the fire of the Maltese batteries, and although they had been repeatedly struck, they still remained in serviceable condition. The *Guillaume Tell* made a futile attempt at escape early in the year. She had been fitted out most completely, and took her departure on the 28th March, the night being extremely dark, and the wind favourable. There were, however, keen eyes watching on all the neighbouring heights ; the vessel was soon discovered, the signal given, and the British fleet placed on the alert. After a sharp pursuit, and a most heroic and desperate defence, she was captured off Cape Passaro, and brought back to Malta. In this action she lost 207 men killed, and a large number wounded, amongst whom were Admiral Decrès and Captain Saunier. After this defeat a last experiment was made to save the two frigates, the *Diane*

and the *Justice*, and on the 23rd August they both left the harbour, only, however, to meet the same fate as that of the *Guillaume Tell*.

Nothing therefore remained but to capitulate, and a council of war was assembled to deliberate on the measure. It was found that the stock of food would be completely exhausted on the 8th September, even at the very reduced rate of consumption then adopted. It was in consequence decided that terms of surrender should be offered five days before that date. On the morning of the 3rd September, 1800, General Vaubois wrote to General Pigot, and offered to capitulate. Two British officers, Major-General Graham and Commodore Martin, were appointed to arrange the terms. These were accepted after some discussion,* and on the 4th September the articles were duly signed. On the afternoon of the same day the British troops occupied Floriana, fort Tigné, and Ricasoli, and two of their men-of-war entered the harbour. On the 8th, the bulk of the French troops embarked on board the transports prepared for their reception, and set sail for Marseilles.

During the siege, which lasted one day over the two years, the garrison expended 52,000 shot and shell and 700,000 musket cartridges. In this time they only consumed the full rations of seven months. All the horses and mules had been killed for the use of the hospitals after the beef had failed. Those of the inhabitants who had interest to obtain for the invalid members of their families small portions of liver or other entrails were considered very fortunate. A flight of quails passing over the town on the day that the commissioners entered, enabled General Vaubois, by the aid of a good cook, to furnish them with an ample dinner composed of what they imagined to be a great variety of food. Some surprise having been expressed at being supplied with so many excellent dishes at a time when it was thought the resources of the town were thoroughly exhausted, General Vaubois confessed that the quails and a couple of tame rabbits constituted the only animal food on the table.

On assuming the command of the fortress, General Pigot issued

* For the articles of capitulation see Appendix No. 13.

an address to the inhabitants, announcing that his Britannic Majesty took the Maltese under his protection, and pledged himself to render them contented and happy, and to respect their religion and its ministers. He also announced that their chief, Captain Ball, would no longer remain among them, as the exigencies of the naval service called him elsewhere. The position occupied by Ball at this moment was somewhat anomalous. He had endeared himself to the islanders, and had acquired so much influence over them, that he was looked upon, and unhesitatingly obeyed as their chief. This led to some jealousy between him and General Pigot, who refused to recognize his independent position. As a result of this feeling, Ball was sent back to his duty, and the appointment as civil governor given to a Mr. Cameron. This selection gave great offence to the Maltese, who found that after all they had accomplished and suffered to rid themselves of their French masters, the English appeared to neglect their just claims to consideration. This feeling shewed itself so strongly that the British government wisely yielded to it, and in the following year replaced Mr. Cameron by Sir Alexander Ball, as he then was called, he having in the interim been made a Knight of the Bath.

By the treaty of Amiens it was proposed to restore Malta to the Order of St. John, with a condition that a Maltese *langue* was to be established, supported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island; the *langues* of both the French and English nations being permanently suppressed, and no individual belonging to either country admissible into the fraternity. The British forces were to evacuate the place within three months after the conclusion of the treaty, and the fortress was then to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops until the Order had organized a force of its own.* This part of the treaty of Amiens (the tenth article) was strongly opposed by the Maltese, and they petitioned boldly against it. Fortunately for all parties, the transfer never took place. Governor Ball, who was fully alive to the injustice and impolicy of the measure, delayed the surrender of the island by every means in his power, and the result proved the

* See Appendix No. 14.

wisdom of his tactics. War broke out, the treaty was annulled, and Malta remained in the possession of the British.*

The seventh article of the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th May, 1814, determined the destiny of Malta in these terms: "The island of Malta, with its dependencies, will appertain in full authority and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty."

Under that rule the island still remains, and her government, whilst prepared to uphold its claims against all comers, prefers to found its right on the love of the Maltese. England has no fear of recalling to their memory the days when they were under the sway of the Hospital. She needs not to follow the example of the French, who, during the short time in which they held control, destroyed, as far as possible, all the monumental records of their predecessors. Even to this day, much as has been done to repair the injury, the eye is shocked by the many mutilations, apparently wanton, and certainly barbarous, which the public buildings underwent during the two years of French rule. These mutilations were by no means the unpremeditated act of a licensed soldiery. They were part of a deep-laid design of the French government to estrange the Maltese from their recollections of the Order of St. John.

England has no need of any such measures. Secure in the attachment of her subjects, she can dare to recall to their memory the deeds of the heroes of old. She can venture to restore the various records of the Grand-Masters who have successively held sway over their ancestors. The Maltese who now enters the city of Valetta passes through a gateway erected by the British Government, on which stand, as its legitimate guardians, the statues of L'Isle Adam, the first founder of the Order in Malta, and La Valette, the builder of the city which yet bears his name, and the hero of that glorious struggle which is such a source of pride to all connected with the island.

* A pension of £600 a year, charged on the revenues of Malta, was settled upon Sir Alexander Ball and his next heir, as a reward for the important services he had rendered on this occasion.

The hold which England maintains over the fortress is well expressed in the inscription placed over the portico of the main guard-house in the centre of the city :—

“MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNICÆ MELITENSIVM AMOR
ET EUROPÆ VOX HAS INSULAS CONFIRMANT. A.D. 1814.”*

* The love of the Maltese and the voice of Europe have confirmed these islands to the possession of Great and Invincible Britain.

SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

1. The seal of Raymond du Puy.

This was found under the walls of Norwich castle. On the obverse is the Custos kneeling before a patriarchal cross, the legend being † Raimundus Custos Hospitalis Hierusalem. On the reverse is a church with three domes, doubtless intended for that of the Holy Sepulchre. The lower half shews the interior, with the tomb of our Lord. At the head is a cross, above is a lamp, and at the foot what is probably intended for a swinging censer. The legend is † Hospitale De Hierusalem. An account of this seal will be found in the "Archæological Journal," vol. x., page 141.

2. A seal somewhat similar to the above, but of considerably later date. On the obverse a group of knights are kneeling before the cross, with the legend † Bulla Magistr et Conventus. On the reverse the church takes a Gothic form. The representation of our Lord is more distinct, but has the same adjuncts. The legend is † Hospitalis Jherusalem.

3. A seal of the priory of England, with the head of St. John the Baptist.

4. A seal of the priory of England, probably the first seal of that institution, early in the twelfth century.

5. A seal of the grand-priory of England, shewing the prior in the act of pronouncing the benediction.

SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.



APPENDIX I.

*Chronological List of the Grand-Masters of the Order of St. John,
distinguishing the various nations.*

1.	RAYMOND DU PUY	French	1118—1160
2.	AUGER DE BALBEN	French	1160—1162
3.	ARNAUD DE COMPS	French	1162—1168
4.	GILBERT D'ASCALI	English (doubtful)	1168—1169
5.	GASTUS	doubtful	1169
6.	JOUBERT	doubtful	1169—1179
7.	ROGER DES MOULINS	doubtful	1179—1187
8.	GARNIER DE NAPOLI	English	1187
9.	ERMENGARD DAPS	doubtful	1187—1192
10.	GODFREY DE DUISSON	French	1192—1194
11.	ALPHONSO OF PORTUGAL	Portuguese	1194—1195
12.	GEOFFREY LE RAT	French	1195—1207
13.	GUERIN DE MONTAGUE	French	1207—1230
14.	BERTRAND DE TEXI	French	1230—1231
15.	GUERIN	doubtful	1231—1236
16.	BERTRAND DE COMPS	French	1236—1241
17.	PETER DE VILLEBRIDE	doubtful	1241—1244
18.	WILLIAM DE CHATEAUNEUF	French	1244—1259
19.	HUGH DE REVEL	French	1259—1278
20.	NICHOLAS LORGUE	doubtful	1278—1289
21.	JOHN DE VILLIERS	French	1289—1297
22.	ODON DE PINS	French	1297—1300
23.	WILLIAM DE VILLARET	French	1300—1306
24.	FULK DE VILLARET	French	1306—1319
25.	ELYON DE VILLANOVA	French	1319—1346
26.	DEODATO DE GOZON	French	1346—1353
27.	PETER DE CORNILLAN	French	1353—1355
28.	ROGER DE PINS	French	1355—1365
29.	RAYMOND DE BERENGER	French	1365—1374
30.	ROBERT DE JULLIAC	French	1374—1376
31.	FERDINAND D'HEREDIA	Spanish	1376—1396
32.	PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC	French	1396—1421
33.	ANTOINE FLUVIAN	Spanish	1421—1437
34.	JOHN DE LASTIC	French	1437—1454
35.	JAMES DE MILLI	French	1454—1461
36.	PETER RAYMOND ZACOSTA	Spanish	1461—1467

37.	JOHN BAPTISTE D'URSINS	..	..	Italian	..	..	1467—1476
38.	PETER D'AUBUSSON	..	..	French	..	..	1476—1503
39.	ALMERIC D'AMBOISE	..	..	French	..	..	1503—1512
40.	GUY DE BLANCHEFORT	..	..	French	..	..	1512—1513
41.	FABRICIUS CARRETTO	..	..	Italian	..	..	1513—1521
42.	PHILIP VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM	..	..	French	..	..	1521—1534
43.	PETER DU PONT	..	..	Italian	..	..	1534—1535
44.	DIDIER DE ST. GILLES	..	..	French	..	..	1535—1536
45.	JOHN D'OMEDES	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1536—1553
46.	CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE	..	..	French	..	..	1553—1557
47.	JOHN DE LA VALETTE	..	..	French	..	..	1557—1568
48.	PETER DE MONTE	..	..	Italian	..	..	1568—1572
49.	JOHN L'ÉVÊQUE DE LA CASSIÈRE	..	..	French	..	..	1572—1581
50.	HUGH DE VERDALA	..	..	French	..	..	1581—1595
51.	MARTIN GARCES	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1595—1601
52.	ALOF DE VIGNACOURT	..	..	French	..	..	1601—1622
53.	LOUIS MENDES DE VASCONCELLOS	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1622—1625
54.	ANTOINE DE PAULE	..	..	French	..	..	1625—1636
55.	JOHN DE LASCARIS	..	..	French	..	..	1636—1657
56.	MARTIN DE REDIN	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1657—1660
57.	ANNET DE CLERMONT	..	..	French	..	..	1660
58.	RAFAEL COTTONER	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1660—1663
59.	NICHOLAS COTTONER	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1663—1680
60.	GREGORY CARAFFA	..	..	Italian	..	..	1680—1690
61.	ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT	..	..	French	..	..	1690—1697
62.	RAYMOND PERRELOS	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1697—1720
63.	MARK ANTONY ZONDODARI	..	..	Italian	..	..	1720—1722
64.	ANTONY MANÖEL DE VILHENA	..	..	Portuguese	..	..	1722—1736
65.	RAYMOND DESPUIG	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1736—1741
66.	EMANUEL PINTO	..	..	Portuguese	..	..	1741—1773
67.	FRANCOIS XIMENES	..	..	Spanish	..	..	1773—1775
68.	EMMANUEL DE ROHAN	..	..	French	..	..	1775—1797
69.	FERDINAND VON HOMPE SCH	..	..	German	..	..	1797—1799

French knights	..	..	..	..	..	38
Spanish knights	..	..	..	..	..	13
Italian knights	..	..	..	..	..	5
Portuguese knights	..	..	..	..	..	3
English knights	..	..	..	..	..	2
German knights	..	..	..	..	..	1
Doubtful	..	..	..	..	..	7

APPENDIX II.

List of the first Members of the Order of St. John, cotemporaries with its Founder, Gerard, from 1099 to 1135. (From Paolo Antonio Paoli.)

LAMBERT. Supposed to have been a son of canon de Montaique, and to have been martyred by the Saracens.

ROBERT DI RICCARDI. Robert Fitz Richard, an Englishman, prior of the Order in England in 1100, and supposed to be of the family of Lacy.

ROGER DE PAGAN, OR PAYEN. Master of the Hospital in Jerusalem in 1112.

BOJANTE RUGGIERO. Mentioned in a charter of Atto, Count d'Abruzzo.

GUALTIER. Mentioned in a charter of Ponz, count of Tripoli, 1105.

BERTRAND. Prior of Monte Pellegrino, 1105.

RIDOLFO. Superior of the Hospital establishment at Jaffa, 1126.

GUBALDO. Prior of Messina, named in a charter of Roger, king of Sicily, 1137.

BERAND. Prior of Arles in 1117.

BERALD. Hospitaller of St. Gyles, mentioned by Count Atto.

PIETRO BARCINONISE.

BERNARD THE DEACON.

ASCELIN.

PIETRO D'AUDUSIA.

STEPHEN RAYMOND.

POGGIO DE MONTLAUR.

ODO.

CULVETO.

} Mentioned in a charter dated 1117.

GERALD. Prior of Toulouse at its foundation, 1120.

DURAND. Constable of the Order, named in a letter of Hugh, seigneur of Jaffa, 1125.

BERTRAND.

ARNOLD DE SOMERI. } Named in a charter dated 1125.

ROBERT.

PETER MALET. 1126.

PIERRE RAYMOND.

REGNIER DE TIBERIAS.

PIERRE DE TIBERIAS.

WILLIAM OF JAFFA.

PIETRO GALLIZIANO.

GERARD WILLIAM OF JAFFA.

PIERRE WILLIAM, THE CHANCELLOR.

} Named in a letter of Hugh, count of Jaffa, 1126.

WILLIAM DE SAINT CLEMENT. } Named in a charter of Bernard, bishop of Arles, 1129.

ANNO.

RAYMOND DU PUY, OR POGGIO. First Master.

ALFAN. Named in a charter of Baldwin II., 1129.

JEAN TURC. Superior of the Order in France, 1130.

GERARD JEBERT. Called also Josbert and Zebert, named by William of Tyre.

ANDREA, THE PRIEST.

WILLIAM BERTRAND.

HILDEBRAND CHACO.

GERARD DE CALUMGUM.

MARTIN RE.

GERARD, THE SUB-DEACON.

WILLIAM ALMERIC.

RIDOLFO.

PONSIO, THE PRIEST.

GERARD-CLERICO.

GERARD GIOBBE BARRO.

THOMAS.

GUARINE.

OELARDO. Named in a letter of Gongelin, count of Cesarea, 1134.

} Named in a charter of Garnier, seigneur of Cesarea, 1131.

} Named in a donation of Baldwin, bishop of Beirat, 1133.

} Named in a charter of Hugh, count of Jaffa, 1133.

APPENDIX III.

Original Donation of Godfrey of Bouillon to the Hospital of St. John.

(*Ex. Cod. papyrac. Biblioth. Vaticanæ, N. 3136, page 19.*)

Au nom de la sainte, quidessevrer ne se puet, Trinite, Jê Godoffroy par la grace de Dieu et de la reigne ffus assavoyr a tous presens et avenir que come par la remission de mes pechies Je eusse chargie mon cuer et mes espaules dou signe dou sauveur crucifie pour nous; Je parvins au dernay au luog ou ssarestèrent les pies du tres aut Jhesu Crist, et come Je eusse visite le saint cepulere dou Seignor et tous less saints luogs de saints hopitivées entendement de penitence a la fin Je parvins a lyglise dou benaure hospital, fondez en honor de Dieu et de sa tres benaurée mère et de Saint Johan precursor dou Seignor, et voyant en ela dons de grace dou Saint Esperit qui no se porroyt recomtier, lesquels sont departis en les povres foybles et malades habundament et humblement vouz adyeu et de penitence a la dite mayson de l'hospital et a tous les freres une maison fondee sur monalem abryele mon boure en la froide montagne de tout ce qui apeut deli et ses rentes et avoir et porceor a tous jorns mays franchement. C'est don de ma donation fu fait en lan delincarnacion noutre Seignor eu lan de la prise de Jerusalem MCLXXXIII en la seysesme epacte en la primieyra Indicion pour la salu de marme, de mon pere, et de ma mere, et de tous mes devantiens et de mes parens et de tous autres fiells et vis et mors.

APPENDIX IV.

Bull of Pope Paschal II., confirming the establishment of the Hospital of St. John. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Paschal, bishop, and servant of such as are the servants of God, to his venerable son Gerard, founder and Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, and to his lawful successors for evermore. The requests of a devout desire ought to meet with a corresponding fulfilment. Inasmuch, as of thy affection thou hast requested, with regard to the Hospital which thou hast founded in the city of Jerusalem, in proximity to the Church of the blessed John the Baptist, that it should be supported by the authority of the Apostolic see, and fostered by the patronage of the blessed Apostle Peter : We, therefore, much pleased with the pious earnestness of thy hospitality, do receive the petition with our paternal favour, and do ordain and establish, by the authority of this our present decree, that that house of God, your Hospital, shall now be placed, and shall for ever remain, under the protection of the Apostolic see, and under that of the blessed Peter. All things whatsoever, therefore, which by thy preserving care and solicitude have been collected for the benefit of the said Hospital, for the support and maintenance of pilgrims, or for relieving the necessities of the poor, whether in the churches of Jerusalem, or in those of parishes within the limits of other cities ; and whatsoever things may have been offered already by the faithful, or for the future may through God's grace be so offered, or collected by other lawful means ; and whatsoever things have been, or shall be granted to thee, or to thy successors, or to the brethren who are occupied in the care and support of pilgrims, by the venerable brethren the bishops of the diocese of Jerusalem ; we hereby decree shall be retained by you and undiminished. Moreover, as to the tithes of your revenues, which ye collect everywhere at your own charge, and by your own toil, we do hereby fix and decree, that they shall be retained by your own Hospital, all opposition on the part of the bishops and their clergy notwithstanding. We also decree as valid all donations which have been made to your Hospital by pious princes, either of their tribute moneys or other imposts. We ordain furthermore, that at thy death no man shall be appointed in thy place, as chief and master, by any underhand subtlety, or by violence ; but him only who shall, by the inspiration of God, have been duly elected by the professed brethren of the Institution. Furthermore, all dignities or possessions which your Hospital at present holds either on this side of the water, to wit in Asia, or in Europe, as also those which hereafter by God's bounty it may obtain ; we confirm them to thee and to thy successors, who shall be devoting themselves with a pious zeal to the cares of hospitality, and through you to the said Hospital in perpetuity. We further decree that it shall be unlawful for any man whatsoever rashly to disturb your

Hospital, or to carry off any of its property, or if carried off to retain possession of it, or to diminish ought from its revenues, or to harass it with audacious annoyances. But let all its property remain intact, for the sole use and enjoyment of those for whose maintenance and support it has been granted. As to the Hospitals or Poor Houses in the Western provinces, at Burgum of St. Ægidius, Lisan, Barum, Hispalum, Tarentum, and Messana, which are distinguished by the title of Hospita's of Jerusalem, we decree that they shall for ever remain, as they are this day, under the subjection and disposal of thyself and thy successors. If, therefore, at a future time, any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, knowing this paragraph of our constitution, shall attempt to oppose its provisions, and if, after having received a second or third warning, he shall not make a suitable satisfaction and restitution, let him be deprived of all his dignities and honours, and let him know that he stands exposed to the judgment of God, for the iniquity he has perpetrated; and let him be deprived of the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the benefits of the redemption of our Lord, and at the last judgment let him meet with the severest vengeance. But to all who deal justly and rightly with the same, on them be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that not only here below they may receive the rewards of a good action, but also before the Judge of all mankind, they may enjoy the blessing of peace eternal.

I Paschal, bishop of the Catholic Church.

I Richard, bishop of Alboe, have signed.

I Calixtus, bishop of the Catholic Church.

I Landulphus, bishop of Beneventum,

have read and signed.

Given at Beneventum, by the hand of John, cardinal of the Roman Church, and librarian, on the 15th day of the calends of March, in the 6th indiction of the incarnation of our Lord, in the year 1113, and in the 13th year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Paschal II.

APPENDIX V.

Bull of Pope Boniface VIII., in the year 1300, recapitulating the original Rule of Raymond du Puy, lost at the Capture of Acre. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Boniface, bishop and servant of such as are servants of God, to his beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting and apostolical benediction: Whereas, from the throne of apostolic eminence, whereon, by the will of the Divine grace we have been placed, we are constantly reminded how that ye have always

displayed a wholesome adherence to the Divine commands (spurning all the allurements of this world, which, although attractive, are but an illusion), fearing not to expose both your persons and your possessions to jeopardy in their fulfilment; and whereas we have carefully called to mind how that ye have ever hitherto displayed the most devoted affection, and the most reverential zeal towards our person and towards your mother, the Church of Rome, and continue so to do at the present time; we have thought it fit, and do consider it reasonable, that, bestowing upon you and your Hospital our munificent grace, we should (so far as with God's permission we are enabled) admit your petitions to our favourable consideration. And whereas your prayer, when laid before us, was to the effect that some time since, at the capture of the city of Acre, ye lost the apostolic letter containing the provisions of your "Rule," with other things of no small value, for which reason ye have humbly petitioned of us, that, whereas ye no longer possess the letter of the brother Raymond, at that time the Master of your Hospital, who established the aforesaid "Rule," signed and sealed with his leaden seal, in which letter the said "Rule" was distinctly laid down, as ye assert; we might be graciously pleased to grant to you, under a bull from us, a renewal of this "Rule," as a guarantee of a greater precaution:

We, therefore, being ever solicitous for the prosperity and tranquillity, as well of yourself as of your Hospital, and being favourably disposed towards the granting of your pious requests, have caused the aforesaid "Rule," as it is understood to have been contained in the letter of the said brother Raymond, to be registered in the following terms, a few omissions and alterations of words having been made in it by our order. We, nevertheless, do confirm and renew the same "Rule," by our special grace, being well acquainted with it. The tenor of the letter was as follows:—

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Raymond, the servant of Christ's poor, and Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice of the General Chapter of both clerical and lay brethren, have established the following precepts and statutes in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the first place, I desire that all those brethren who here dedicate themselves to the service of the poor, shall, by God's assistance, maintain inviolate the three promises which they have made to him, namely, chastity; obedience, which is to be understood to include whatever may be commanded by the Master; and to live without any property of their own; because the fulfilment of these three vows will be required of them by God at the last judgment. And let them not seek for, or claim as due to them, more than bread and water and raiment, which things are promised to them; and let their raiment be humble, because our masters the poor, whose servants we profess to be, appear scantily and meanly clad, and it is not right that the servant should be proudly arrayed, whilst his master is humble.

Furthermore, it is ordained that their behaviour in church shall be decorous, and their conversation such as befits their calling; let the clergy perform the service of the altar in white garments, and let each presbyter have a deacon, or a sub-deacon, to attend upon him, and when occasion

demands it, let some other priest exercise this office ; and let a light be for ever burning in the church, both by day and by night. And for the visitation of the sick, let a presbyter attend, dressed in white robes, bearing with reverence the Body of our Lord ; and let him be preceded by a deacon, or a sub-deacon, or, at least, by an acolyte, bearing a lantern with a lighted candle, and a sponge filled with holy water. Furthermore, when the brethren appear in the cities or fortresses, let them not go alone, but two or three together ; nor shall they select by whom they are to be accompanied, but shall go with whomsoever the Master shall direct. Also, when they have arrived at their destination, let them remain together. In their gait, in their dress, and in all their deportment, let them do nothing which may give offence in the eyes of any one, but only that which befits their sacred calling. Moreover, whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually guard over one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their hands or feet, or make their beds, and so may the God that dwelleth on high watch over them in that matter. Amen.

And let pious persons, both clerical and lay, be sent forth to seek alms for the holy poor. And when they shall require hospitality let them proceed to the church, or to the house of some person of good repute, and let them ask for food of that person for the sake of charity, and let them buy nothing else. And if in truth they find no one who will assist them, let them purchase by measure one meal only, by which to support life. And out of the alms which they may collect let them secure neither lands nor pledges for themselves, but let them deliver the amount over to their Master, with a written account, and let the Master transmit it with the paper to the Hospital, for the use of the poor. And of all their donations let the Master take a third part of the bread, wine, and other nutriment, and should there be a superfluity, let him add what remains to the alms, and let him send it under his own hand to Jerusalem, for the use of the poor.

And let none go forth from any of their convents to collect alms, save only those whom the chapter and master of the church may have sent ; and let those brethren who have gone forth to make these collections be received into whatever convent they may arrive at ; and let them partake of the same food as the brethren may have divided among themselves ; and let them not give any further trouble there. Let them carry a light with them ; and into whatever house they may have been received with hospitality, let them cause the light to burn before them. Furthermore, we forbid our brethren from wearing any such garment as may be unbefitting our religion ; and above all, we forbid them to use the skins of wild beasts ; and let them eat but twice in the day, and on every fourth day of the week, and on Saturdays, and from Septuagesima until Easter, let them eat no meat, excepting only those who are infirm and feeble ; and let them never appear without clothing, but dressed in robes of wool or linen, or in other similar habiliments. But if any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flesh, which may God forbid ; if he have

sinned in secret, let him repent in secret; and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance: if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly, and beyond contradiction, let him, in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged and beaten most severely with thongs, or rods, by his superior, or by such other brethren as the superior shall depute to perform this duty; and then let him be expelled from our Institution.

Afterwards, however, if God shall have enlightened his heart, and he shall return to the Hospital and shall confess himself to have been a guilty sinner, and a transgressor of the laws of God, and shall promise amendment let him be again received, and a suitable penance be imposed upon him; and for a whole year let him be considered as on his probation, and during this period let the brethren observe his conduct, and afterwards let them act as seems best to them in the matter. And if any brother have a dispute with another brother, and the superior of the house shall have noticed the disturbance, let this be his penance: let him fast for seven days, the fourth and the sixth on bread and water, eating upon the ground without a table or a napkin; and if he shall have struck a blow, then for forty days; and if any brother shall absent himself from the convent, or the superior under whose control he hath been placed, wilfully and without the permission of the superior, and shall afterwards return, let him eat his meals on the ground for forty days, fasting on every fourth and sixth day on bread and water, and let him remain in the position of an alien for so long a time as he shall have absented himself, unless that time shall have been so prolonged that it shall seem fitting to the chapter to remit a portion. Moreover, at table, let each one eat his bread in silence, as the apostle directs; and let him not drink after the "*completorium*," and let all the brethren keep silence in their beds.

But if any brother, having misconducted himself, shall have been corrected and admonished twice or three times by the Master, or by any other brother, and by the instigation of Satan shall have refused to amend his ways, and to obey, let him be sent to us on foot, and bearing with him a paper containing his crime; yet let a fixed allowance be made to him, that he may be enabled to come to us, and we will correct him. And let no one strike those intrusted to them as servants, for any fault whatever; but let the superior of the convent, and of the brethren, inflict punishment in the presence of all; yet let justice always be supported within the convent. And if any brother shall have made a disposition of his property after his death, and shall have concealed it from his superior, and it shall afterwards have been found upon him, let the money be tied round his neck, and let him be severely beaten by one of the brothers in the presence of the rest, and let him do penance for forty days, fasting every fourth and sixth day on bread and water.

Moreover, since it is necessary to lay down a statute for you all, we ordain that for each of the brethren as shall go the way of all flesh, in whatever convent he may die, thirty masses shall be sung for his soul. At

the first mass, let each of the brethren who is present offer a candle and a piece of money; which contribution, whatever may be its amount, shall be spent on the poor. And the presbyter who shall have sung the masses, if he does not belong to the convent, shall be maintained therein on those days, and his duty being finished, the superior himself shall entertain him; and let all the clothing of the deceased brother be given to the poor. But the brothers who are priests, and who shall sing these masses, let them pour forth a prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ on behalf of his soul, and let each of the priests sing a psalm, and each of the laity repeat 150 paternosters.

And with respect to all other crimes, and affairs, and complaints, let them be adjudged upon in general chapter, and let a just sentence be pronounced. And all these precepts we enjoin and impose upon you, in virtue of our authority, on behalf of Almighty God, the blessed Mary, the blessed John, and the poor; that they be observed strictly and zealously in all points. And in the convents where the Master and chapter have established a hospital, when a sick person shall make application, let him be received thus: first, after having confessed his sins to the presbyter, let him partake of the holy sacrament; and afterwards let him be carried to his bed, as though he were the Master; let him be charitably entertained every day with food before any of the brethren are supplied, and that of the best the house can afford. And on each Sabbath day let the Epistle and Gospel be sung in the Hospital, and let holy water be sprinkled around in procession. Furthermore, if any brother, having the superintendence of a convent in any foreign land, shall appeal to any secular person, rebelling against our authority, and shall give him the money appropriated to the poor, in order that, by his power, he may establish the authority of the said brother against the Master, let him be expelled from the general society of the brethren. And if two or more brethren shall be dwelling together, and if one of them shall have misconducted himself by an evil course of life, the other brothers are not to denounce him, either to the public or to the prior, but first let them chastise him by themselves, and if he will not permit himself to be chastised, let them call in the assistance of two or three others and chastise him. And if he shall amend his ways they should rejoice thereat; but if, on the other hand, he shall remain impenitent, then, detailing his crimes in a letter, they shall forward it to the Master; and whatever he and the chapter may decree, let that be done to the offender; and let no brother accuse another brother unless he is well able to prove the charge, for if he do so he is no true brother.

Furthermore, all the brethren of every convent, who shall now, or have heretofore offered themselves to God, and to the sacred Hospital of Jerusalem, shall bear upon their breasts, on their mantles, and on their robes, crosses, to the honour of God and of His sacred cross; to the end that God may protect us by that symbol of faith, works, and obedience, and shield us from the power of the devil, both in this world and in the world to come, in soul and in body, together with all our Christian benefactors.—

Amen. Therefore let no man whatsoever be permitted to infringe this charter, signed, confirmed, and renewed by us, or to oppose himself audaciously to it. If, however, any one shall presume to act thus, let him know that he renders himself liable to the anger of Almighty God, and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul.—Given at the Lateran, on the seventh day of the ides of April, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

APPENDIX VI.

Bull of Pope Alexander IV., dated in 1259, decreeing a distinctive dress for the Knights of Justice. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Alexander IV., Pope, to our beloved sons, the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting, and apostolical benediction. Whereas, Almighty God hath built up your Order upon the foundation of obedience, as an immovable pillar in His Church, for the defence of the Holy Land, of which ye are the renowned and stalwart champions, and the chosen protectors, and for the defence of which ye have girt yourselves with the glorious armour of the cross of salvation, to fight the battles of the Lord against the blasphemers of His name; and whereas, as ye are the elect people of God, a princely race, and earnest body of righteous men, the council and congregation of the King of mighty kings, in whose hands verily are two equal swords and burning lights, to execute vengeance on the nations, and to protect the city of the Lord; we intend, therefore, to strengthen with suitable gifts, and to encourage with worthy favours, your Order, and yourselves also, who are the soldiers of Christ, in whom the Lord hath aroused, in those regions, the spirit of the brave Maccabees, and of the other warriors of old of the same class; and to concede to you such things as are known to redound to the development of your Order, and the protection of the Holy Land.

Since it has come to our knowledge that, amongst the brethren of your Order, both knights and others, there is no distinction or diversity of dress, contrary to the usual custom in most other similar institutions; on which account it comes to pass, that the love of many brethren of noble birth, who, casting aside the allurements of the world, under the garb of your Order, have chosen to devote themselves to the defence of the Holy Land, grows cold; we, therefore, being earnestly desirous that your Order may still continue, by God's help, to be enriched with fresh donations, and may grow and increase in the votive offerings which it shall receive, do hereby grant to you, by the authority of these letters, permission to decree unanimously, and hereafter to maintain inviolate, the regulation, that the knights, brethren of your Order, shall wear black mantles, that they may be distinguished from the other brethren; but in campaigns, and in battles,

they shall wear surcoats and other military decorations of a red colour, on which there shall be a cross of white colour, sewn on in accordance with that on your standard; in order that by the uniformity of signs, the unanimity of your spirits may be clearly apparent, and that thus, in consequence, the safety of your persons may be insured. Therefore, let it be lawful for no man to infringe upon this statute of our concession. For if any one shall presume upon such an attempt, let him know that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.—Given at Anagnia, on the third day of the ides of August, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

APPENDIX VII.

Letter of Peter d'Aubusson to the emperor of Germany, containing a narrative of the first siege of Rhodes. (Translated from the original Latin.)

Most invincible and serene prince; it appears to us in no way incongruous that we should describe to your Imperial Majesty the incidents which have occurred in the siege of the town of Rhodes; by the Turks in its attack, and by ourselves in its defence; now that the day of battle has had a prosperous ending, to the honour of the Christian name; and we do not doubt but that your Imperial Majesty will derive no little pleasure from our victory. The Turks having encamped around the city sought diligently for points of attack; they then endeavoured to shake and destroy the ramparts on all sides with their cannon, and soon shewed plainly what their intentions were, and for that purpose surrounded the city with guns and mortars, and with them overthrew nine of its towers and a bastion, and struck and destroyed the magisterial palace. It seemed, however, most convenient to them to assault and press the city upon three sides principally: the attack of the tower on the mole of St. Nicholas appearing the most advantageous for concluding the affair; by means of which they deemed that the city would the most readily fall into their power. This tower is a stronghold, at the extremity of the mole, which juts out into the sea in a northerly direction as far as the harbour extends, and is visible to approaching mariners, who may either keep close to it or easily avoid it. On the westward is situated the chapel of St. Anthony, at a distance of barely 200 paces, with the sea between. The advantages of the place having been therefore perceived, the Turkish army strove by every means in their power to get it into their possession. They brought three huge brass bombardars to batter down the tower, whose size and power were incredibly great, and which threw balls of stone of nine palms, and they placed them in the chapel of St. Anthony. Wonderful to relate, and most calamitous to behold, this renowned fort,

which appeared of such surpassing strength, after having been battered by 300 stone balls, had the greater part of its extent destroyed, overthrown, and ruined. The enemy, who beheld the ruins with exultation, filled the air with their shouts, which vain rejoicing was, however, speedily converted into sorrow. For we, being anxious for the safety of the tower, beholding its great and fearful ruin, strove to prop up the remainder of the wall; and since such a course appeared the most judicious, after so complete a downfall, we decided upon protecting, not the tower only, but also the mole of St. Nicholas itself. With the most vigilant care and numberless inventions, a thousand labourers worked day and night without intermission, who dug a deep ditch, and constructed a bulwark with timber on the top of the mole, around the tower, and in the midst of its foundations, and completed an impregnable redoubt at a great cost. There we placed a guard of our bravest warriors within the ruins of the mole, and supplied them with stores and ammunition. At the end also, and foot of the same, we placed other garrisons, both at the eastern and western extremities; because at those points the ramparts ended, and the sea is fordable, so that it was necessary to watch and defend them, lest the Turks should pass there, and attack us in the rear. And on the walls of the tower we placed bombards, which should sweep the spot during an attack. Fireworks were also prepared to attack the fleet. Twice did the Turks storm the tower, and the new work on its ruins; the first time, when they thought it easy to capture with only moderate force, before daylight at early dawn; when they attacked the place in triremes prepared for the purpose, and fought vigorously. But our men, who were intent upon the defence of the post, were constantly on the watch. So the enemy was driven back discomfited. And in that battle nearly 700 Turks were killed, as we learnt from the deserters. After the lapse of a few days, however, enraged at their former repulse, they again attacked the tower with a powerful marine, and with ingenious skill; shaking and destroying our repairs and new bulwarks with their heavy artillery, and some were completely destroyed. We, however, promptly repaired whatever they overthrew. To carry out the attack, they then got ready triremes well supplied with munitions, and ingeniously prepared for the fight, and certain other heavy vessels (called commonly "*parendarias*"), in which were heavy guns and stones; that they might establish themselves upon the mole and tower, which they thought they were secure of, and from that point annoy and breach and capture the city itself. They also prepared certain flat-bottomed boats, from which some of the boldest among them reached the mole, and constructed a bridge with the most wonderful skill; which was to cross from the church of St. Anthony to the mole at the foot of the tower. But we, suspecting what would occur after the first attack, had laboured with all our strength and ingenuity, added to our munitions, increased our fortifications, and did not spare the most serious expense; for we judged that the safety of the city depended on that spot. In the middle, therefore, of the night, the Turks, on the thirteenth of the

kalends of July, burning with a fiercer ardour than ever, approached the tower with the utmost silence, and attacked it on all sides with the greatest impetuosity; but our ears were pricked up, and we were not asleep. For when we discovered that the foe was arrived, our machines commenced to hurl their stones, our soldiers girded on their swords, and missiles of every description being hurled from the tower and mole, overthrew and repulsed the enemy; the battle was carried on with the utmost vehemence from midnight until ten o'clock. Numberless Turks, who had reached the mole from the boats and triremes, were killed. The floating bridge, laden with Turks, was broken by the missiles from our machines, and those who were on it were thrown into the sea. Four of the triremes, and those boats which were laden with guns and stores, were destroyed by the stones hurled upon them, and were sunk. The fleet also was set on fire, and forced to retire; and thus the Turks departed, beaten and defeated. Many of their leading commanders fell in this battle, whose loss was deeply mourned for by the army. Deserters, who joined us after the battle, told us that the Turks had received a severe check, and that nearly 2,500 had been slain. But when the Turks lost all hopes of capturing the tower, they turned all their energies, their ingenuity, and their strength, on an attack of the town itself, and although the whole city was so shaken and breached by their artillery that scarcely the original form of it remained, still their principal attack was directed against that part of the walls which encloses the Jews' quarter, and looks towards the east; and against that part which leads to the post of Italy. For the purpose, therefore, of destroying and breaching those walls, they brought eight gigantic and most enormous bombards, hurling stones of nine palms in circumference, which played upon the walls without ceasing night and day. Nor did the bombards and mortars placed around the city cease from hurling similar stones, the fall of which added greatly to the general terror and destruction. We therefore placed the aged, the infirm, and the women in caves and other underground spots, to dwell, which caused but few casualties to occur from that infliction. They also prepared another description of annoyance, by using fire-balls and lighted arrows, which they hurled from their balistæ and catapults, which set fire to our buildings. We, however, careful for the safety of our city, selected men, skilled in the art, who, ever on the watch, put out the fires wherever the flaming missiles fell. By these precautions the Rhodians were preserved from many mishaps. The infidels also attempted to approach the city underground, and excavated winding ditches, which they partly covered with timber and earth, that they might reach the ditches of the city under cover; and they built up batteries in many places from which they kept up an unceasing fire, with colubrine and serpentine guns, and harassed and wearied our men, and also thought it would be an advantage to fill up that portion of the ditch which is adjacent to the wall of the spur. They continued without ceasing, therefore, to collect stones, and secretly to throw them into the ditch, so that part being filled up by their labours to the level of the opposing wall, they could form a pathway in the shape of a

back, from which they could conveniently enter upon the walls of the town. We, however, perceiving the attempt of the foe, watched over the safety of the city, and throughout the town, and castles, and ditches, inspected carefully where repairs and munitions were required; which the Turks perceiving, turned again in despair to the Jews' rampart, and other spots; whilst we, with repairs and supports, restored such places as they had ruined, with stakes of the thickest timber, firmly planted into the ground, and covered with earth, and with roots and branches interlaced, which, clinging together most tenaciously and firmly, sustained the shock of their missiles, and protected the breach, lest the rampart falling into the city should afford them an easy descent. We also made similar bulwarks, with stakes interlaced with brushwood and earth, as cover for our men, and as an obstacle to the Turks when climbing up. We also prepared artificial fire, and other contrivances, which might prove useful in repelling the attack of the Turks. We also thought it advisable to empty that part of the ditch which the Turks had filled with stones; but as that could not otherwise be done secretly, from the situation of the ditch, we made for ourselves an exit beneath the stones, and secretly brought them into the town. The Turks who were nearest the ditch, however, remarked that the heap of stones diminished, and that the facilities for an ascent would be reduced, unless they rapidly carried out the attack they contemplated. Thirty-eight days were passed in these labours; and during that time 3,500 huge stones, or thereabouts, were hurled at the ramparts and into the town. The Turks, perceiving that the opportunity of storming the town was being gradually taken away from them, hastened on their preparatory works, and on the day before the assault, and that night, and even on the early morning itself, they battered at the walls without intermission with eight huge bombardments, hurling enormous rocks; they destroyed and overthrew the barriers that had been erected behind the breach; the sentries, look-outs, and guards of the ramparts were mostly killed, and it was hardly possible to mount the wall, except by taking the utmost precautions, and by descending a little at the sound of a bell, and afterwards continuing the ascent. Nor was time given us to repair the ruined fortification; since the vigour of the bombardment never relaxed, and in a little time 300 stones, or thereabouts, had been discharged. The bombardment having concluded, the Turks, at the signal of a mortar, which had been placed there the day previous, mounted the breach, on the seventh day of the kalends of August, in a vigorous and rapid attack; and the ascent was, as we have already said, easy for them, easier than it was for our men, who had to use ladders. Annihilating the guard who had been placed on the summit of the rampart, who were unable to resist that first onset, before our reinforcements could ascend the ladders, they had occupied the spot, and planted their standards there. The same thing occurred at the bastion of Italy, whose summit they gained. The alarm was given on all sides, and a hand-to-hand encounter commenced, and was carried on with the utmost vehemence. Suddenly, our men opposing themselves to the foe, on the right and left of the rampart, drove them from

the higher places, and prevented them from moving about on the walls. Of the four ladders, too, which had been provided for the descent into the Jews' quarter, one had been broken by our order; but having ascended by the others, we opposed ourselves to the enemy, and defended the place. There were, in truth, 2,000 most magnificently armed Turks upon the walls, in dense array, opposing themselves to our men, and striving, by force of arms, to drive them away, and expel them from the place. But the valour of our soldiers prevented us from giving way. To the first body, however, of Turks, who had gained the walls, there followed an immense multitude of others, who covered the whole country, the adjacent breach, the valley and ditch, so that it was hardly possible to see the ground. The deserters state that 4,000 Turks were engaged in the assault. Our men drove about 300 of the enemy, who were upon the rampart, back into the Jews' quarter, where they were killed to a man. At that conflict we raised the standard bearing the effigy of our most sacred Lord Jesus Christ, and that of our Order, in the presence of the enemy; and the battle raged for about two hours around the spot. At length the Turks, overcome, wearied, and panic-stricken, and covered with wounds, turned their backs, and took to flight with such vehement haste that they became an impediment to one another, and added to their losses. In that fight there fell 3,500 Turks, or thereabouts, as was known by the corpses which were found within the city, and upon the walls, and in the ditches, as also in the camp of the enemy, and in the sea; and which we afterwards burnt, to prevent disease; the spoils of which corpses fell into the possession of our men, who, following the flying Turks, even to their camp on the plain, slew them vigorously, and afterwards returned safely into the town. In which battle many of our bailiffs and brave soldiers fell, fighting most valiantly in the midst of the hostile battalions. We ourselves, and many of our brothers in arms, having received many wounds, having returned thanks to God, and placed a strong guard on the walls, returned home; nor was so great a calamity averted from us save by the Divine assistance. For we could not doubt but that God had sent assistance from heaven, lest His poor Christian people should become infected with the filth of Mahometanism. Turkish women had prepared ropes, under the hopes of obtaining possession of the city, wherewith to bind the captives, and huge stakes, wherewith to impale them whilst living. For they had decreed that every soul, both male and female, above ten years of age, was to be killed and impaled; but the children under that age were to be led into captivity and compelled to renounce their faith; and all booty was to be given over to plunder, the city being reserved for Turkish governance. But being frustrated in their evil designs, they fled like a flock of sheep. During these battles, and the attacks made on different days, as also in defending the approaches, and clearing the ditches, and in the general defence of the town by means of our artillery, which played constantly on their army, we killed, as the Turkish deserters revealed to us, 9,000 of them, and an innumerable quantity more were wounded; amongst whom Gusman Balse

and a certain son-in-law of the sultan's died of their wounds. The struggle being ended, they first burnt all their stores, and retired to their camp, a little distance from the city, where, embarking their artillery and heavy baggage, and consuming a few days in transporting some of their army into Lyeia, they left the Rhodian shore, and retired to Phiseus, an ancient city on the mainland: thus they retired beaten, with ignominy. May the omnipotent God happily preserve your Imperial Majesty to our prayers!

Given at Rhodes, on the 13th day of September, in the year of the Incarnation of our Redeemer MCCCCLXXX.

Your Imperial Majesty's humble servant,

PETER D'AUBUSSON,
Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

APPENDIX VIII.

Letter of Sir Nicholas Roberts to the earl of Surrey, descriptive of the second siege of Rhodes. (Ex Cotton MSS. Copied from Taaffe's "Knights of St. John." This letter is much injured, and rendered illegible in many parts.)

Ryght honerable and my singler good Lord thankynge your Lordshipe with your letters of recommen to the Lord Master, the which letters I deliverede I deliverede to the Lord Master thos leters of recommendationes that the kings grace. Cardinal, and my Lords grace, yr. father wrot to him I deliueryd unto Sir Thomas Sheffield a letter that my your father sent hym, and he gave me answer the time shold come he wold speake to for me, and to do the best he coulde for me it not been for hym, my lord master was determined to geven me part of the commandrey of grace commandrey, called Dymore, bysydes leeceiste by the deth of the turkopolier, callyd Sir whome was slain at the seage of the Ro lord master hath given the said commandre to Sir

As touching the distructione and taking of the Rodes, I avised your lordshipe by my lres, datayd in february last past, w^h my next lres, I shall send your lordship the copy of all suche things that hath ben between the great Turk and us during the seage I believe seins the tyme of the romans as far as I have red in was ther never no towne beshegied w^t so gret an army, both by se and by lande, as beshegied with all; for by the se he had t of

Vsailles not lakking XVth thousand seamen, and by Lande, a hundredth thousand fething men, and fette thousand laborers with spades and pikes, were the occasione of the taking of the Rodes in the space of four moniths, they brought a mowntaine of erth befor them to the walles of the towne, which was as hie agen as the walles of the towne wer, the which the destructione and dethe of many a man . . . and child; for at all such tymes as they would geve us any batalle, they would put IIII or V springarders upon the said mowntaine, that the people for a man could not go in the of that mountaine. I was one of those that the lord master Religione sent to the gret Turk for p such tyme as the pact was made betwene the Turks and him. The gret turk ys of the age of yers; he ys vere wise discret and muc bothe in his wordes and also in his being of his age. I was in his courte at such time as we were brought first to make our reverence unto him we fou a red pavilion standing between too lions marvelous ryche and sumptu setting in a chayr, and no creatur sat in the pavelione, which chayr was of g work of fin gold, his gard stonding near his pavilion to the number of XXII they be called Sulaky, thes number continually about his person, he ha number of XI thowsand of them; they wear on ther heddes a long white cape, and on the tope of the cape a white ostrage which gevith a gret show Armye was divided in fowre partes, the captains waz callid as folowith, the principall captaine is called pero bashaw, second mustapha bashaw, the third hakmak bashaw, the fourth the igalarby of anatolia. They be the IIII governours under the gret turk; eury one of them had fite thousand men under his Baner, and they lay at IIII severall places of the towne, and eury one of them made a breche in the wall of the towne; that in some places Ve men on horseback myght come in at once; and after that the wall of the town was downe, they gave us battall often tymes upon even ground, that we had no manner of advantage apone them; yet thankid be God and Saint John, at eury batall they returned without their purpose. Upon Saint Andrue ys evin last, was the last batall that was betwene the turkes and vs; at that batall was slain XI thousand turkes, and of our part a hundredth and ur score, and after that day the turkes purposed to give vs no more batall, but to come into the towne by trenches in so much, y^t they mad gret trenches, and by the space of a month did come allmost into the mydst of our towne, insomuch that ther lay nightly wtin our town thousand turkes; the trenches wer covered with thick taballes, and holes in them for thyer springardes, that we could not aproche them and a monithe after we saw precisely that the toune was loste we would never give over in esperance of socours, and at such tyme as we sawe y^t theyr come no succours, nor no socours redde to come, and considering that the most of our men were slain, we had no powther nor manner of munycone, nor vitalles, but all on by brede and water, we wer as men desperat deter-

myned to dye upon them in the felde, rather than be put upon the stakes; for we doubted he would give us our lyves, considering ther wer slain so many of his men; but in the end of the seson they came to parlement w^t vs, and demandyd to know of vs whether we would make any partial . . . and said that the gret Turk was content if we wold geve him the walles of the towne, he would geve us our lyves and our goodes; the commons of the towne hearing this gret profer, came . . . to the lord master, and said that considering that the walle and strength of the towne ys taken, and the municone spent, and the most of yor knights and men slaine, and allso seing ther ys no socours redy to come, they determynd . . . this partido that the gret Turk geveth us the lyves of our wiffes and children. The lord master hering the opinion of the hole commonalty resolved to take that partido, fell downe almost ded, and what time he recoveryd himsel in sort, he seeing them contenne in the same, at last consented to the same. During the seage the lord master hath ben found in every batall, oft as the worst knight of the religione . . . knights ther war slain VII hundredth and three, of the Turkes and hundredth and three thousand, they gave us XXII batalles the XX . . . September was the general batall, from the beginning of the day to hie . . . without caseing; they gave us batalles in V places of the towne, and ther war slain by their own confessione, at that batalle XXII thousand; the gret turk war ther in parson, and in the batall we had slain three score . . . upon our walles, or ever we war redy to . . . them; ther war slaine of our part VI thousand and . . . during the siege tyme. May the Lord have your lordship in his mercifull kepyng. Messina, the XVth day of May. By the hand of your faithfull cervant and bedman,

NICHOLAS ROBERTS.

APPENDIX IX.

Deed of authorization to the Procurators of L'Isle Adam, including the act of donation of the island of Malta and its dependencies to the Order of St. John by Charles V. (Translated from the original Latin.)

The brother Philip de Villiers L'Isle d'Adam, humble Master of the Sacred House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, guardian of the poor in Jesus Christ, and of our conventual home, to our venerable brethren in Christ most dear to us, brother Hugh de Copons, draper of our convent, and commander of our galleys, and to John Boniface, bailiff of our bailiwick of Manosca, and receiver-general of our Order: health in the Lord, and diligence in action. Since his most catholic Majesty has, of his

munificence, granted the privilege to our Order, whose tenor is as follows, namely :—

We, Charles V., by the clemency of the Divine favour always Augustus, Emperor of the Romans; Joanna, his mother, and the same Charles being, by the grace of God, monarchs of Castile, Aragon, of both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Léon, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valentia, Gallicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Algarve, Algeria, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands; also of the islands and continent of India, of the Oceans; archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy and Brabant; counts of Barcelona, Flanders, and Tyrol; lords of Biscay and Molina; dukes of Athens and Neopatria; counts of Rousillon and Catalonia; marquis of La Mancha and Ghent.

Whereas, for the restoration and establishment of the convent, Order, and religion of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; and in order that the very reverend, and venerable, and well beloved, the Grand-Master, the priors, bailiffs, preceptors, and knights of the said Order; who, being expelled from the island of Rhodes by the Turks (who, after a most protracted and violent siege, have occupied that island), have already wandered for several years, should obtain at length a fixed residence, and there should once more return to those duties for the benefit of the Christian community which appertain to their religion; and should diligently exert their strength and their arms against the perfidious enemies of the Christian religion; moved by devotion, and actuated by the same spirit which has allied us to the Order, we have determined upon granting a fixed home to the above-mentioned Grand-Master and Order, that they should no longer be compelled to wander about the world; by the tenor of this our present charter, firmly valid to all future times; through our fixed knowledge, and regal authority, and deliberation; and with special designs for ourselves, our heirs and successors on the throne; we grant, and of our liberality we bountifully bestow upon the aforesaid very reverend the Grand-Master of the religion and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in feudal perpetuity, noble, free, and uncontrolled, our cities, castles, places, and islands of Tripoli, Malta, and Gozo, with all their cities, castles, places, and insular territories; with pure and mixed jurisdiction, right, and property of useful government; with power of life and death over male and female residing within their limits, and with the laws, constitutions, and rights now existing amongst the inhabitants; together with all other laws and rights, exemptions, privileges, revenues, and other immunities whatsoever; so that they may hereafter hold them in feudal tenure from us, as kings of both Sicilies, and from our successors in the same kingdom, reigning at the time, under the sole acknowledgment of a hawk or falcon; which, every year, on the festival of All Saints, shall be presented by the person or persons duly authorized for that purpose, into the hands of the viceroy or president, who may at that time be administering the government, in sign and recognition of feudal tenure; and, having made that acknowledgment, they shall remain exempt and free from all other service claimable by

law, and customary to be performed by vassals. The investiture of which feudal tenure, however, shall be renewed in every case of a new succession, and completed according to the dispositions of the common law, and the Grand-Master for the time being, for himself and the above-mentioned Order generally in this recognition and investiture, shall be bound to give a pledge, that from the said cities, castles, or places, he will not permit loss, or prejudice, or injury, to be perpetrated against us, or our kingdoms and lordships above-mentioned, or those of our successors in the said kingdoms, either by sea or by land, nor will offer assistance or favour to those inflicting such injuries, or desirous of inflicting them ; but rather shall strive to avert the same with all their power. And if any one arraigned of a capital crime, or accused of any similar offence, shall escape from the said kingdom of Sicily, and shall take refuge in these islands, and their feudatories, if they shall be required on the part of the viceroy, or of the governor, or the ministers of justice of the said kingdom for the time being, they shall be bound to expel such fugitive or fugitives, and to drive them far away from their island, with the exception of those who are accused of treason, or of heresy, whom they shall not eject, but, at the requisition of the viceroy or his lieutenant, they shall take them prisoners, and remit them in custody, to the viceroy or governor. Furthermore, in order that the nomination to the bishopric of Malta may remain as it is now, in our gift and presentation, and in that of our successors in the kingdom of Sicily ; therefore, we decree, that after the death of our reverend and beloved councillor, Balthaser de Vualtkirk, our imperial vice-chancellor lately nominated by us to that diocese, as also in the case of every subsequent vacancy occurring hereafter, the Grand-Master and the convent of the Order shall nominate to the viceroy of Sicily three persons of the Order, of whom one at least shall be and must be a subject of ours or of our successors in the kingdom, and who shall all be fit and proper persons for the exercise of that pastoral dignity. Of which three persons thus nominated, we, and our successors in the kingdom, will present, and shall be bound to present the one whom we or they may judge to be the most worthy for the post. The Master shall be bound to grant the dignity of the grand-cross to whosoever may be nominated to the said bishopric, and shall give him admission into the council of the Order, together with the priors and bailiffs. Also, since the admiral of the Order is bound to be of the language and nation of Italy, and it is deemed advisable that, for him who is to exercise his authority, when absence or other impediments occur, if a suitable person can be found in the same language and nation, it shall be given to him ; it is therefore reasonable, that under a similar parity of suitableness, that person should the rather be elected to exercise that office, who may be judged the most eligible from amongst that nation and language, who shall exercise his office and be deemed suspected of none. Furthermore, let statutes and firm decrees be made of everything contained in the three preceding articles, according to the style and manner used in the said Order, with the approbation and authority of our sacred Lord and of the Apostolic see ; and let the Grand-Master of the Order who now is, or here-

after may be, be bound to swear solemnly to the faithful observation of the said statutes, and to preserve them in perpetuity inviolate. Furthermore, if the Order should succeed in reconquering the island of Rhodes, and for that reason, or from any other cause, shall depart from these islands and their local feudatories, and shall establish their home and convent elsewhere, it shall not be lawful for them to transfer the possession of these islands to any other person without the expressed sanction of their feudal lord; but if they shall presume so to alienate them without our sanction and license, they shall, in that case, revert to us and to our successors in full sovereignty. Further, whatever artillery or engines of war now exist within the castle and city of Tripoli, as shall be specified in a proper inventory, they may retain the same for three years for the protection of the town and citadel; the obligation, however, remaining valid to restore the said artillery and machines after the lapse of three years, unless at that time our grace may, owing to the necessities of the case, see fit to prolong the time, in order that the town and citadel may have its defence more safely provided for. And further, whatever rewards or gratuities, temporary or permanent, may have been granted to certain persons in these territories, which have been given them, either on account of their merits, or from some other obligation, in whatever state they may now stand, they shall not be taken away from them without proper recompense, but shall remain in full force until the Grand-Master and convent shall see fit to provide them elsewhere with equal and similar property. And in the valuation of this recompense all difference of opinion which might arise, and all annoyance and expense of legal proceedings shall be obviated thus: when it shall seem fit to the Grand-Master and convent to grant to any one such recompense, two judges shall be nominated; one in our name, by the viceroy of Sicily for the time being; the other by the Grand-Master and convent; who, summarily and precisely, shall define the concession of privileges to be transferred, with the arguments on both sides, without any other form or process of law; and if any recompense is to be given, they shall decree how much it should be by right. But if the two judges should, by chance, be of different and opposing opinions, by the consent of both parties let a third judge be named, and whilst the question is being adjudicated or inquired into, and the recompense fixed, the possessors shall remain in the enjoyment of their rights, and shall receive the produce of their privileges, until compensation shall have been made to them. Under which conditions, as contained and described above, and in no other manner, conceding to the aforesaid Grand-Master and convent, one and all of the said articles in feudal tenure, as have been described, as can best and most fully and most usefully be stated and written for their convenience and benefit, and good, sound, and favourable understanding; we offer and transfer the same to the rule of the Grand-Master, convent, and Order, in useful and firm dominion irrevocably; in full right, to have and to hold, to govern, to exercise in full jurisdiction, and to retain in peace and perpetuity. And on account of this concession, and otherwise, according as it can best be

made available and held by law, we give, concede, and bestow to the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order, all rights and all property, real and personal, of every description whatever, which appertain to us, and which can and ought to belong to us in those islands, which we grant to them by feudal tenure, under the said conditions as have been recited, and in other matters according to the circumstances of the case; which rights and privileges, in order that they may be perpetual and capable of being exercised and maintained, and that all and every right may be enjoyed and freely exercised by law, and whatever else we ourselves may perform in any manner, either now or hereafter, placing the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order in every respect in our place; we constitute them true lords, due and authorized agents and administrators in their own matters; no rights and no privileges, which we have conceded to them as above, beyond what we have already received, shall be retained or received by us or by our council. Committing, from this time forth, to the charge of the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, with the same authority as we have heretofore exercised, all and every one, male and female, who may now be dwelling, or hereafter about to dwell, in the said islands, cities, lands, places, and castles, or in their territories, under whatsoever laws or conditions they may have resided there, that they should receive and consider the said Grand-Master as their true and feudal lord, and the rightful possessor of the aforesaid territories, and shall perform and obey his behests, as good and faithful vassals should always obey their lord. They shall also make and offer fidelity and homage to the said Grand-Master and convent, with all the oaths usual in similar cases; we also ourselves, from the moment that they take those oaths and tender that homage, absolve and free them from all oaths and homage which they may have already made and taken to us, or to any of our predecessors, or to any other persons in our name, and by which they have been heretofore bound. Moreover, to the illustrious Philip, prince of the Asturias, etc., our well-beloved first-born son, and descendant, who, after our prosperous and lengthened reign, we nominate and appoint, under the support of our paternal benediction, to be, by the grace of God, our immediate heir and legitimate successor, in all our kingdoms and dominions; to all the most illustrious lords our beloved counsellors, and to our faithful viceroy and captain-general in our kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to the chief justice, or whosoever may be acting in his place, to the judges and magistrates of our courts, to the magistrates of the "portulano" and the "secreto," to the treasurer and conservator of our royal patrimonies, to the patrons of our exchequer, to the captains of our fortresses, to our prefects and guards, portulans, and portulanotes, secreta, and to all and every one else of the officials, and of subjects in our said kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and especially of the said islands, and of the city and castle of Tripoli, as well now as hereafter, by the same authority we order and direct, under pain of our indignation and anger, and under a penalty of ten thousand crowns, to be otherwise levied upon their property, and paid into our treasury, that they hold,

and support, and observe, and shall cause to be inviolably held and observed by others, these our concessions and grants, one and all, as contained above; also, our aforesaid viceroy himself, or by means of a commissioner or commissioners whom he may choose to nominate in our name for that purpose, shall cause to be handed over and transferred, in actual and tangible possession as vacant and free, all, as is aforesaid, which we have conceded to the said Grand-Master and Convent, to himself, or to a procurator named in his place, to whom in every way, in order that, on their side, they complete and carry out the stipulation and agreement with the said Grand-Master and Convent, we confer power, and commit our plenary authority; and after possession shall have been duly handed over, they shall support the said Grand-Master and Convent in that power, and shall protect them vigorously against every one; nor shall they cease to be paid rents, import or export duties, or any other taxes or rights, by either of the aforesaid, to whom we have granted this feudal tenure. We also, in order to give effect to this deed, in case it should be necessary, supply all defects, nullities, faults, or omissions, if any shall chance to be included, or shall arise, or be in any manner alleged, from which in the plenitude of our royal authority, we grant a dispensation. For which purpose we have ordered the present deed to be drawn out and furnished with our official seal for the affairs of Sicily attached to it. Given at Castellum Francum, on the 23rd day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1530; in that of our reign as emperor the tenth year; as king of Castile, Granada, etc., the twenty-seventh; of Navarre, the sixteenth; of Aragon, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, the fifteenth; and of all our realms the fifteenth.* In order that the aforesaid grant and all contained therein may remain intact, and may be preserved for ever, we have drawn out three deeds, which include the provisions of the said grant, in which deeds they appear, and stand more widely specified; given under our common leaden seal on the 25th day of April last past; which deeds for their more perpetual and firmer efficacy, have been approved and confirmed by the Apostolic see, as also may be seen more at large in certain apostolical letters lawfully promulgated for that purpose in the usual manner, under dates of Rome, the seventh day of the kalends of May, in the year of our Lord 1530, and in the sixth year of the pontificate of our most holy lord, Clement. Hence it is that we, the Master, bailiffs, priors, preceptors, and brothers, holding, in complete council, the powers of a lawful chapter-general, desirous, according to the design of his before-mentioned imperial majesty, and the tenor of his grant, to have and to obtain possession of the said places, as specified in that grant, and to take the steps necessary and proper for that purpose, being confident in the probity of your good faith, with the most precise sedulity, care, and authority which we possess; after the most mature and deliberate council, of our certain knowledge, in the most sure way,

* The original act of donation ends here, and is signed in the handwriting of Charles V., in the following manner—Yo el Rey.

mode, law, and form in which we could and should, best and most validly perform the same, do make, create, constitute, and solemnly ordain you our venerable brothers, Hugo de Copons and John Boniface, here present, and undertaking this office, as procurators, agents, factors, and promoters of our business; and as general and special nuncios, in such a manner, that the generality thereof shall not derogate from the specialty, or the contrary, for us and our Order, and the whole convent. To promise and engage most efficaciously, with the requisite solemn oaths, in our name and in that of our Order and convent, for us and for our successors, specially and expressly, according to the tenor of the said grant; to observe, keep, and for ever to preserve each and all of the conditions contained in the aforesaid grant, and especially to take the oaths at the hand of the most illustrious lord, Don Hector Pignatelli, duke of Mount Léon, and most honourable viceroy of the kingdom of Sicily, and captain-general of the army, representing in these parts the person of his imperial and catholic majesty, the king of Sicily and its adjacent islands; also to make a stipulation and agreement to restore all the artillery which shall have been consigned to us, and of which an account has been taken, in the citadel or fortress of the aforesaid Tripoli, as specified in the said grant, and after the same form; and also to seek and obtain executive deeds, and commissioners deputed and authorized to hand over and yield, to acquire and obtain for us true and actual, civil and natural, peaceable and quiet possession of the said places, according to the form and tenor of the said imperial grant conceded to us and to our Order in perpetuity. We give and concede to you, our procurators, in and concerning the aforesaid matters, full and free powers, and our entire authority, by virtue of which you will be empowered to do and complete such things as we ourselves could do if we had been present, even though they should be such things as would require more special authority than is expressed in the above. We promise and agree to maintain in good faith, as ratified, acceptable, and fixed for all future time, whatever shall have been done, agreed to, decided, promised, sworn, and executed by you, our procurators, in one and all of the above-mentioned matters. Under the gage and security of our property, and that of our Order, now and in times to come, wherever it may exist, we desire one and all of the brothers of our house, whatever dignity, authority, or office they may be in the enjoyment of, now or in times to come, that they shall never presume to contravene or oppose these our letters of authority to our procurators and envoys, but shall study to preserve the same inviolate. In witness of which our common leaden seal is attached to the above. Given at Syracuse, on the 24th day of the month of May, 1530.

APPENDIX. X.

Translation from the original Latin of the Letter of the Grand-Master La Valette to the grand-prior of Germany, narrating the siege of Malta. Taken from "Cœli Augustini Curionis Saracenicæ Historiæ libri tres, etc." Francofurdi, 1596.

Brother John la Valette, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to his venerable and dear brother in Christ, George of Hohenheim, called "Bombast," the prior of our priory of Germany.

Greeting,

Although we doubt not that from the letters and verbal reports of many you have already heard of the coming of the Turkish fleet to invade and utterly destroy these islands and our Order, and the glorious victory we, by the Divine aid, have gained over it, yet we have thought that these things would give you still greater pleasure if they were brought to your knowledge by a letter from ourselves.

For whereas we are firmly persuaded that in this our most happy and opportune success thou wilt render due thanks to Almighty God for the same, and that by reason of the high position that thou holdest in our Order, thou wilt reap the full reward of our good fortune, we are therefore minded to rejoice with thee with a common joy, and clearly to bear witness that we ascribe this most admirable and glorious victory to our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and the Author of all good things, and in order that this may be done worthily and willingly, we will narrate the whole matter in as few words as possible, and at no great length, for that would be to write a history of it.

Sultan Solyman, the bitter enemy of the name of Christian, and of our Order especially, not satisfied with having already taken from us our noble island of Rhodes and the fortress of Tripoli, and with having plundered us of nearly all our worldly goods, dreaming only of utterly destroying, and above all extinguishing our Order by any means in his power, ordered a well-appointed and numerous fleet to be fitted out, which sailed from Byzantium on March 21st, and reached Malta on May 17th.

The fleet was composed of three-banked and two-banked galleys, and about 250 vessels of other kinds. The number of fighting men on board was approximately 40,000; the land forces under Mustapha Bassa, the fleet under Pyali Bassa.

After a few days spent in unloading stores, reconnoitring, pitching tents, and making such other preparations as are usual, the attack commenced with a violent assault and bombardment of Fort St. Elmo, at the mouth of the harbour. Having continued this for many days without intermission, and having opened a great breach in the walls, they assailed

it with all kinds of missiles; but the valour and energy of our knights and other soldiers held it for thirty-five days, with great slaughter of the enemy, although the fort itself, in the opinion of many, was deemed tenable against so vast a force only for a few days.

At length, on the 23rd of June, when we could no longer repel the attack and withstand the overwhelming number of the besiegers, the fort itself, surrounded and shut in as it was by sea and land, and deprived of all succour, was taken by the Turks, and the few survivors of our men were put to the sword.

Elated by this success, they then commenced the attack on the fort and town of St. Michele, and on this newly-built town (the Bourg), especially directing it on the bastions of Castella and Lusitania (Castile and Portugal). According to their usual custom, they began with the greatest activity, and an increased strength of artillery, to batter and breach the walls in many places.

This terrible and furious attack was made by the whole of the Turkish force, equally powerful by land and sea, and then by huge engines of vast size and fearful power, throwing, day and night, stone and iron balls of from five to seven palms circumference, large enough to destroy, not only walls, but to overturn even mountains; and by their force the walls themselves were so breached in many places that it was easy to walk up them. The infidels frequently assaulted these with much noise and fury, but as often as they came on they were driven back with great defeat and loss in killed and wounded.

Their leaders, both naval and military, having in vain delivered many attacks at different points with all their forces during a space of nearly four months, and having sustained great losses of their old soldiers, and all the more as winter was now drawing on, when, by the law of nations, all warfare rightly ceases, now meditated withdrawal, or rather flight, which was accelerated by the arrival of Garzia of Toledo, viceroy of Sicily, and admiral of the king of Spain's fleet, who brought a reinforcement of 10,000 soldiers and picked men, among whom were at least 214 of our knights, and many other noble and well-born men, who, stirred by Christian piety alone, had voluntarily assembled from various parts of the world to bring us aid.

You have now shortly, and in a few words, the account of the arrival and flight of the Turkish fleet, and of the victory which by God's help we gained over it.

It will be for you to consider and imagine in what a state the Order and this island now are, and would be found to be, to what poverty we are reduced, and of how many things we are in want; and unless we are relieved by the assistance of our brethren, especially of those like yourself, as we hope and believe we shall be, we must be undone.

Farewell!

Malta, 9th October, 1565.

APPENDIX XI.

List of the dignitaries of the "Langue" of England.

GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND.

The account of the grand-priors previous to the commencement of the fourteenth century is very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Very probably the names of many of the conventual priors of St. John of Clerkenwell are mixed up with them.

The following list is given as they occur in the Cott. MSS., as far as the name of William de Tottenham. From him to the conclusion of the roll the vouchers are to be found in the "*Libri Bullarum*," in the Record Office at Malta.

1. GARNIER DE NEAPOLIS. Is the first recorded grand-prior of England.
2. RICHARD DE TURK. Was living in the time of the first prioress of Buckland, who is said to have held that dignity for sixty years.
3. RALPH DE DYNHAM, or DINANT.
4. GILBERT DE VERE. He bestowed on the dames of Buckland a pension of a hundred crowns, charged upon his manor of Rainham.
5. HUGH D'ALNETO, or DANET.
6. ALAN. Afterwards bishop of Bangor; was probably only conventual prior of Clerkenwell.
7. ROBERT THE TREASURER.
8. THEODORIC DE NUSSA, or NYSSA.
9. ROBERT DE MAUNEBY.
10. ROBERT DE VERE. Was witness, as conservator of the Hospital, in a charter, dated Acre, 19th December, 1262. He gave to the church of Clerkenwell, in 1269, one of the six water-pots in which the water was changed into wine at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. As prior he visited the convent of Buckland, to arrange some disputes, and died 15th February, 1270.
11. PETER DE HOCKHAM. Named in a bull of Pope Boniface VIII., A.D. 1295.
12. SIMON BOCARD.
13. ELIAS SINGLETON, or SMELHTON.
14. STEPHEN FULBURN.
15. JOSEPH DE CHAUNCY. He built the chapel of the Lord-Prior, in the conventual house of Clerkenwell; temp. Edward I.
16. WALTER. Gained possession of the preceptories of Quenyngton-Schenegaye, and other lands and tenements.

17. WILLIAM DE HENLEY. Built the cloisters of the house of Clerkenwell, A.D. 1283-4, and ob. 4th February the same year.
18. RICHARD DE PENLEY. Was prior before 1307.
19. ROBERT DE DYNHAM, or DINANT.
20. WILLIAM DE TOTTENHAM. The name of this grand-prior is written both *Cochal* and *Tothal*, but his real name, as here given, is proved by a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Rainold, to William de Tottenham, grand-prior of the Knights-Hospitaller of Jerusalem, dated Lambeth, 17th July, 1314. *Vide* Rymer and Du Puy, "Hist. des Templiers," 4to, 1751, p. 478. He died 12th October, 1318.
21. THOMAS L'ARCHER. Was removed from the office of prior at the request of the king Edward II., being incapacitated to fulfil the duties from age and infirmities, A.D. 1329.
22. LEONARD DE TIBERTIS. Named by some authorities *De Theobaldi*, being prior of Venice. Was nominated by the Grand-Master de Villeneuve, visitor of the English priory, and afterwards appointed grand-prior of England, at the special request of the king Edward II., A.D. 1329-30.
23. PHILIP DE THAME. Was prior of England A.D. 1325, 10th Edward III., and died before A.D. 1358.
JOHN DE DALTON. Is said by Paoli to have been called prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master Berenger, but as his name does not appear as such in any of the "*Libri Bullarum*," he was probably only prior of the conventual church of Clerkenwell.
24. JOHN DE PAVELEY. Lieutenant-prior and Turcopolier. Named grand-prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1358. Ob. 1371.
25. ROBERT DE HALES. Preceptor of Slebech and Saunford; bailiff of Aquila. Nominated grand-prior of England, *vice* Paveley, A.D. 1371. Beheaded by Wat Tyler's mob, A.D. 1381.
26. JOHN DE REDINGTON. Preceptor of Ribestone, bailiff of Aquila. Nominated grand-prior of England on the death of Robert de Hales, by bull of the Grand-Master Ferdinand d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381. Ob. 1399.
27. WALTER DE GRENDON. Preceptor of Halstone. Named prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillae, dated Rhodes, 18th October, 1400. Ob. 1416.
28. WILLIAM HULLES. Preceptor of Swenefeld, Templecombe, and Quenyngton. Nominated grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillae, dated Rhodes, 16th July, 1417. Ob. A.D. 1433.
29. ROBERT MALLORY. Preceptor of Grenham, Balsal, and Grafton. Elected grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 4th May, 1433. Ob. A.D. 1440.

30. ROBERT BOUTIL, or BOOTLE. Preceptor of Melchebourne, Anstey, and Trebighen. Made grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 29th November, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1468.
31. JOHN LANGSTROTHER. Preceptor of Balsal and Grafton; lieutenant-Turcopolier; receiver-general of England; castellan of Rhodes; bailiff of Aquila; seneschal of the Grand-Master; commander of Cyprus. Nominated grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470. Made prisoner, and beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, by order of Edward IV., A.D. 1471. Buried in the church of St. John, at Clerkenwell.
32. WILLIAM TORNAY. Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne; receiver-general of England; bailiff of Aquila. Appointed grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1476.
33. JOHN WESTON. Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore; lieutenant-Turcopolier; Turcopolier. Appointed grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1476. Ob. A.D. 1489.
34. JOHN KENDAL. Preceptor of Willoughton, Halstone, and Ribestone; Turcopolier. Nominated grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 20th June, 1489. Ob. A.D. 1501.
35. THOMAS DOCWRA. Preceptor of Dynemore; lieutenant-Turcopolier; prior of Ireland; Turcopolier. Elected grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 6th August, 1501. Ob. A.D. 1527.
36. WILLIAM WESTON. Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne; Turcopolier. Named grand-prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Died of grief for the dissolution of the *langue* of England, A.D. 1540. Buried in the church of St. James at Clerkenwell.
37. THOMAS TRESHAM. Appointed grand-prior of England by a royal charter of Queen Mary, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557.
38. RICHARD SHELLEY. Turcopolier, 2nd April, 1557. Named grand-prior of England on the death of Thomas Tresham, A.D. 1566, supposed to have died at Venice, circ. 1589-90.
39. ANDREW WYSE. Bailiff of Aquila, 1588. Nominated grand-prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.
40. HENRY FITZ-JAMES. Natural son of King James II. of England. Nominated grand-prior of England on visiting Malta, by bull of the Grand-Master Gregorio Caraffa, A.D. 1687; resigned the grand-priory, A.D. 1701.

TITULAR GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND.

41. FRANCOIS ASTORG DE SEGREVILLE. Nominated grand-prior of England by his uncle, the Grand-Master Loubens de Verdala, by bull, dated Malta, 22nd April, 1591, but obliged to resign the dignity on protest to the Pope of the bailiff of Aquila, Andrew Wyse; created instead bailiff of Aquila, 8th June, 1593.
42. CESARE FERETTI. Assisted at a chapter-general, A.D. 1612, as prior of England, Andrew Wyse still living.
43. GIOVANNI BATTISTA NARI. Elected grand-prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1631.
44. ALESSANDRO ZAMBECCARI. Nominated, by papal brief, dated Rome, 9th May, 1639, grand-prior of England.
45. GERONIMO ALLIATA. Elected grand-prior of England by papal brief, dated Rome, 5th June, 1648.
46. STEFANO MARIA LOMELLINO. Named by papal brief grand-prior of England, dated Rome, 19th June, 1654.
47. GIULIO BOVIO. Commander of San Giovanni di Tortona, and Orvietto. Appointed grand-prior of England, by brief of Pope Clement XI. dated Rome, 11th July, 1701. Ob. A.D. 1706.
48. FRANCESCO MARIA FERRETTI. Nominated grand-prior of England, by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 11th December, 1706; registered in council, 26th March, 1707. Resigned the grand-priory.
49. NICOLÒ GIRALDIN. Appointed grand-prior of England, by papal brief, dated Rome, 9th August, 1726; registered in council, 18th August, 1732.
50. PETER FITZ-JAMES. Nominated grand-prior of England by papal brief. No date given.
51. BUONAVENTURA FITZ-JAMES. Grand-prior of England, named by papal brief; registered in council, 13th May, A.D. 1734; resigned the dignity and the habit, A.D. 1755.
52. GIOVANNI BATTISTA ALTIERI. Appointed grand-prior of England by brief of Pope Benedict XIV., dated Rome, 20th September, 1755; registered in council, 23rd October, 1755. Resigned the dignity, being appointed grand-prior of Venice.
53. GIROLAMO LAPARELLI. Grand-prior of England, living at Catania, A.D. 1806.

TURCOPOLIERS OF THE ENGLISH "LANGUE."

The Turcopolier was the title peculiar to the head of the venerable *langue* of England; he was commander of the Turcoples, or light cavalry, and had also the care of the coast defences of the two islands of Rhodes and Malta. Upon the death of the Turcopolier Nicholas Upton, A.D. 1551, it

was determined by the council that no more Turcopoliers should be elected till the religious troubles in England should be satisfactorily arranged; which decree was confirmed by papal briefs, and the office of Turcopolier at the same time incorporated with the dignity of Grand-Master in the years 1583, 1584, and 1613.

1. JOHN DE BUISBROX, or BRAIBROC. Was nominated Turcopolier at a chapter-general, held at Montpellier, on the 24th October, 1329-30, under the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve, when the grand dignities were attached to the eight *langues*, that of Turcopolier being confined to England.
2. JOHN DE PAVELEY. Named Turcopolier in a bull, dated A.D. 1335.
3. WILLIAM DE MIDLETON. Preceptor of Ribestone, and Mount St. John. Named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master Raymond Berenger, dated Rhodes, 28th January, 1365-6.
4. RICHARD DE OVERTONE. Preceptor of Mount St. John, receiver of England. Named Turcopolier in a brief of Pope Gregory XI., dated Avignon, December, A.D. 1375.
5. BRIAN DE GREY. Named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master Ferdinand d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 22nd February, 1385-6, confirming to him the bailliage of Aquila for life, and the preceptory of Beverley, in commendam. Ob. 1389.
6. HILDEBRAND INGE. Preceptor of Buckland and receiver-general of England. Nominated Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master Ferdinand d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 20th October, 1392.
7. PETER DE HOLTE. Prior of Ireland. Appointed Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, confirming to him also the priory of Ireland for ten years, dated Rhodes, 2nd August, 1396. Ob. A.D. 1415.
8. THOMAS DE SKIPWITH. Preceptor of Beverley and Schenegaye. Named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1417. He resigned the Turcopoliership on being appointed commander of Cyprus, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1422.
9. THOMAS LAUNCELYN. Preceptor of Baddesley, Dalby, and Rotheley. Appointed Turcopolier on resignation of Thomas de Skipwith, by bull of the Grand-Master Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 3rd October, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1442.
10. HUGH MIDLETON. Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley, bailiff of Aquila. Made Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1422. Ob. A.D. 1449.
11. WILLIAM DAUNAY. Preceptor of Dynemore. Elected Turcopolier on the death of Hugh Midleton, by bull of the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 18th June, 1449. Ob. A.D. 1468.

12. ROBERT TONG. Preceptor of Mount St. John. Named Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, A.D. 1468; resigned the Turcopoliership on being nominated bailiff of Aquila, A.D. 1471.
13. JOHN WESTON. Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore. Appointed Turcopolier, on mutation of Robert Tong, by bull of the Grand-Master Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 16th October, A.D. 1471; afterwards grand-prior of England.
14. JOHN KENDAL. Preceptor of Willoughton. Elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 14th March, 1476-7, on the elevation of John Weston to be grand-prior; and whom he also succeeded in that dignity, 1489.
15. JOHN BOSVILLE. Preceptor of Temple-Bruer and Quenyngton. Nominated Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, Rhodes, 20th June, A.D. 1489. Ob. A.D. 1494.
16. THOMAS DOCWRA. Preceptor of Dynemore, prior of Ireland. Named Turcopolier in a brief, dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1495; succeeded to the grand-priory of England, A.D. 1501.
17. THOMAS NEWPORT. Preceptor of Newland and Temple-Bruer; receiver of the common treasury. Made Turcopolier, *vice* Docwra. Ob. A.D. 1502.
18. ROBERT DANIEL. Preceptor of Swenefeld. Nominated Turcopolier by brief of the Grand-Master Cardinal Pierre d'Aubusson, Rhodes, 30th March, 1502-3.
19. WILLIAM DARELL. Preceptor of Willoughton, lieutenant-Turcopolier. Named Turcopolier in a bull of Emeri d'Amboise, Grand-Master, dated Rhodes, 5th February, 1509-10. Ob. A.D. 1519.
20. JOHN BOUTH, BOUCH, or BUCK. Preceptor of Quenyngton, Anstey, and Trebighen; receiver-general. Named Turcopolier in succession to William Darell, A.D. 1519; was slain at the third and most desperate assault on the quarter of England, at the siege of Rhodes, A.D. 1522.
21. WILLIAM WESTON. Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne, etc. Elected Turcopolier in the chapter, held in Candia, after the expulsion of the Order from Rhodes, 1523; commanded the grand carrack of the Order; made grand-prior, A.D. 1527.
22. JOHN RAWSON. Preceptor of Swenefeld, prior of Ireland. Nominated Turcopolier by bull of Philip Villiers L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Was re-appointed prior of Ireland, resigning the dignity of Turcopolier.
23. JOHN BABINGTON. Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley; prior of Ireland; receiver-general. Elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated "from our priory house of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528. Bailiff of Aquila by mutation, 1530-1.

24. CLEMENT WEST (deprived). Preceptor of Slebeche; receiver of the common treasury. Named Turcopolier by bull of L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Malta, 7th January, 1530-1. Deprived of the habit and dignity for insubordinate conduct, A.D. 1533.
25. ROGER BOYDEL. Preceptor of Halstone, Baddesley, and Mayne. Appointed Turcopolier, *vice* Clement West, deprived February, A.D. 1533. Ob. March, 1533.
26. JOHN RAWSON, JUN. Preceptor of Quenyngton; receiver of the treasury. Nominated Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Malta, 19th April, 1533. Resigned that dignity and elected instead bailiff of Aquila, 1534-5.
(CLEMENT WEST, restored.) Was restored to the habit and the dignity of Turcopolier, 15th February, 1534-5; and again deprived and imprisoned, A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1547.
27. GYLES RUSSEL. Preceptor of Baddesfort and Dingley; lieutenant-Turcopolier; captain of Il Borgho. Nominated Turcopolier, *vice* West, deprived A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1543.
(OSWALD MASSINGBERD, lieutenant-Turcopolier.) Lieutenant-Turcopolier, so named, *vice* Russel, dead. Nominated prior of Ireland under certain conditions, A.D. 1547.
28. NICHOLAS UPTON. Preceptor of Ribestone. Elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master John d'Omedes, dated Malta, 5th November, 1548. Died of a *coup de soleil*, received whilst repelling a landing of the Turks on the island of Malta, A.D. 1551.
(OSWALD MASSINGBERD again.) Lieutenant-Turcopolier, so nominated again on the death of the Turcopolier Upton. Confirmed prior of Ireland, A.D. 1555.
29. RICHARD SHELLEY. Preceptor of Slebeche and Halstone. Nominated Turcopolier by charter of Mary queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557; afterwards grand-prior, 1566.

TITULAR TURCOPOLIERS.

- DON PEDRO GONSALEZ DE MENDOZA. Son of the viceroy of Naples. Named Turcopolier by papal brief, A.D. 1576; resigned the dignity, 1578. Nominated prior of Ireland, A.D. 1582.
- FRANCOIS DE L'ESPINAY-ST. LUC. Named Turcopolier by brief of Pope Pius V., while yet in his novitiate. On protest from the whole Order the obnoxious appointment was revoked, A.D. 1606.
- JOHANN BAPTIST VON FLACKSLANDEN. Bailiff of the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. Elected Turcopolier, registered in council, 7th November, 1782, Emmanuel de Rohan, Grand-Master, bailiff of Aquila by mutation, 1794-5.

BAILIFFS OF AQUILA, OR OF THE EAGLE.

The bailliage of Ecle, Eycle, Egle, Eagle, or Aquila, a preceptory situated about seven miles from the city of Lincoln, was granted to the Knights-

Templar by King Stephen, about 1139. At the suppression of that Order it passed into possession of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

1. ROBERT COURT. The first-named preceptor of the Eycle in the report of the possessions of the Knights-Hospitaller, made by the grand-prior of England, Philip de Thame, to the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve, A.D. 1338.
2. JOHN DE ANLABY. Called preceptor of Eycle, in a grant to him of certain commanderies by the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon. Bull dated Rhodes, 1st August, 1351.
3. ROBERT DE HALES. Preceptor of Beverley and the Ecce; so called in a bull of the Grand-Master Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 1st June, 1358; afterwards grand-prior of England.
4. JOHN DE HINGLEY. Preceptor of Dalby and the Ecce. Named in a bull of Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master, dated Rhodes, 20th February, 1365-6.
5. JOHN DE MANEBY. Preceptor of the Eagle. Named in a grant of the Grand-Master d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381, as having died that year.
6. JOHN DE REDINGTON. Received the bailliage of the Eagle, to hold as a "fifth commandery," being at this time grand-prior of England, by grant of the same Grand-Master. Bull dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381.
7. BRIAN DE GREY. Preceptor of Beverley; Turcopolier. Received for life a grant of the bailliage of Aquila, resigned by the grand-prior Redington. Bull, dated February, 1385-6. d'Heredia, Grand-Master. To hold with the office of Turcopolier.
8. HENRY CROWNAL. Preceptor of Willoughton. Succeeded to the bailliage of Aquila on the death of Brian de Grey, September, 1389. Ob. A.D. 1433.
9. WILLIAM POOLE. Preceptor of Dynemore and Garrewayes. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 19th July, 1433; resigned the dignity, 1438, and died the same year.
10. HUGH MIDLETON. Preceptor of Beverley. Made bailiff of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master de Lastie, dated Rhodes, 23rd January, 1438-9; Turcopolier by mutation, 1442. Ob. 1449.
11. WILLIAM LANGSTROTHER. Preceptor of Quenyington. Appointed bailiff of Aquila, by bull, dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1442; John de Lastie, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1463.
12. JOHN LANGSTROTHER. Preceptor of Beverley, Balsal, Ribestone, etc.; lieutenant-Turcopolier, etc. Created bailiff of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master de Lastie, dated Rhodes, 28th February, 1463-4; promoted to be grand-prior of England, A.D. 1470; beheaded, 1471.

13. WILLIAM TORNAY. Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley ; receiver-general. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, bull, dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470. Jean Baptiste Orsini, Grand-Master. Grand-prior of England, 1471. Ob. 1476.
14. ROBERT TONG. Preceptor of Mount St. John ; Turcopolier. Mutitioned bailiff of Aquila by bull of the Grand-Master Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1481.
15. THOMAS GREEN. Preceptor of Schenegaye. Nominated bailiff of Aquila by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 11th July, 1481. Ob. A.D. 1502.
16. THOMAS NEWPORT. Preceptor of Newland, etc. ; receiver-general of England. Nominated bailiff of Aquila by bull, dated Rhodes, 10th March, 1502-3. d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Drowned on the coast of Spain, hastening to the relief of Rhodes, besieged by the Turks, A.D. 1522.
17. THOMAS SHEFFIELD. Preceptor of Beverley ; receiver-general of England ; seneschal of the Grand-Master. Named bailiff of Aquila by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Messina, 4th May, 1523. Ob. at Viterbo, A.D. 1524.
18. ALBAN POLE. Preceptor of Newland, Ossington, and Winklebourne. Appointed bailiff of Aquila by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Viterbo, 26th August, 1524. Ob. A.D. 1530.
19. JOHN BABINGTON. Preceptor of Dalby, etc. ; prior of Ireland ; receiver-general of England ; Turcopolier. Made bailiff of Aquila, by mutition, bull, dated Malta, 7th January, 1530-1. Ob. A.D. 1533-4.
20. JOHN RAWSON, JUN. Preceptor of Quenyngton ; receiver-general ; Turcopolier ; bailiff of Aquila, bull, dated Malta, 15th February, 1534-5. Pierre du Pont, Grand-Master.
21. PEDRO FELICES DE LA NUCA. Commander of the *langue* of Aragon. Created bailiff of Aquila by charter of Mary, queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557. Was slain at the siege of Malta, A.D. 1565.
22. OLIVER STARKEY. Commander of Quenyngton ; lieutenant-Turcopolier. Bailiff of Aquila by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre de Monte, Malta, 3rd October, 1569. Ob. 1588. Buried in the vault of the Grand-Masters in the conventual church of St. John, the only knight of the Order so distinguished.
23. ANDREW WYSE. Nominated bailiff of Aquila on death of Oliver Starkey, being the only English knight in the convent, Malta, 27th April, 1588. Loubens de Verdala, Grand-Master. Was afterwards grand-prior of England, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.

TITULAR BAILIFFS OF AQUILA.

24. FRANCOIS D'ASTORG DE SEGREVILLE. Appointed bailiff of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master de Verdala, dated Malta, 8th June, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1612.
25. LUIS MENDEZ DE VASCONCELLOS. A Portuguese commander of the *langue* of Castile. Named bailiff of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master Alof de Vignacourt, Malta, 29th August, 1612; afterwards Grand-Master.
26. MICHEL DE PONTAILLER-THALLEMEY. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, by brief, dated Malta, 20th February, 1622. Ob. A.D. 1630.
27. JEAN DE BERNOIS-VILLENEUVE. Appointed bailiff of Aquila, on the death of ThallemeY, 13th June, 1630. Ob. A.D. 1656.
28. OTTAVIO BANDINELLI. Named bailiff of Aquila, by papal brief, Rome, 22nd April, 1656.
29. JACQUES DE SPARVIER-CORBONNEAU. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, by brief, 14th May, 1671. Grand-commander, 1672.
30. DON DIEGO BRAGAMONTE. Made bailiff of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement X., 22nd May, 1673. Ob. A.D. 1690.
31. DON EMANUEL DE TORDESILLAS. Created bailiff of Aquila, by papal brief of Alexander VIII., 20th September, 1690. Ob. A.D. 1702.
32. RICHARD DE SADE-MAZAN. Commander of Puysmaison. Named bailiff of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement XI., 18th August, 1702; registered in council, 11th September, 1702. Grand-commander, 1714.
33. ANTONIO DOMENICO BUSSI. Commander. Appointed bailiff of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 23rd June, 1714; registered in council, 28th July, 1715.
34. FRANCESCO DE GUEDEZ-PEREIRA. A commander of Portugal; vice-chancellor. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, by papal brief, dated Rome, 22nd March, 1755.
35. HENRI FRANCOIS DE GUIRAN LA BRILLANE. Elected bailiff of Aquila, by papal brief of Pius VI., Rome, 18th May, 1781; registered in council, 12th July, 1781.
36. NORBERT VON TORRING. Commander of Erding, of the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. Named bailiff of Aquila, by brief of Pope Pius VI.; registered in council, 10th September, 1790. Afterwards lieutenant-Turcopolier, 1792.
37. JOHANN BAPTISTE VON FLACHSLANDEN. Turcopolier (titular), of the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. Nominated bailiff of Aquila, by brief of Pius VI., Pope; registered in council, 26th February, 1794-5.

PRIORS OF IRELAND.

No mention occurs of a prior of Ireland before the chapter-general of the Order held at Montpellier, A.D. 1329-30, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master.

1. ROGER WEILLAM. Was present as "Prior Hibernia prioratûs" at the chapter-general held at Montpellier, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master, presiding, A.D. 1329-30.
2. JOHN L'ARCHER. Preceptor of Dalby and Mayne; prior of Ireland; named in a bull of the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon, dated Rhodes, 28th October, 1351.
3. THOMAS DE BURLE. Preceptor of Dynemore and Barrowe; named prior of Ireland in a bull dated Rhodes, 15th February, 1365; Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master.
4. WILLIAM DE TABNEY. Named prior of Ireland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 24th March, 1381-2. Was present as prior of Ireland at a general council, 2nd August, 1382.
5. PETER DE HOLTE. Was prior of Ireland previous to 1396. On being nominated Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, the 2nd August of that year, he was therein confirmed prior of Ireland for ten years longer. Resigned the priory of Ireland 1410, and died A.D. 1415.
6. THOMAS LE BOUTELER. Named prior of Ireland in a bull of the lieutenancy of the Grand-Master de Naillac, Rhodes, 12th May, 1410. Ob. A.D. 1420.
7. RICHARD PAULE. Preceptor of Templebruer. Nominated prior of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 31st October, 1420. Resigned the priory of Ireland, 1422.
8. WILLIAM FITZ-THOMAS. Appointed prior of Ireland by a bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 24th June, 1422.
(MAURICE FITZ-WILLIAM.) The priory of Ireland was seized upon and wrongfully usurped, without any nomination of the Grand-Master and council, on the death of William Fitz-Thomas, the prior, by Maurice Fitz-William. He being shortly after deprived by the unanimous act of the Irish knights, the nomination of a successor was left in the hands of the Grand-Master and council, A.D. 1440.
9. EDMOND ASHETON. Preceptor of Anstey and Trebighen. Was nominated to the vacant priory of Ireland by the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic, bull, dated Rhodes, 12th July, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1442.
10. HUGH MIDLETON. Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley; bailiff of Aquila; Turcopolier. Nominated visitor of the priory of Ireland, by bull, dated Rhodes, 20th November, 1442; afterwards confirmed prior, as appears by a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 12th September, 1450.

- (THOMAS TALBOT.) Was nominated administrator of the priory of Ireland, 1446-9. Owing to his mal-administration, and letters written from the king Henry VI., from the council of the Irish commanders, and from the chapter of the priory of Dublin, he was removed from his office.
11. THOMAS FITZ-GERALD. Confirmed prior of Ireland, at the request of the Irish commanders, by bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1450. Ob. A.D. 1453.
 12. THOMAS TALBOT. Appointed prior of Ireland, notwithstanding his former deprivation, on the death of Fitz-gerald, by bull, dated Rhodes, 1st February, 1453-4; de Lastic, Grand-Master. Was again deprived for mal-administration, 1459.
 13. JAMES HETTING, or KEATING. Commander of Clontarf and Kilmainhambeg. Nominated prior of Ireland, *vice* Talbot, deprived, 21st October, 1459; and confirmed by bull of the Grand-Master Raymond Zacosta, dated Rhodes, 9th July, 1461. Was deprived of the priory, for mal-administration and disobedience, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 18th December, 1482.
 14. MARMADUKE LUMLEY. Preceptor of Templecombe. Nominated prior of Ireland, *vice* Keating, deprived, by bull, dated Rhodes, 28th December, 1482; Peter d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1494.
 15. THOMAS DOWRA. Preceptor of Dynemore, etc. Appointed prior of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th October, 1494. Resigned the priory, 1495, having been mutilated Turcopolier.
 16. ROBERT EURE. Preceptor of Slebeche. Made prior of Ireland A.D. 1496. Deprived of the priory (suspended), for mis-government and debts, by bull of the Grand-Master Emeri d'Amboise, Rhodes, 8th May, 1511. Ob. at Rhodes, 1513.
 17. JOHN RAWSON. Appointed lieutenant-prior, and administrator of the priory of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master, dated 8th June, 1511. Confirmed prior by another bull of the same, Rhodes, 15th March, 1513-14. Resigned the priory of Ireland on being mutilated Turcopolier, 27th June, 1527.
 18. JOHN BABINGTON. Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley, etc. Nominated prior of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Resigned the priory on being named Turcopolier, exchanging dignities with John Rawson, re-appointed prior of Ireland, 1528.
 19. JOHN RAWSON (again). Resumed the priory of Ireland by request of the king Henry VIII. Confirmed by bull of the same Grand-Master, dated from "Our Priory House of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528; and re-confirmed by an additional bull of the same, dated "Dover near the Sea, in England, *in domo qua in itineris Hospitali sumus*," 5th June, 1528. Ob. A.D. 1547.

20. **OSWALD MASSINGBERD.** Lieutenant-Tureopolier. Appointed prior of Ireland on the death of Rawson, by bull of the Grand-Master John d'Omedes, Malta, 27th August, 1547, on condition that he, Massingberd, should not assume the title, or the grand-cross, till legally in possession of his priory. The priory being confirmed to him by Queen Mary, he was allowed the dignity, by bull of the Grand-Master Claude de la Sangle, dated Malta, 2nd August, 1554. He afterwards resigned the priory into the hands of commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, 3rd June, 1558.

TITULAR PRIORS OF IRELAND.

21. **MATURIN DE L'ESCAT ROMEGAS.** Named prior of Ireland, A.D. 1573. Ob. at Rome, 1582.
22. **DON PEDRO GONSALEZ DE MENDOZA.** Confirmed prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master Loubens de Verdala, Malta, 27th July, 1582. Resigned the priory of Ireland on being mutitioned to the bailliage of Negropont, 1607.
23. **DON DIEGO BROCHERO.** Nominated prior of Ireland by papal brief, A.D. 1609. Appointed grand-chancellor, A.D. 1613.
24. **DON MICHAËLE CALDERON.** Appointed prior of Ireland, 1613. Ob. A.D. 1621.
25. **DON PROSPER COLONNA.** Nominated prior of Ireland, A.D. 1621. Ob. A.D. 1655.
26. **ANGELO DELLA CIAJA.** Created prior of Ireland by papal brief, dated Rome, 25th February, 1666.
27. **PIETRO OTTOBONI,** cardinal. Made prior of Ireland by brief of Pope Alexander VIII., A.D. 1690.
28. **ANTONIO MARIA BUONCOMPAGNI LUDOVISI.** Created prior of Ireland by brief, registered in the council, 24th November, 1741.
29. **FRANCESCO CARVALHO PINTO.** Commander of Portugal. Nominated prior of Ireland by brief of Pope Pius VI.; registered in council, 20th June, 1792.

PRIORS OF SCOTLAND.

There are very few records to be found regarding the priors of Scotland, or preceptors of Torphichen, as they are usually styled; none are to be met with in the archives preserved in Malta before the year 1386. The names of the first four preceptors are borrowed from various authorities.

1. **ARCHIBALD.** Named "Magister de Torphichen" in a charter of Alexander, great-steward of Scotland, dated 1252.
2. **ALEXANDER DE WELLES.** Swore fealty to King Edward I. of England as "Prior Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Jerusalemitani in Scotia," A.D. 1291. His name also occurs in the "Ragman Roll," as "Gardeyn del' Hospital de Seint Jehan de Jerusalem en Ecoce." He was slain at the battle of Falkirk, 22nd July, 1298.

3. **RANULPH DE LYND SAY.** Is said to have succeeded the prior Welles, and to have ruled the Order in Scotland till after the year 1315.
4. **WILLIAM DE LA MORE.** Supposed, from charters, to have lived in the reign of David II.
5. **EDWARD DE BRENNE.** Named prior of Scotland and receiver-general in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 5th June, 1386, granting a lease of the lands of Torphichen, vacant by death of David de Marr, to a certain Richard de Cornel.
6. **JOHN DE BYNNYNGE.** A bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1410, grants the bailliage of Scotland for five years to John de Bynnynge, he being bound to pay certain responsions specified.
7. **HENRY LIVINGSTON.** Named prior of Scotland, and preceptor of Torphichen, in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastie, regarding the payment of arrears of responsions, dated Rhodes, 5th September, 1449. Ob. A.D. 1462.
 (WILLIAM HULLES.) A bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated (ROBERT MALLORY.) Rhodes, 8th May, 1433, complains of the non-payment of responsions, mortuary dues, and other imposts, by the prior of Scotland, and appoints Robert Mallory, grand-prior of England, administrator of the priory of Scotland, to hold that office as his predecessor, William Hulles, grand-prior of England, had held it before him.
8. **WILLIAM MELDRUM.** Is named administrator of the priory of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastie, dated Rhodes, 9th January, 1452-3, by which he is summoned to Rhodes to account for his mal-administration. In another bull of the same, dated 24th November, 1454, he is called preceptor of Torphichen.
 (PATRICK SKOUGALL.) Administrator of the priory. On the nomination of William Knolles he petitioned the Grand-Master and council for the dignity of prior, asserting that Knolles had been unjustly appointed in his place. The council decided against him, but granted him an indemnity by bull, dated Rhodes, 3rd September, A.D. 1473; Jean Baptiste Orsini, Grand-Master.
9. **WILLIAM KNOLLES.** Nominated prior of Scotland, *vice* Livingston [dead], by bull of the Grand-Master Orsini, dated Rhodes, 22nd December, 1466. Resigned the priory, A.D. 1504; and died before the 24th June, A.D. 1510.
 (PATRICK KNOLLES.) Named coadjutor of his uncle, William Knolles (in a bull cited below), who was incapacitated by age and infirmities from governing the priory. Ob. ante 1500.
 (ROBERT STUART D'AUBIGNY.) Nephew of the Lord Bernard d'Aubigny; appointed coadjutor of the prior William Knolles, in place of Patrick Knolles, dead, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 17th March, 1501-2.

10. GEORGE DUNDAS. Appointed prior of Scotland, on the resignation of William Knolles, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Amboise, dated Rhodes, 1st July, 1504. Ob. A.D. 1532.
11. WALTER LYND SAY. Received into the Order by the Turcopolier William Weston, 31st December, 1525. Nominated prior of Scotland by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Malta, 6th March, 1532-3.
12. JAMES SANDILANDS. Named prior of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Omedes, dated Malta, 2nd April, 1547. Having adopted the Protestant faith, he surrendered the possessions of the priory to the government, and receiving a grant of them to himself with the title of Lord Torphichen, founded the existing family bearing that name.
13. JAMES IRVINE. Is said to have succeeded Sandilands in the nominal dignity of prior of Scotland.
14. DAVID SETON. The last prior of Scotland.

PRIORS OF ENGLAND.

The following knights have held the office of prior since the revival of the English *langue*, as recorded in Chapter XXII.

1. THE REV. SIR ROBERT PEAT, D.D.; G.C. St. Stanislaus of Poland; chaplain to King George IV.; Lord-Prior, 29th January, 1831.
2. THE HON. SIR HENRY DYMOKE, Bart.; Seventeenth hereditary champion of England; Lord-Prior, 15th July, 1838.
3. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR CHARLES MONTOLIEU LAMB, BART.; Baron de St. Hypolite (France); D.C.L.; knight-marshal of the Queen's household; deputy lieutenant of Sussex and Ayrshire; Lord-Prior, 24th June, 1847.
4. REAR-ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER DUNDAS YOUNG ARBUTHNOT; K. Chas. III; Medjidie; St. George of Russia; St. Ferdinand, etc.; gentleman of the privy chamber to Her Majesty; Lord-Prior, 16th July, 1860.
5. HIS GRACE WILLIAM DROGO, DUKE OF MANCHESTER; Knight of St. Patrick; Lord-Prior, 24th June, 1861.

APPENDIX XII.

Memorandum written by Oliver Starkry on the subject of a dispute as to precedence between the grand-priors of England and Messina. (Translated from the original, now in the Record Office at Malta.)

"On occasion of the dispute and controversy which arose between the most illustrious and very reverend the priors of England and Messina concerning their pre-eminence, namely, which of the two should take precedence

of the other at the meetings of council, at public assemblies, and other solemn congregations of this Order, the very reverend and most illustrious the Grand-Master, with his venerable council, appointed a commission consisting of the very reverend Fr. Antonio Cressini, prior of the church, Fr. Pietro Maréchal, and Don Fernando del Arcon, lieutenant to the high chancellor, in order that they, having inquired into the pretensions and allegations of both parties, and having consulted and examined the documents which they should respectively produce from the registry, might make a just and unbiassed report to the council, who, having executed the instructions which were given them, reported to the said very reverend Grand-Master and his council that, having heard all which the priors and their procurators had alleged in defence and in favour of their own cause, and having carefully considered the statements contained in the documents from the registry produced by them, they discovered that the priors of England take precedence, not only of the said priors of Messina, but also of the castellani d'Emposta, who precede the said priors of Messina, and who take precedence of several other members of the Order. Whence it came to pass that the very reverend the Grand-Master and his venerable council, having heard in profound silence the report of the said commissioners, and having discussed the contents of the documents produced as to whether they were or were not explicit upon the point in question, unanimously agreed that the said priors of England should take precedence of the priors of Messina. Moreover, to remove all cause of dispute which it was foreseen might in many ways arise if any decree should be published regarding this precedence, it was resolved that no sentence should be recorded, the more so as, in contesting the right of pre-eminence, it was generally acknowledged that the documents produced by authority from the registry in conformity with the regulations and ancient custom of this convent form in themselves the most equitable and most dispassionate sentence that could possibly have been anticipated. It therefore seemed proper to the whole council that the most illustrious and very reverend the Grand-Master, in order to intimate this right of pre-eminence, should proceed as follows, namely: that after summoning the contending parties into his presence and that of his council, the very reverend the Grand-Master should assign to each his place without the use of any words, and should allot by gesture the place of greater pre-eminence to the prior of England, and the place of less eminence to the prior of Messina, without, however, in any way prejudicing any claims which he should at any future time lawfully make and support in favour of his pretensions, which command the most illustrious the Grand-Master carried into execution, and having summoned the said priors into his presence and into that of his council, said unto them: 'Sir knights, we having listened attentively to the reports of the commissioners, and having subsequently discussed together all the arguments and reasons which both of you have respectively produced from the registry in favour of your pre-eminence, do ordain and require that you, the prior of England, should sit in that place, and you, the prior of Messina, in that other place, without

prejudice to any further claims,' pointing to the places with his finger where they were to be seated. The position assigned to the prior of England was the more distinguished, because it was immediately below the marshal, who is second bailiff of the convent, and that of the prior of Messina was inferior from being below that of the admiral, who is the fourth in rank amongst the bailiffs of the convent. In which decision the said priors acquiesced, and having each kissed the cross held by the Grand-Master in token of obedience, they occupied the seats allotted to them without making any reply. And when shortly after they were called upon to vote concerning a matter that was being discussed by the council, the prior of England spoke first, and after him the prior of Messina. When the proceedings of the council had been terminated in the manner above described, a considerable number of knights who were waiting outside, and were on this occasion more numerous than usual in consequence of the interest excited by the controversy, entered the hall on the door being opened, and found the councillors seated and the priors each in his appointed place, so that whilst the vice-chancellor was collecting the documents and memorials of the sitting, as is customary, it was publicly noticed that the prior of England was the second from the left hand and the prior of Messina the third from the right hand of the most illustrious and most reverend the Grand-Master, which scene, besides narrating as above, I thought proper to represent in painting, as well to preserve a memorial of so wise and prudent a decision as that so excellent an example should be imitated whenever controversies arise respecting pre-eminence, which is so honourable to the reputation and absolutely necessary for the peace of the convent. Thus it is.

“(Signed) J. OLIVER STARKEY.”

This knight, himself an Englishman, was naturally jealous for the honours and prerogatives of his *langue*, then rapidly vanishing from the ranks of the fraternity. He was therefore determined that, although no registry was made of this decree, it should not be lost sight of in after years. What has become of the picture referred to is not known. The grand-prior of England on the occasion was Sir Richard Shelley.

APPENDIX XIII.

Articles of capitulation of the fortress of Malta by the French in the year 1800.

Art. 1. The garrison of Malta and the forts dependent thereon shall march out to be embarked for Marseilles on the day and hour appointed, with all the honours of war, such as drums beating, colours flying, matches

lighted, having at their head two four pounders, with their carriages, artillerymen to serve them, and a waggon for the infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, together with everything belonging to that department, shall be conducted to the port of Toulon.

Answer. The garrison shall receive the above-requested honours of war, but subject to the following arrangement in case it be found impossible to embark the whole of the troops immediately. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the two forts of Ricasoli and Tigné shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and the vessels allowed to enter the port. The national gate shall have a guard composed of an equal number of French and English, till the transports shall be ready to take on board the first embarkation of troops, when the whole of the garrison shall file off with all the honours of war as far as the seashore, where they shall ground their arms. Those who cannot embark in the first transports shall remain in the isle and fort Manuel, with an armed guard to prevent any one going into the interior of the island. The garrison shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and cannot serve against his Britannic Majesty till the exchange shall have taken place, and the respective officers shall give their parole to this purpose. All the artillery, ammunition, and public stores of every description shall be delivered up to officers appointed for that purpose, together with inventories and public papers.

Art. 2. The general of brigade Chanez, commandant of the city and forts; the general of brigade d'Hannedel, commandant of the artillery and engineers; the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers; the officers, troops, crews, and all others employed in the navy; citizen Pierre Alphonse Guys, general commissary of trade for the French republic in Syria and Palestine; those employed in civil and military capacities; the commissioners of the army and navy; the civil administrators and members of whatsoever description of the constituent authority, shall take with them their arms, their personals, and all their property.

Answer. Granted, excepting the soldiers grounding their arms as mentioned in the first article. The non-commissioned officers shall keep their sabres.

Art. 3. All those who bore arms in the service of the republic during the siege, of whatsoever nation they may happen to be, shall be regarded as making part of the garrison.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 4. The division shall be embarked at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, each person receiving during his passage the pay of his rank, according to the French regulation. The officers and members of the civil administration, with their families, shall also receive a salary in proportion to the pay of the military, and according to the dignity of their office.

Answer. Granted, conformably to the custom of the British navy, which allows the same pay to every individual of whatsoever degree and condition.

Art. 5. A proper number of waggons and shallops shall be provided for transporting and shipping the personal baggage of the generals, their

aides-de-camp, commissaries, chiefs of different corps, officers, citizen Guys, civil and military administrators of the army and navy, together with the papers belonging to the councils of the civil and military administrators of the army and navy, also those of the councils of the administrators of the different corps, the commissaries of both army and navy, the paymaster of the division, and all others employed in the civil and military administration. These effects and papers to be subject to no kind of inspection, being guaranteed by the generals as containing neither public nor private property.

Answer. Granted.

N.B.—As regards this article, the Maltese complained afterwards that under it the French carried off all the plunder they had taken from the inhabitants.

Art. 6. All vessels belonging to the republic in sailing condition shall depart at the same time as the division for a French port, after being properly victualled for the voyage.

Answer. Refused.

Art. 7. The sick capable of being removed shall be embarked with the division, and be provided with medicines, surgical instruments, provisions, and necessary attendants to take care of them during the passage; those whose state of health obliges them to remain in Malta shall be properly treated, and the commander-in-chief shall leave a French physician and surgeon to attend them. When they shall be able to leave the hospital they shall be provided with a lodging gratis, until they are sufficiently recovered to return to France, whither they shall be sent with all their property equally with the garrison. The commander-in-chief on evacuating Malta will intrust them to the honour and humanity of the English general.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 8. No individuals of whatsoever nation, inhabitants or not of Malta, shall be molested for their political opinions, nor for any acts committed whilst Malta was in the power of the French government. This arrangement to be principally applied in its fullest extent to those who have taken up arms, or to those who have held any civil administrative or military employments. These are not to be accountable for anything which has passed, particularly not to be proceeded against for what happened during their administration.

Answer. This article does not appear to come under the terms of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who wish to remain, or who are permitted to remain, may depend upon being treated with justice and humanity, and on enjoying the entire protection of the law.

Art. 9. All the French inhabiting Malta, and those of the Maltese who are desirous of following the French army and retiring to France with their property, shall have the liberty to do so. Those who possess movables and estates impossible to be disposed of at once, and who intend settling in France, shall be allowed six months from the signature of the present capitulation for the sale of their estates and other effects; this property shall be respected. Those who remain for the time being shall be

allowed to act for themselves, or if they follow the French division, by their attorney, and on the settlement of their affairs they shall be furnished with passports for France, and the remainder of their effects sent on board, together with their capital, either in money or in letters of exchange as shall best suit their convenience.

Answer.—Granted with reference to the answer given to the preceding article.

Art. 10. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the English general shall permit the commander-in-chief of the French forces to despatch a felucca, properly manned, with an officer to carry the capitulation to the French government, who shall be provided with the necessary safeguard.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 11. The articles of capitulation being signed, the gate called *Des Bombes* shall be given up to the English general, and occupied by a guard consisting of an equal number of French and English, with orders to permit neither the soldiers of the besieging army nor any inhabitant of the island whatsoever to enter the city until the French troops shall be embarked and out of sight of the port. As soon as the embarkation shall have taken place, the English troops shall occupy the gates, and free entrance be allowed into the city. The English general must perceive that this precaution is absolutely necessary to prevent all disputes, and in order that the articles of the capitulation may be strictly observed.

Answer. Granted conformably to what has been already provided against by the answer to the first article, and all precaution shall be taken to prevent the armed Maltese from approaching the gates occupied by the French troops.

Art. 12. All alienation of property and sale of estates and effects by the French government whilst it was in possession of Malta, together with all exchange of property between individuals, shall be maintained inviolate.

Answer. Granted as far as justice and law will permit.

Art. 13. The agents of the allied powers residing in the city of Valetta at the time of its surrender shall not be molested, and their persons and property shall be guaranteed by the present capitulation.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 14. All ships of war and merchant vessels coming from France with the colours of the republic and appearing before the port shall not be esteemed prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, during the first twenty days after the date of the present capitulation, but shall be sent back to France with a proper safeguard.

Answer. Refused.

Art. 15.—The commander-in-chief, the other generals, their aides-de-camp, and the subaltern officers shall be embarked all together with the commissioners and their suites.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 16. The prisoners made during the siege, including the crew of the *Guillaume Tell* and *La Diane*, shall be restored and treated like the garrison. The crew of *La Justice* to be used in the same manner should she be taken in returning to one of the ports of the republic.

Answer. The crew of the *Guillaume Tell* is already exchanged, and that of *La Diane* is to be sent to Majorca to be exchanged immediately.

Art. 17.—No one in the service of the republic shall be subject to a reprisal of any kind whatsoever.

Answer. Granted.

Art. 18.—If any difficulties shall arise respecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation they shall be interpreted in the most favourable sense for the garrison.

Answer. Granted according to justice.

Done and concluded at Malta, the 18th Fructider (4th September), in the eighth year of the French republic (1800).

Signed on behalf of the French by the general of division VAUBOIS and the rear-admiral VILLENEUVE. On behalf of the English by Major-General FIGOT and Captain MARTIN, commodore of the allied fleet before Malta.

APPENDIX XIV.

Article in the Treaty of Amiens relative to the Order of St. John.

The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:—

1st. The knights of the Order whose languages shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand-Master, chosen from among the natives of the nations which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries. It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2nd. The government of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the Order and the island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or an English language, and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these powers shall be admitted into the Order.

3rd. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island. This

language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment, and an *auberge*. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this language, and they shall be, moreover, admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino.

4th. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the Order in its present state, provided the Grand-Master or commissaries fully authorized according to the statutes of the Order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which has been provided by his Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5th. One half of the garrison at least shall be always composed of native Maltese, for the remainder the Order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess languages. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The command-in-chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of officers, shall pertain to the Grand-Master, and this right he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the Order.

6th. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7th. The neutrality of the Order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8th. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the benefit of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

9th. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the states of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the powers possessing the languages, or concurring in the composition of the Order, shall have ceased.

10th. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the island, except so far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11th. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner, and the Grand-Master, or, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12th. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2,000 men, natives of his states, to serve as a garrison to the different fortresses of the said

islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights, and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13th. The different powers designated in paragraph 6, viz., France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

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